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THE ECOLOGY OF
RURAL SOCIAL AGENCIES IN PENNSYLVANIA

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY

OF THE

GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

FOR THE DEGREE

OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

R. W. KERNS

JUNE 1940

ITHACA, N. Y.

Vita

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Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose of Study.

Before launching on a new year an enterprising business concern makes an inventory, prepares an annual report, and charts its course for the future. By doing so, it is able to gear its activity to demand and need. This is good business management.

Such a procedure is also good practice for state-wide organizations, but too often it is not followed.

This study approaches the above, inasmuch as it is an attempt to inventory the social agencies in the state. It is not meant to be an intensive analysis of each organization. Rather it is a study purporting to reveal facts and relevant information that will give a picture of the state organizational situation. Specifically, it is intended to answer the following questions: What organizations and agencies are functioning in the state? How many of each are there? Where are they located? What is the ecological patterning of these agencies in the area? What environmental factors influence this spatial distribution? Who comprises the membership of these organizations? What are they attempting to do? Are there areas of over-organization in the state? Of under-organization? What effect does population composition and density have upon rural organization? How are rural organizations affected by farm income, population fertility ratio, kind of roads, and

the like? In short, the main objective of this study is to disclose the ecological factors influencing the kind, number, size, and distribution of rural social agencies in Pennsylvania. By ecology is meant the study of the spatial and temporal relations of human beings and their institutions as affected by the selective, distributive, and accommodative forces of the environment.[1]

From a study of the records of rural agencies in the state it is apparent that significant changes are taking place in number, location, and size of organizations. Local flower clubs, for example, are springing up in one area and dying out in another. High mortality of granges is evident in one section while, in an adjacent area new ones are being organized. In one county parent teacher associations are thriving; in a contiguous county in the same type-of-farming area the units of this relatively new organization are dying out. To what degree do such conditions prevail? Are these changes true for <u>all</u> organizations? For all <u>areas</u> in the state? What influences the birth and death rates of these rural agencies?

Such aspects of social change can only be determined by an analysis of the current situation followed by resurveys at intervals of several years. This done, conclusions as to trends in the social organizations of communities, the reasons for these trends, the historical processes involved, may be ascertained. Carried to its logical end, it will contribute to the possibility of predicting in advance the changes in rural social organization.

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1. Adapted from F. D. McKenzie

In addition to answering the above questions, the study is valuable in providing basic information which will serve as a background for more intensive research inasmuch as it shows types, extent, and general characteristics of organizations now in existence and should be helpful not only in the development of research hypotheses but in facilitating sampling as well. Further, a study of this kind is valuable for state agency leaders since it indicates those places where the organizational machinery should be better adapted to local needs. In addition it can be used in both resident and field teaching. The rural sociology instructor as well as the new county agent, specialist, home economics worker, and vocational agricultural man will find the data helpful. In a word, a knowledge of these facts is essential in enabling the people of the commonwealth to formulate plans for the most satisfactory development of the available human resources.

Planning in Pennsylvania is in its incipiency. Some social machinery such as the State Planning Board is on the grounds but so far has not begun to operate at full force. Therefore, if the principles, facts, and relationships developed by this research are made available, they should find timely application by the agencies working to improve rural life.

2. Hypotheses.

The present study is predicated upon the basic assumption that some kind of organization is desirable. Given this, the study posits certain hypotheses, some of which this work attempts to test. These hypotheses are:

(1) That the kind and degree of social organization varies from place to place.

(2) That the conditions - physical, demographic, political, economic, social-affecting organizations vary from one area to another.

(3) That kind, size, number, and distribution of organizations are related in some causal way to these environmental conditions. For example, that there is a correspondence between numbers of organizations in various counties and the density of population.

(4) That such personal social influences as leadership and religion are factors important enough in affecting the distribution of some organizations to merit beingcalled "determinants."

(5) That in proportion to the number of farm people more rural organizations exist in poor agricultural territory than in fertile agricultural sections.

(6) That there are areas where too many organizations exist and where the weight of organizational machinery is bearing down upon the leadership of a population far too sparse to adequately support it.

(7) That there are areas where a paucity of rural social agencies exists, and where organizational contacts are few, partly because of the absence of crystallized groups.

(8) That there is little relationship between the so-called "rural cultural regions" and rural social organization.

(9) That there is little relationship between the stated program and functions of federated national and state organizations and the actual program carried out in the local community.

3. Scope of Study.

The present study is confined to the State of Pennsylvania. It attempts to cover the entire state rather than a few sample counties. Such sampling of the state and the subsequent intensive analysis of the agencies in a few selected counties could well follow this survey.

The study includes the major rural social agencies that possess some degree of organization on a state or district basis. By "social" is meant the non-economic agencies. "Agency", in the main, is used in the same sense as "organization". However, "agency" also includes such instrumentalities as health facilities, newspapers, and the like, and is, therefore, more inclusive. Some organizations such as the grange, farm women's societies, 4-H clubs, F. F. A. groups, and Senior Extension Clubs are entirely rural. Others such as the P. T. A., American Legion, Boy Scouts, and lodges have local groups in urban as well as rural territory. In most cases the urban units of these semi-rural organizations have been plotted and analyzed, for in many places rural people are closely tied up with urban agencies. Especially is this true in the larger towns and small cities.

Some attempt has been made to survey organizations and activities which have no organic relationship to a federated state group. Such examples are local libraries, flower shows, farm product shows, fire companies, colleges, hospitals, doctors, dentists, farmers' clubs, and drama clubs. For other groups such as local choirs, home comings, bridge clubs, and the like, the job of securing satisfactory data on a state-wide basis is well-nigh impossible. Not that friendly visiting, parties,

drives, and the great variety of informal social and recreational activities are not important forms of association. They are. But to obtain these data would have taken a corps of workers. Further there is such a high turn-over of these groups that the data, even if collection had been possible, would be badly out of date before they could be compiled. Therefore, this study, although it includes the most important agencies, does not claim absolute completeness.

For the same reason, absolute accuracy is not guaranteed over any great period of time. All that can be said is, "This was the situation when the data were gathered." But what is more important than mathematical accuracy is that sufficient data be obtained to enable one to picture the general situation from which the direction and degree of change can be later determined.

The study is designated as "rural" because, although interested especially in the farm population of the commonwealth, the social life of farmers and villagers is inextricably interwoven. They belong to the same granges and F. T. A.'s, they attend the same churches, they go to the same movies, and their children are even more closely related socially through their various community activities, especially the school. Moreover, statistical data and records of organizations are not sufficiently differentiated to permit study of farm organizations alone.

4. <u>Period of Study</u>.

The study was outlined in 1938, the data gathered in 1939, and the project completed in 1940.

5. Method of Study.

a) Collecting the data

The methods of collecting the data were by the use of:

(1) Questionnaires.

(2) Directories.

(3) Public records.

(4) Interviews.

(5) Personal letters.

As much accurate information as was possible was collected from county, regional, and state offices of all organizations and agencies in the commonwealth.[2]

In addition to these, the clipping service of the State Department of Public Instruction was used to discover other organizations and agencies not included in the above list. Most Parent-Teacher Associations, for example, are federated with the county, district, and state units.

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2. These agencies were: The Pennsylvania Stage Grange, The Pennsylvania Congress of Parents and Teachers, State Department of Revenue, Pennsylvania Council of Churches, Pennsylvania Council of Christian Education, Pennsylvania Farm Women's Societies, Red Cross, Pennsylvania Institute of Local Government, Daughters of the American Revolution, Pennsylvania Men's Dry League, Pennsylvania Federation of Music Clubs, State Department of Forests and Waters, Pennsylvania State Planning Board, American Legion, Veterans of Foreign Wars, State Liquor Control Board, Pennsylvania Department of Vocational Agriculture, State 4-H Club Department, State Agricultural Extension Office, State Fire Marshall, State Department of Public Instruction, Pennsylvania Institute of Local Government, State Library and Museum, State Department of Health, State Department of Public Welfare, State Department of Agriculture, State Department of Welfare, Pennsylvania Medical Association, Pennsylvania Dental Association, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, Girl Reserves, State Y.M.C.A., State W.C.T.U., Kiwanis, Rotary, International Lions, Pennsylvania Chamber of Commerce, Masons, Eastern Star, Oddfellows, Rebekahs, Woodmen, P.O.S. of A, Pennsylvania Federation of Women's Clubs, and various State Offices of Federal Agencies.

However, there are many local units in the state that have no tie-up with, and pay no dues to, a federated body. The same situation obtains to a greater or less degree with others of the rural social agencies.

The data collected above were verified, and amplified by the author through visits to all 67 counties of the state. Such county key people as the agricultural agent, home economics worker, superintendent of schools, pomona grange master, and others were used to check the information already gathered.

Two questionnaires were prepared (Appendix II). Through the use of the first, information was secured on such rural organizations as Granges, P. T. A.'s, Farm Women's Societies, Senior Extension Clubs, and the like. The other questionnaire was made up specifically for use by the rural church. These questionnaires were administered primarily at meetings where representatives of the organizations included were in attendance. The procedure for this part of the study was largely, therefore, the group survey method. In addition, certain county and state leaders who were interested in the study agreed to have the questionnaires filled out by all of their organizations in certain counties. This they did.

Other sources of information include letters and personal interviews with state, county, and local leaders, previous unpublished surveys made for use in Rural Sociology Extension during the past three years, United States census volumes, agricultural extension reports, data gathered by the Department of Agricultural Economics for other purposes, special census data tabulated by the United States Department of Agriculture, The Pennsylvania Manual, and other compendiums of general and

specific information. These latter are indicated where used.

b) Classifying the data.

The data gathered were then classified under the following categories:

(1) Agencies of Communication and Transportation.

(2) Educational Agencies.

(3) Health Agencies.

(4) Welfare Agencies.

(5) Agencies of Local Government.

(6) Religious Agencies.

(7) Social and Recreational Agencies.

c) Analyzing the data.

The method of analyzing the data was largely statistical. Data on such items as number of persons per doctor, per grange, per hospital bed, etc., by counties, were recorded on large 80 column work sheets. Likewise, such background factors as standard of living, index of rurality, gross cash income per farm, were similarly recorded. There were some 130 bodies of data like the above, some of which involved the development of indexes, averages, and per cents. The counties were then ranked on each of these factors and coefficients of relationships worked out by the method of rank order correlation.

The next step was to plot the various agencies on maps to show the ecological distribution of these phenomena throughout the state. In connection with this work, spot, color, and cross hatch maps showing social, economic, educational, and population data by counties were

prepared. These maps were applied to all distributions of social agencies to bring out relationships and to aid in interpretation. In addition, type of farming maps, topographic maps, soil maps, forestry maps, natural resources maps, and land classification maps, were used as bases against which comparisons were made.

d) Presenting the data.

After the data were interpreted they were presented by the following means:

(1) Tables.

(2) Maps.

(3) Charts.

(4) Curves.

(5) Exposition.

6. Criticisms and Limitations of Method.

(1) Relative availability of medical, dental, and other such services between counties can be figured only on the basis of 1930 population data. No later data are available on either the rural-nonfarm or the urban classes. It is entirely possible that differential birth and death rates and migration have caused enough differences in the last 10 years to change the degree of correspondence between items markedly.

(2) The data on some social agencies are for the year 1939, others for 1936, 1937, and 1938. This prevents strict comparison.

(3) The analyses made here are based on the county as the unit. The validity of much of the data may, therefore, be questioned. In any heterogeneous area with great variation in industry, soil, topography, etc. one part of a county may have little in common with another part.

For example, the grape growers along Lake Erie in Erie County hardly know the general farmers a few miles south in the same county; the hill farmers of northern Lycoming County are but little like the dairy farmers in the Susquehanna Valley in the southern part; the fruit growers of northwest Adams County live a very different life from the farmers in the rest of the county; similarly, the fine wool sheep growers in western Washington County have little in common with the dairymen and truck farmers on the east side near Pittsburgh. Yet in using county data these diverse elements are lumped together. The averaging of "hill-billies" with "good" farmers to get "average" farmers can scarcely be called scientific. Yet no more refined data on a township basis are available.

(4) Such important factors as size of farm and farm income are not meaningful for a county except in homogeneous areas where the same agricultural enterprises are conducted. A $5,000 gross cash income from a fluid milk farm is a very different thing from a $5,000 gross income from sheep, vegetable crops, general farming, fruit, cash grain, mushrooms, etc. The cost of production and marketing varies between each of these types of farms. Moreover, the above costs vary from farm to farm within any given type of farming enterprise. Then, too, the effect of abnormal farms such as estates and lumber farms is to create misleading averages. By using the mean as the county average the income picture in certain counties is drawn way out of line by the extreme cases. Actually a high gross cash income on the estates of Bucks, Allegheny, Montgomery, Chester, Delaware, and Philadelphia Counties may mean and frequently does mean a

minus labor income or net income. Unfortunately no figures on net income are available.

(5) This study uses a standard of living index based upon six items from the United States Census. It is doubtful whether standard of living can be measured merely by combining a handful of physical factors such as radio, automobile, running water, telephone and electricity. For example, great numbers of our Pennsylvania German people do not consider these items as being especially important. Their values are different. On the other hand, their tables are well spread and they are generally considered to live comfortably and contentedly. Ultimately the standard of living of people will likely have to be measured in terms of subjective as well as objective factors which get at this basic question. How well are the needs of the members of the family being met and to what degree are their wishes being satisfied? To obtain this, attitude studies must be employed.

(6) The study uses for comparative purposes maps of "sociological regions," or "cultural areas." The fundamental assumption that indexes of physical factors can be used to measure culture is open to question. Many distinctive sociological factors, such as religion, nationality, and education are not included. Thus, such an industrial county as Beaver may come out with the same composite "cultural" score as Lancaster, but there are wide differences in the way the rural people in these two counties live. To state the kind and degree of these differences will require more intensive research.

(7) The questionnaire used in the study was given to representatives of only the major organizations. Had time and money permitted this should have been done for all organizations, however small.

(8) The method of sampling the organizations for study by use of the questionnaire can be criticized inasmuch as many of the schedules were filled out by leaders attending county-wide meetings. Doubtless some factors of selectivity operated here to render the sample less representative than it might have been, even though this sample was supplemented. Organizations represented by leaders not in attendance could well have been of a different character. However, the bases for adequately sampling the field have only been worked up in connection with the present study. Subsequent research sampling in the state should be facilitated now that "representative" counties for each of the agencies are known.

7. Definition of Terms.

Rather than developing a glossary of terms the writer has found it more helpful to define frequently misconceived terms in the places where they are used. In the main, commonly accepted definitions are used. For controversial terms the definitions on which there appears to be most concensus are employed.

Chapter II

DESCRIPTION OF AREA

The ecology of social agencies is bound up with physical, biological, and economic factors. These influences have their conditioning effects. It is proper, therefore, for us to consider the geography, industry, and agriculture of the state.

1. Geography.

Pennsylvania comprises an area of 44,832 square miles, thirty-second in size among the states. Its greatest length from east to west is 302 miles; its greatest breadth, 175 miles. About 50 per cent of this area is in forests and recreational lands, 42 per cent is in farms, while 8 per cent is used by urban and industrial developments.

The surface is primarily rugged and mountainous in the interior, fairly level in the southeast, undulating in the northwest and throughout the northern tier of counties. The Appalachian range crosses the state from northeast to southwest. The relief map (Figure 1)[1] brings these features into focus. The elevation varies from sea level in the southeast to heights of more than 3000 feet in the central part.

Here crop land is limited to the valleys as opposed to the fairly level area in southeastern Pennsylvania. The Allegheny Plateau lies to the north and west of the Allegheny Mountains. The southern part of the Plateau is much less rugged than the northern one-third which is largely non-agricultural and which contains in Forest, Elk, Cameron, Clinton, Potter, McKean and several other northwest central counties vast expanses of forest land, much of it belonging to the State and the United States

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1. Rauchenstein, Emil and Weaver, F. P. Types of Farming in Pennsylvania. Bull. 305. Pennsylvania State College, p. 4.

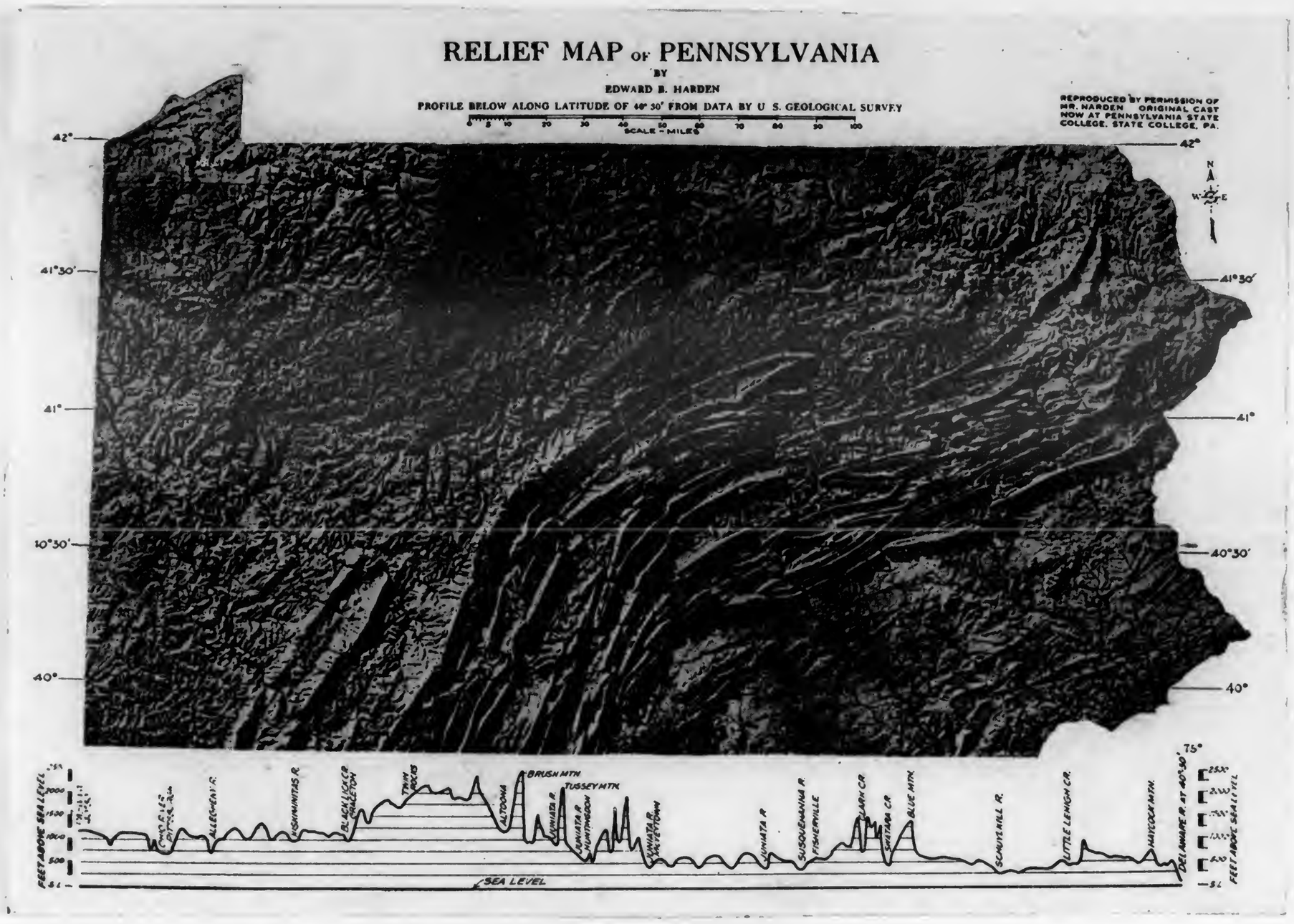

Figure 1. Relief Map of Pennsylvania.

governments. Four principal rivers and their tributaries drain a great part of the state: the Susquehanna, Delaware, Allegheny, and Monongahela.

The weather bureau at Pittsburgh records an average monthly mean temperature of 52.8 degrees F. Total annual precipitation averages 36.17 inches. The growing season ranges from 70 to 206 days.

Pennsylvania contains 67 counties. These political units, however, have in many cases a minimum of significance since natural geography has divided the state into a number of sections that have little correspondence with man-made lines. This is also true of the other political subdivisions of the state which include one first-class city (Philadelphia), two

second-class cities (Pittsburgh and Scranton), 44 third-class cities, 939 boroughs, 61 first-class townships, and 1516 second-class townships.

2. Industry.

Pennsylvania is an outstanding industrial state. It ranks second in the nation in wealth and in manufacturing, producing one-tenth of the country's manufactured goods. Her natural resources, type and density of population, her transportation system including waterways as well as railways, and her convenience to a consumer market have all aided in this development. In 1937 the grand total of all mined and manufactured products was nearly seven billion dollars greater than the combined imports and exports of the United States.

In 1937, there were manufacturing establishments employing more than a million and a quarter workers. These establishments included 226 different classes of manufacturing industries. Today, one-fifth of the world's electrical machinery, one-sixth of the world's steel and one-sixth of the fine sugar is produced within the state. The value of manufactured products in 1937 was 6½ billion dollars. Chief among the manufactures are steel, iron, machinery, paper, chemicals, and clay products.[2]

Pennsylvania is by far the largest producer of minerals in the United States, and the only state whose production in a single year has exceeded a billion dollars in value.

Ten billion tons of coal have been mined in Pennsylvania and it is estimated that over 50 billion tons remain. The state is especially noted for its 149 anthracite coal mines in an area covering nearly 500 square

2. Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, N. W. Ayer and Son, Philadelphia, 1939. pp 772-773

miles in the east central part of the state. More than nine-tenths of the anthracite coal in the United States comes from five counties in this area. The southwestern corner of Pennsylvania is spotted generously with bituminous coal deposits. About 525 mines operated in 1937. In all over 200,000 men are employed in both coal areas.[3]

Half a dozen northwestern counties produce practically all of Pennsylvania's oil which amounts to about ten million gallons a year.[4]

Natural gas fields are found in the western third of the state running the full breadth of the commonwealth from the southwest corner to McKean County in the northern tier. All of these natural resources furnish a source of income and a stable supply of convenient and inexpensive domestic fuel.

Pennsylvania leads all other states in the quantity of stone produced, which includes great tonnages of crushed limestone, trap, granite, and sandstone. More slate is produced in Pennsylvania than in any other state. This industry valued at three billion dollars is centered in Northhampton and Lehigh counties in the east. In all there are 585 quarry products establishments employing 12 thousand persons.

Pennsylvania was once a great lumbering state but it has fallen from first place in 1860 to twenty-second in 1929. Much of the 14 million acres of forest land is now covered with small trees and brush, the result of indiscriminate cutting and burning. It should be pointed out here, because of its effect on social organization, that vast stretches of forested land cover whole sections of counties. Indeed, in certain

3. "Pennsylvania - An Inventory," Department of Public Instruction, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, 1938. p 61
4. Ibid., p. 65.

instances a few counties are almost completely dominated by forests with its attendant sparse population. Such counties as Forest, Elk, Cameron, McKean, Clearfield and Clinton in the northwest central part of the state and Pike, Monroe, Carbon, and Schuykill in the east central part are cases in point.

Philadelphia is the principal port and general manufacturing center. Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, and Reading are the prime centers of iron manufacture. Scranton is the great hard coal center. Chester leans largely to ship building. All of these cities naturally are important commercial centers.

Both the direct and indirect effect of this high industrialization will be brought out later.

3. Agriculture.

A reconnaissance survey of the distribution of social agencies in Pennsylvania suggests that many problems in rural organization are closely bound up with economic considerations — especially with agriculture. To restrict the discussion of rural organization entirely to its sociological phases would fail to bring out important considerations. Of all branches of "pure" research in rural sociology the ecological can profit most from a thorough analysis of the distributive aspects of such economic phenomena as soil types, farm income, land value, type of farming, and so on. Consequently a special effort has been made to round out the data of this section on agriculture.

Although the thirty-second state in size, cut up badly by mountain ranges, and usually thought of as an industrial state, Pennsylvania ranks

eleventh among the states in farm income. Chief reasons for this are its size and its proximity to markets in the heavily populated northeastern United States. It has been well said that within the commonwealth one finds the best local farm markets in the country.

The outstanding farm areas are shown in Figure 2 which reveals the proportion of the total area in each county used for agriculture. Three major areas predominate: the southeast, with three fourths of the land in farms; the western tier; and the northeast dairy section. The relatively mountainous and infertile areas of the upper Allegheny Plateau and the hard coal and resort section of eastern Pennsylvania have less than a third of the land in farms. The range is from 91.8% of farm land in Greene County to less than 8% in Cameron County. The state average was 55% where agriculture is important, there we should expect to find increased numbers of farm people and greater numbers of farm organizations.

Closely associated with rural welfare is type and fertility of soil. Reconnaissance soil surveys of the state reveal considerable variability (Figure 3).[5] The Dekalb series which predominates in the mountains and plateau section of central and west central Pennsylvania is generally unsuited to high productivity because of its coarse texture. The Volusia soils of northeastern and northwestern Pennsylvania are commonly poorly drained and are therefore best suited to grazing, oats, and hay. The West Moreland soils in the southwest are fairly productive. But the bulk of the high producing soils are to be found in the Hagerstown, Chester, and other series of the southeastern Piedmont, locally advertised as "the

5. Rauchenstein and Weaver, op. cit.,p. 7.

COLOR PLATE

Figure 2. Per Cent Total Area in Farms — in Pennsylvania by Counties, 1935.

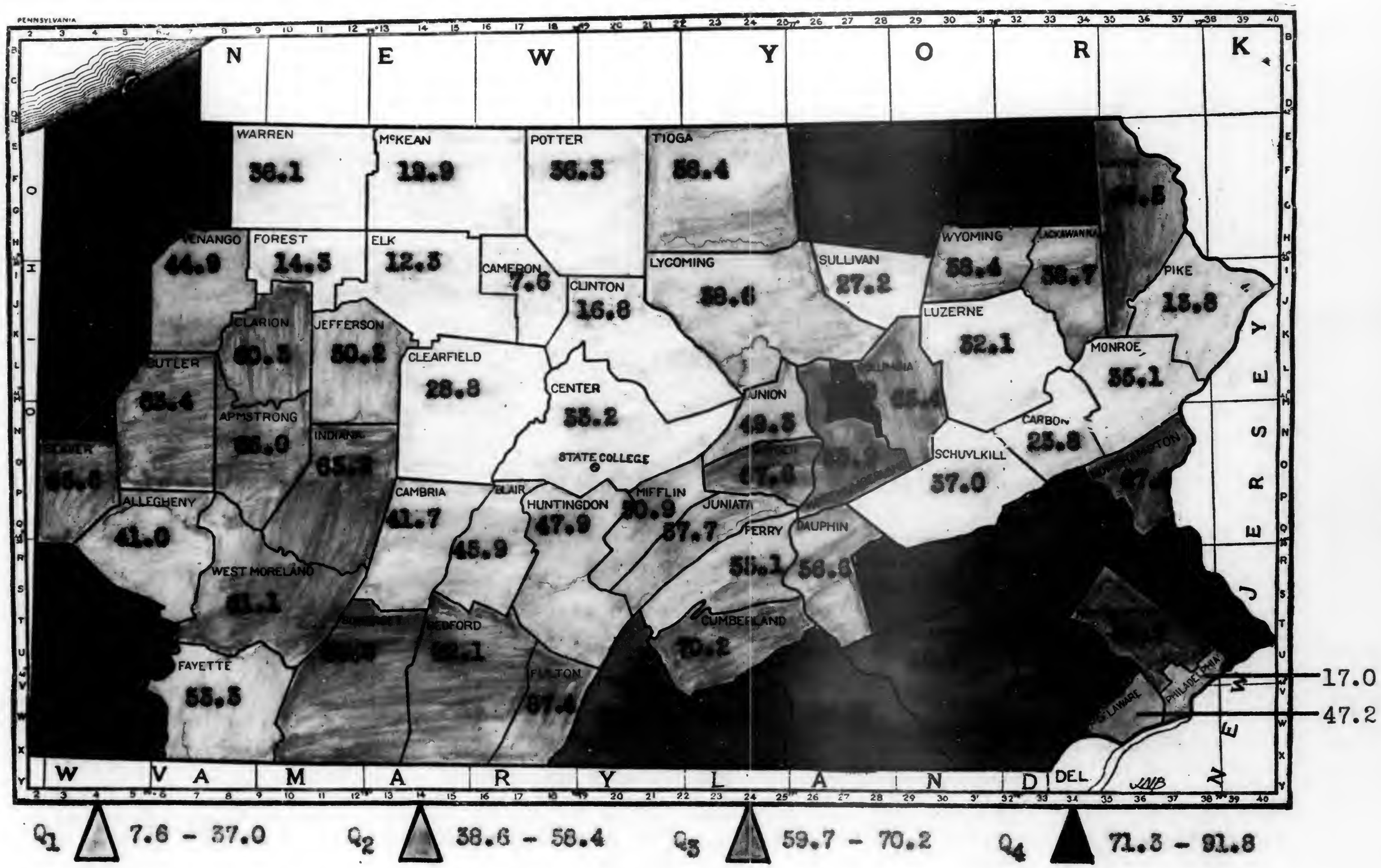

Figure 2. Per Cent Total Area in Farms — in Pennsylvania by Counties, 1935.

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INTERNATIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

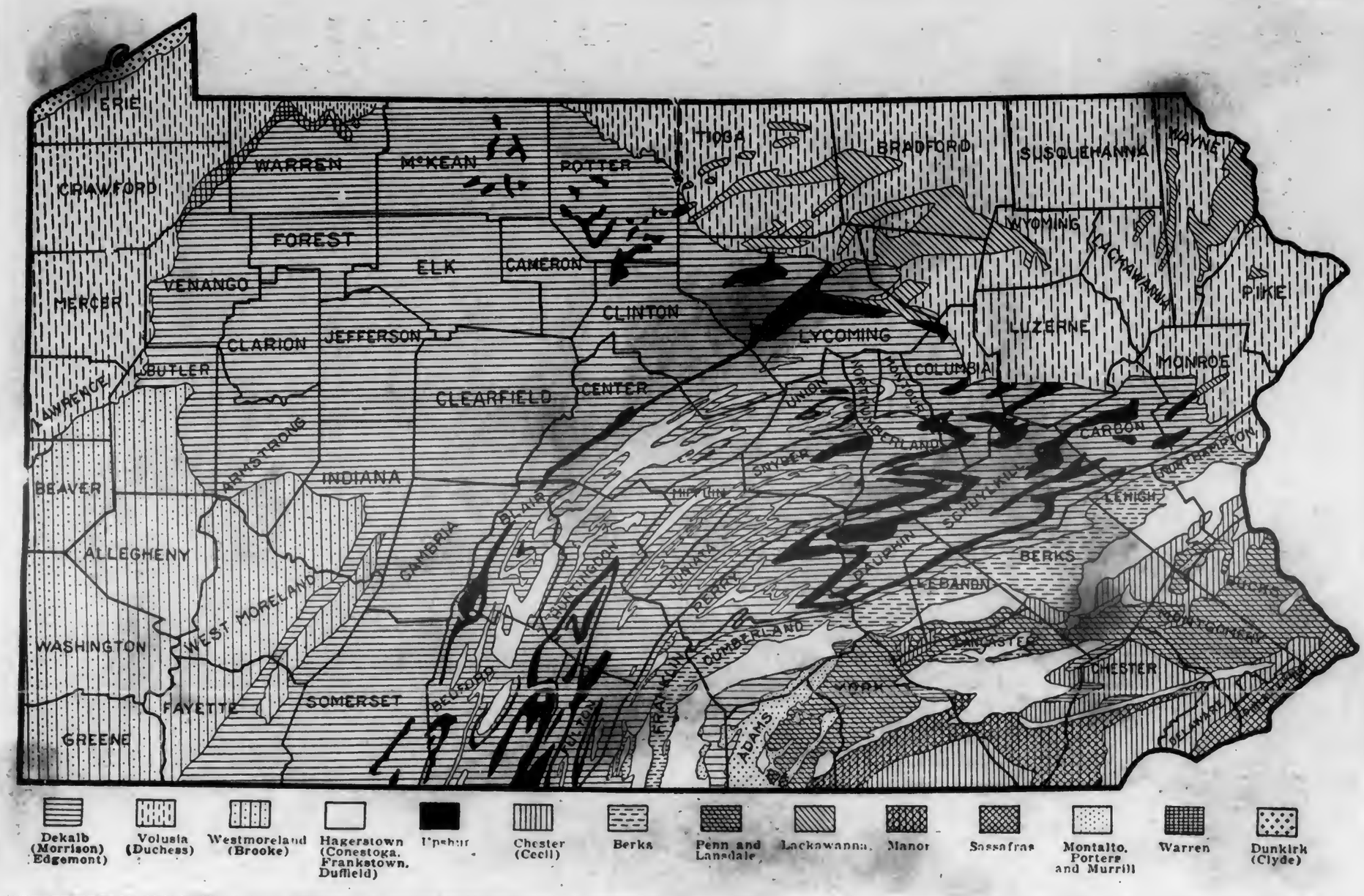

Figure 3. Soil Map of Pennsylvania, Compiled from the Reconnaissance Soil Surveys of Pennsylvania.

garden spot of the world."

The factors of climate and markets combine with the factor of soil to produce definite patterns of agricultural production in the state. A glance at Figure 4 reveals the multiplicity and diversity of these types of farming areas.[6] As we shall see later the type of farming has an intimate relation to the social life and organization of the rural community.

6. Ibid., p. 50.

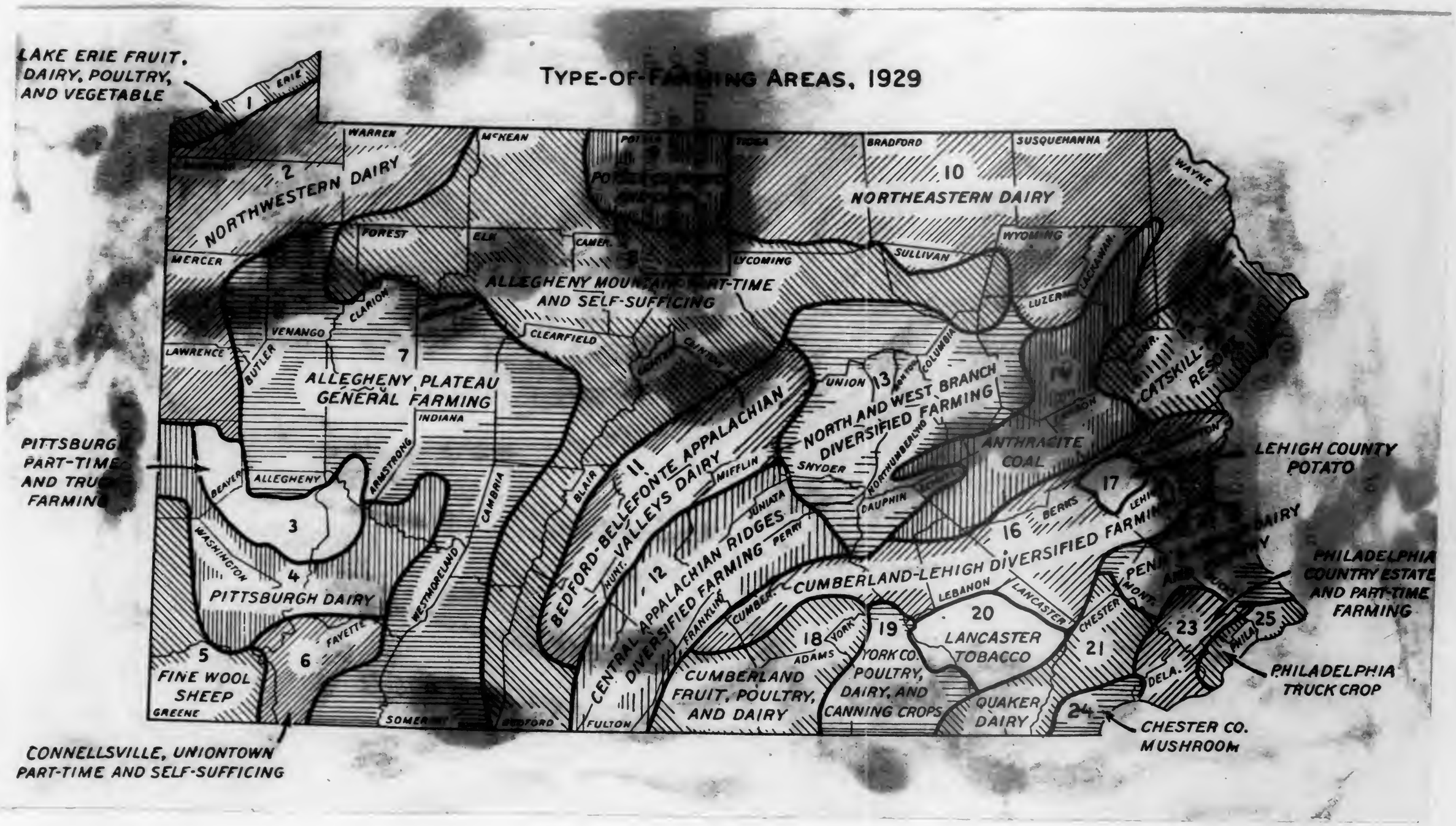

Figure 4. Type of Farming Areas, 1929 (Topography, soils, climate, and marketing opportunities divide Pennsylvania into 25 more or less distinct "type of farming" areas.)

According to the 1935 census there were 191,284 farms in Pennsylvania, embracing more than 15 million acres of land valued at 1½ billion dollars. The average size was 83 acres; the average value per farm was $4,500.

Figure 5 shows the relative per acre value of farms throughout the commonwealth. The average for the state was $54. The range was from $15 per acre in Cameron County to $1412 in Philadelphia County. Outstanding in this map is the fact that the entire southeast falls in the highest quarter with a few other scattered industrio-agricultural counties coming in this class also. The block of five counties forming the southeast tip of the state get their high value, not so much from their ability to produce agricultural products but from their real estate value. Likewise, Luzerne and Lackawanna county lands are valued highly because of hard coal, and the western counties in the fourth quarter are so classed because of industry, mining, oil, and gas. Again it is the area in the Allegheny Mountains and Plateau where the value of land per acre is low. Even the dairy counties in the northern tier fall in the lowest fourth. An inspection of the data on per capita land value reveals an almost complete correspondence with the above figure.

Nineteen per cent of the farms are under 20 acres and are operated primarily by part-time farmers.[7] Altogether over one-third of the farms in the state had part-time operators. These part-time farmers are of special significance to the present study since the nonfarm employment of such so-called farmers affects both his mobility and his interest in local affairs. Figure 6 gives an accurate picture of the distribution of

7. United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.

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Figure 5. Farm Value (Dollars) Per Acre in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

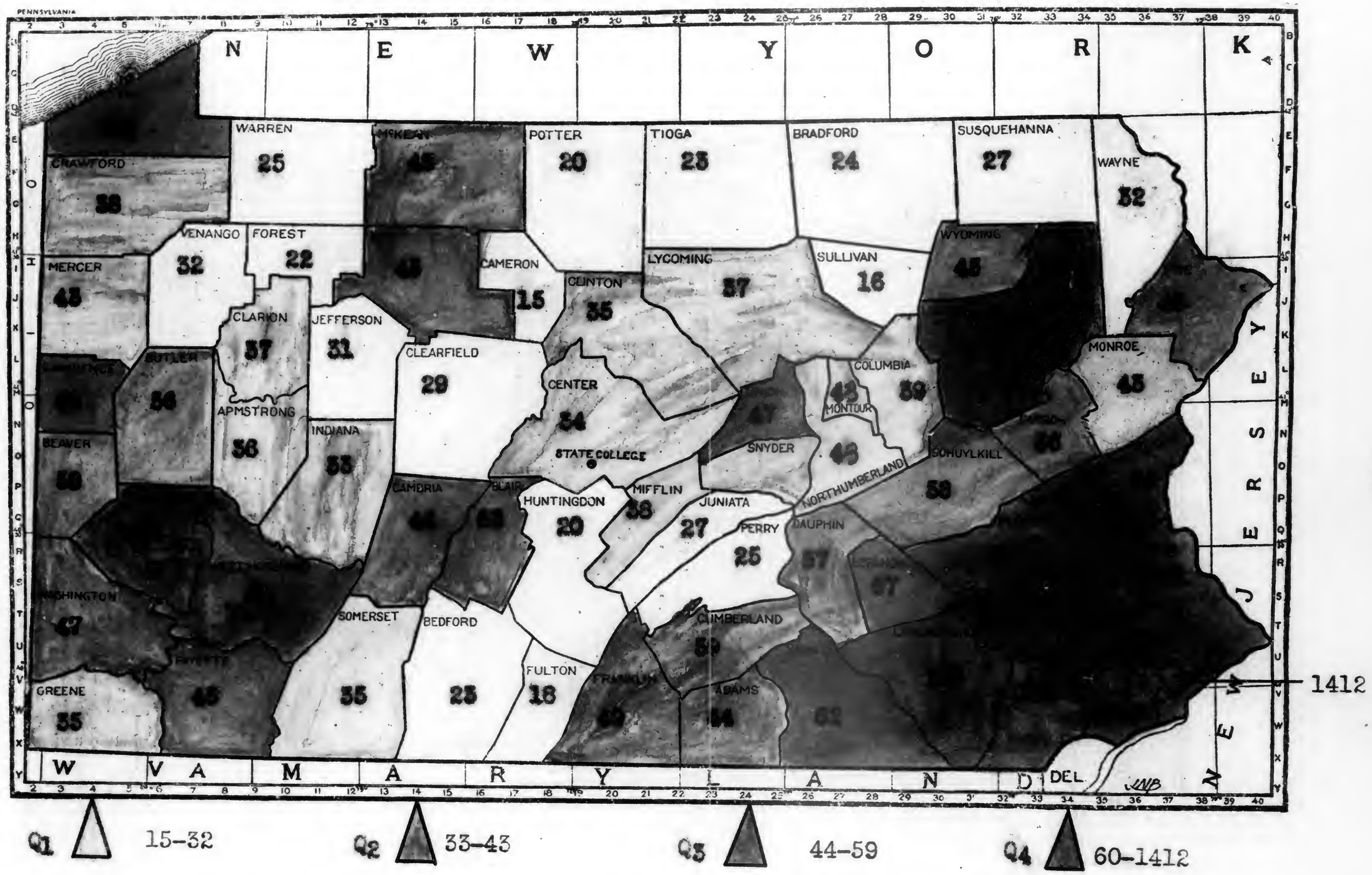

Figure 5. Farm Value (Dollars) Per Acre in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.

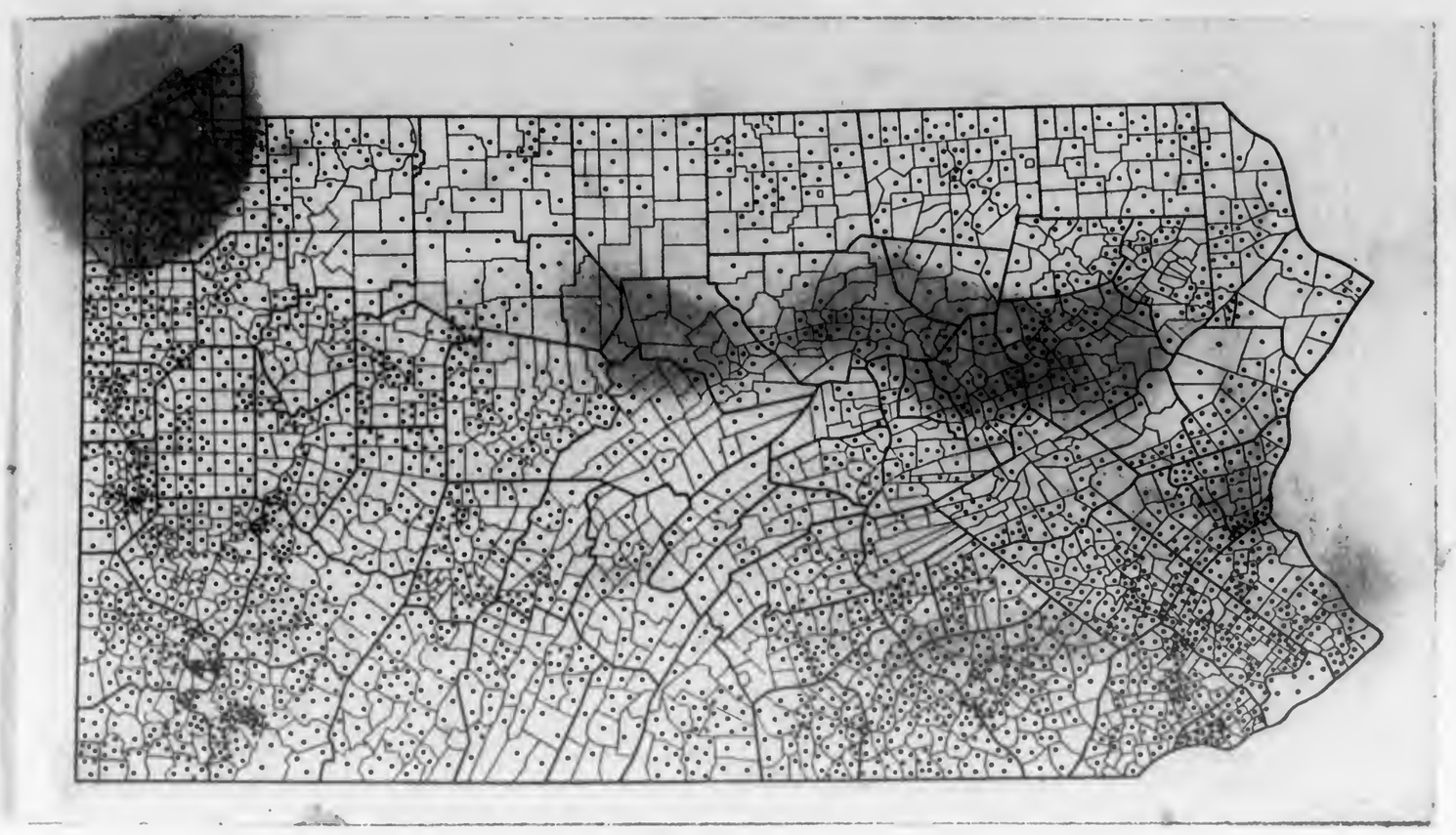

Figure 6. The Location of Abnormal Farms in Pennsylvania, 1950.

part-time farms over the state.[8] Each dot represents ten farms. Four fifths of these are straight part time[9] farms while the other one fifth is comprised of atypical part-time farms such as forest product areas, boarding, lodging, estates, feedlots, and other tracts not strictly agricultural. It should be noted that Chester, Montgomery, Bucks, Delaware, and Allegheny Counties contain many estates, while the anthracite counties of Schuylkill, Luzerne, and Lackawanna, the soft coal counties of

8. Rauchenstein and Weaver, op. cit., p. 41.
9. By part-time farm is meant: those places where the operator spent 150 days or more off the farm, in other than farm work or reported an occupation other than farmer, provided the value of farm products did not exceed $750.

Cambria, Somerset, and Clearfield, and the industrial parts of the state have an undue proportion of part-time farms.

Figure 7 gives the geographical distribution of part-time farming. In the main it has a high inverse correlation with the map showing the per cent of agricultural workers who are farm wage workers in Chapter IV. Thus we see that the southeast has relatively few farm operators who work off the farm for pay. In Philadelphia County, for example, but 6.6 per cent of the farmers gained additional income in this way. On the other hand, practically the entire Allegheny Mountain and Plateau section was to be found in the upper two quarters; and 17 contiguous counties in this area were found in the upper fourth alone. The other county in this quarter was also in the same area but not contiguous. Forest County with 77.3 per cent of its farm operators working off the farm leads this region and the state in intensity of part-time farming. The average for the state was 37.4%. Here is proof that farming and industry are intimately related in more ways than thru the interchange of products. Secondly it is proof that income from the farm alone cannot serve as an adequate measure of economic welfare; for more than a third of Pennsylvania farmers gain part of their livelihood from other sources.

This has its implications not only in terms of the support of rural organizations but also in terms of the latitude of interests which the Grange and other farm organizations must embrace if they are to appeal most successfully to their rural clientele.

Farm income alone is not sufficient in many areas to maintain a satisfactory plane of living. Accordingly, 71,445 farm operators in 1934

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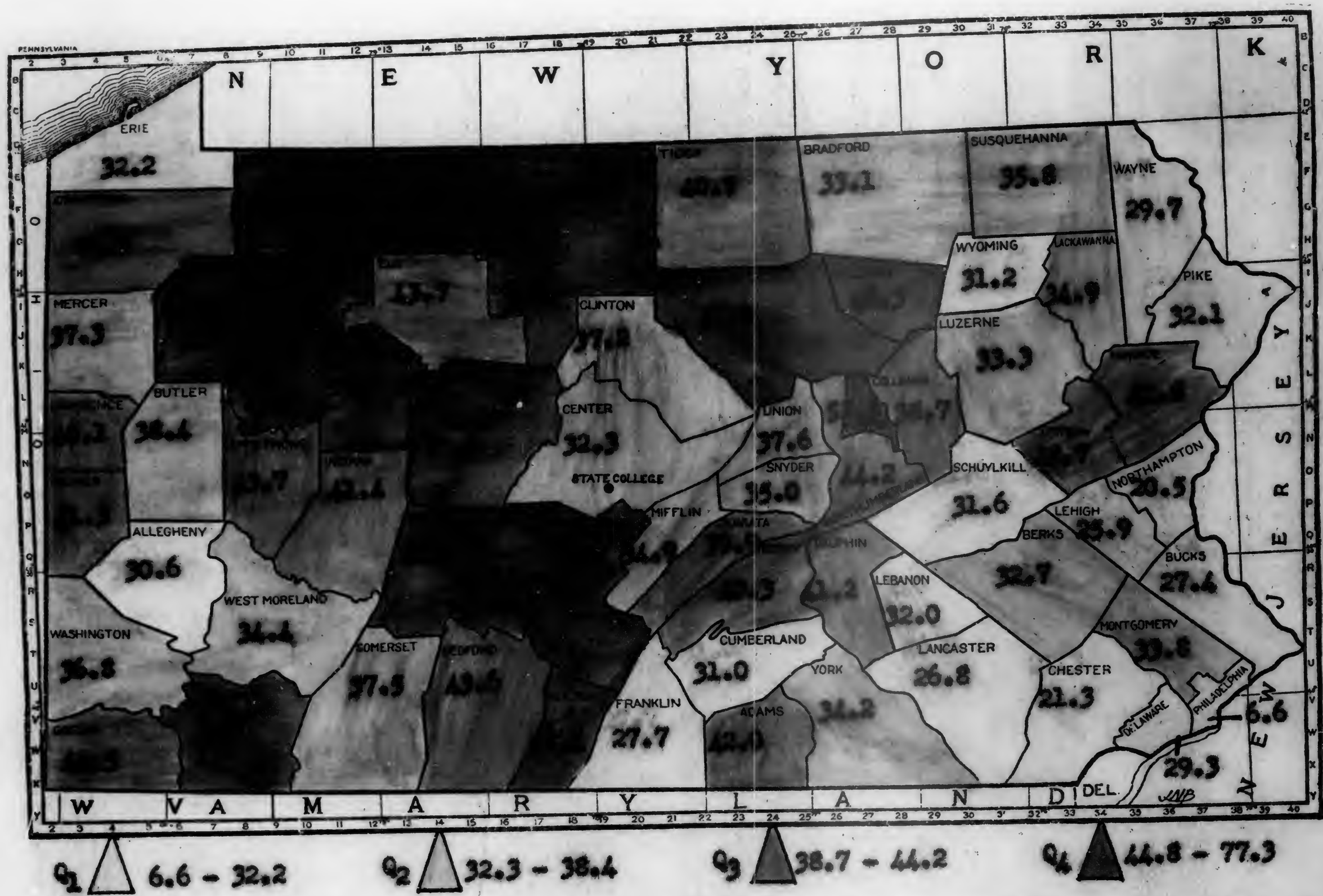

Figure 7. Per Cent of Farm Operators Working Off Farm for Pay in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1934

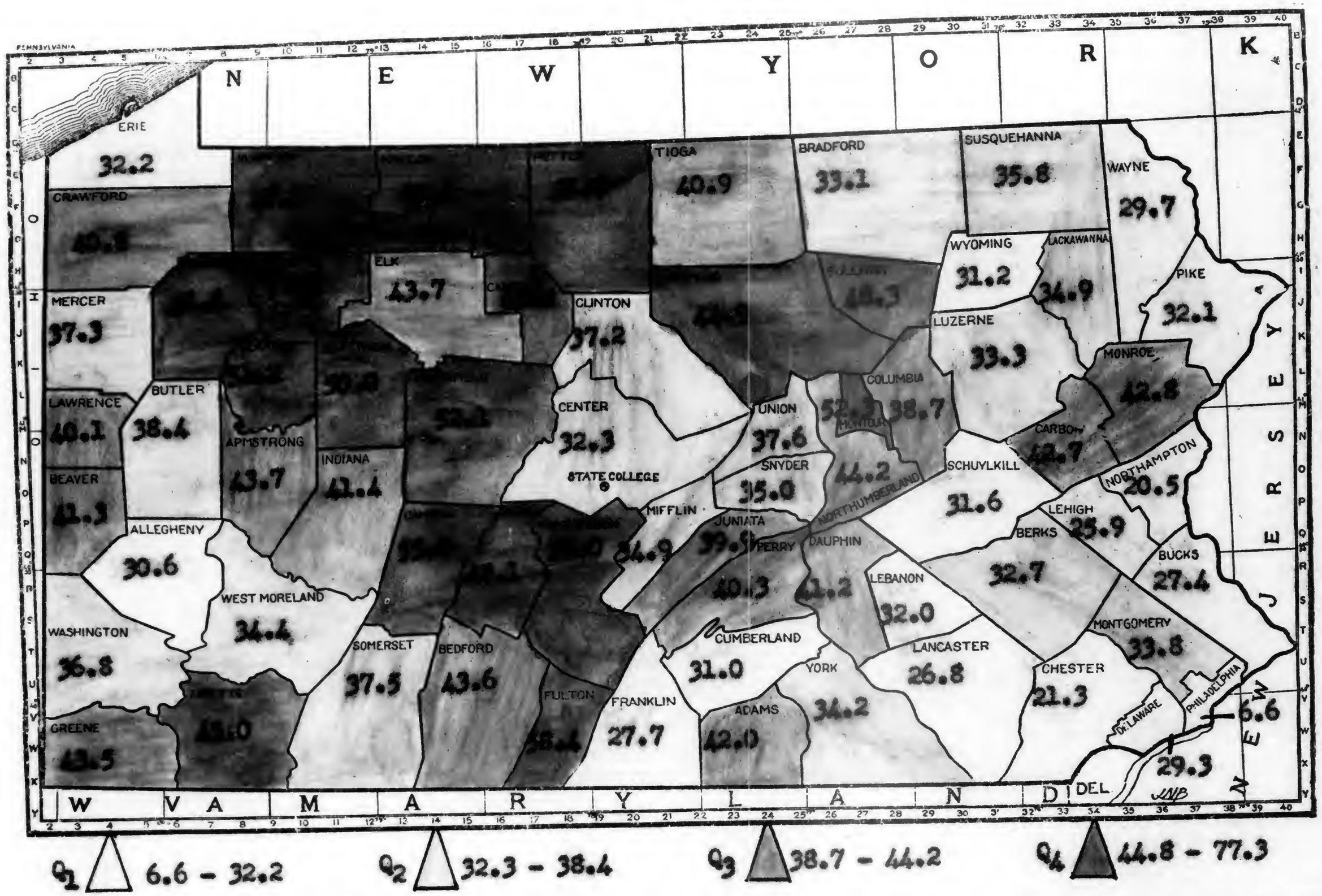

Figure 7. Per Cent of Farm Operators Working Off Farm for Pay in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1954

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SECOND EXPOSURE

added to their income by working off the farm. This amounted to over a third (37.4%) of all farm operators. Table 1 further indicates that 3 out of 5 of these part-time farmers worked off the farm over 50 days out of the year. In all they worked 7,620,559 days off the farms they

Table 1. Number and Per Cent of Farm Operators in Pennsylvania Working Off Farm for Pay in 1934, Classified by Length of Work Period.[10]

Number of Days	Number of Operators	Per Cent of Operators
Total	71,445	100.0
1 to 24 days	15,954	22.3
25 to 49 days	10,966	15.4
50 to 149 days	21,345	29.9
150 to 249 days	13,386	18.7
250 days and over	9,794	13.7

were operating or an average period of 106.7 days each in 1934. Over 95 per cent of those reporting were employed in non-agricultural pursuits such as mining, factory work, and merchandising.

Tenant operators tended to accept part-time employment only slightly more often than owners, 41.2 per cent as compared to 36.6 per cent. The highest group was the part-owner class with 42.2 per cent being employed off the farms they operate. Nor did tenants tend to work off the farm for a longer period than the owners.[11] As a matter of fact there was some tendency for owners to have off-farm employment for longer periods than the tenants.

Pennsylvania is one of the leading livestock states east of the Mississippi River. Livestock in 1930 was valued at nearly 200 million dollars. It ranks first in the country in cash income from poultry

10. Source - United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.
11. Ibidem.

products; third in cash income from milk; and tenth in cash income from livestock products. Forty-seven per cent of the total farm cash income in the state is from dairying while 16 per cent is derived from poultry.

The chief crops of the state include: potatoes, truck crops, wheat, hay, fruit, tobacco and buckwheat. Each of these is valued at over a million dollars annually. Twenty-one and five-tenths per cent of the total cash income is from crops and fruit. In 1938 the total cash income from farms was $244,311,000.[12] In addition over three million dollars were paid in AAA benefit payments.

Pennsylvania exceeds all but three other states in the percentage of farms operated by their owners. The per cent of owner-operated farms is 76.3 per cent, as compared with 47.1 per cent for the United States.[13]

Moreover, tenancy in Pennsylvania is declining. The number of tenants dropped from 44,000 in 1920 to 27,000 in 1930. In other words, the per cents of tenancy for these years were 21.9 and 15.9.

The term of tenure is also relatively high. Seventy-three per cent of the farmers in the state have operated the same farm over five years, 54.9 per cent over ten years, and 38.5 per cent for a term of fifteen years or longer.[14]

Figure 8 shows the variation in tenancy throughout the state. Central Pennsylvania, generally speaking, has the highest rate of any large section. The suburban area around Philadelphia is high because the farms

12. United States Reporting Service, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.
13. United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.
14. Ibidem.

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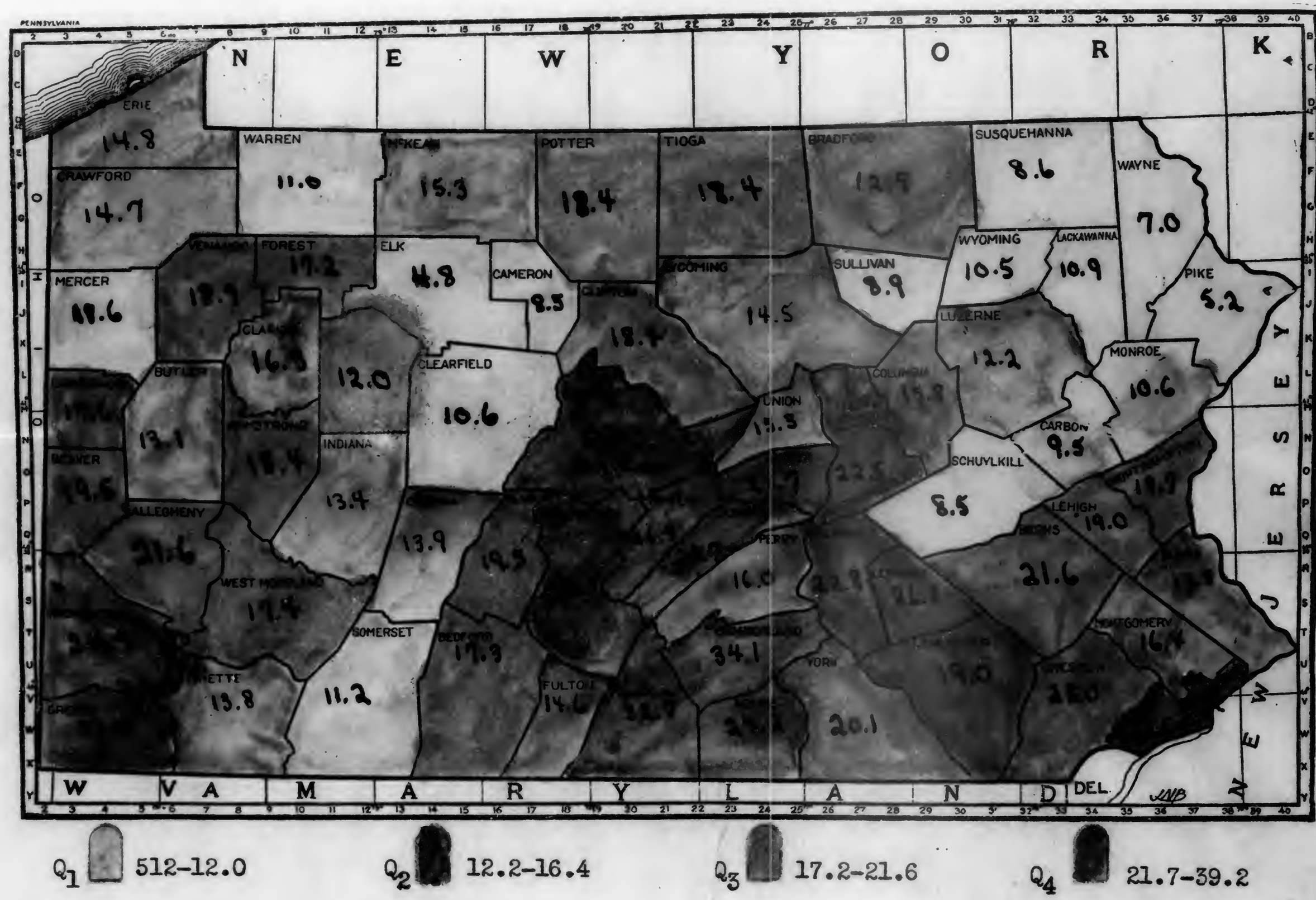

Q_1 512-12.0 Q_2 12.2-16.4 Q_3 17.2-21.6 Q_4 21.7-39.2

Figure 8. Per Cent of Farms Operated By Tenants in Pennsylvania, By Counties, 1935

COLOR PLATE

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

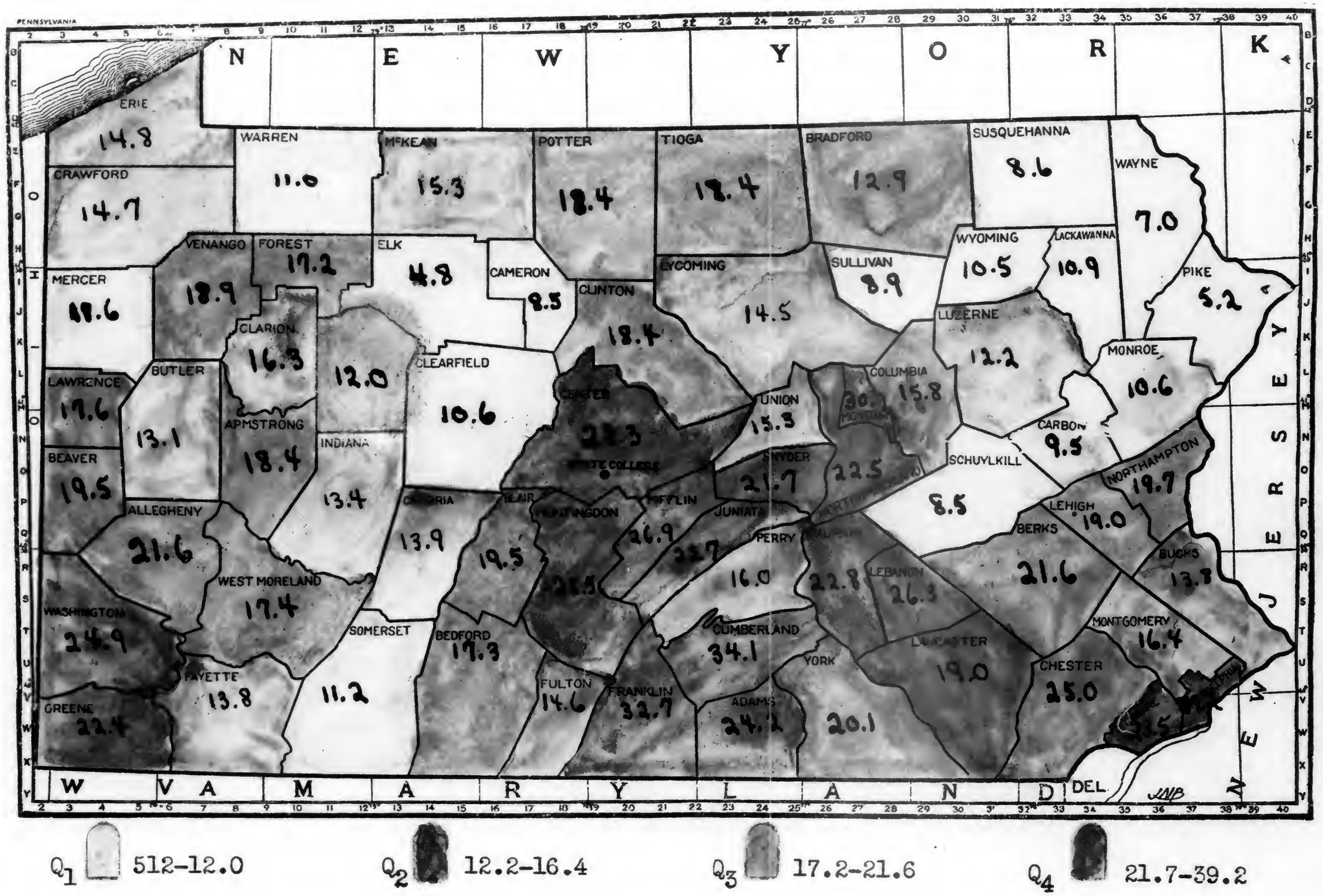

Figure 8. Per Cent of Farms Operated By Tenants in Pennsylvania, By Counties, 1935

there are commonly owned by urban interests which are holding the land largely to achieve appreciation in real estate value. Then, too, much of this land is in estates operated by a manager and laborers. Thus we find that Philadelphia County has the highest per cent of tenancy in the commonwealth, 39.2. The two southwestern sheep raising counties are also high. At the other extreme we find two major areas with very low rates of tenancy — the upper Allegheny Plateau and the northeast dairy region. In the latter area, the entire block of nine counties, have less than 10 per cent tenancy. And so we see that on the whole tenancy, as such, is not a serious handicap to social participation and community development.

Another important factor in ownership of the land is the relation between the operator's equity and the value of the land. In 1880 the proportion of the value of farm real estate remaining after the value of farms operated by tenants and the mortgage debt on farms operated by owners had been subtracted from the value of all farms was over 62 per cent in the United States. Today it is but 39 per cent. But in Pennsylvania the situation is considerably better, for there the equity of the operators was 57.4 per cent in 1935. In other words, 42.6 per cent of the value of farm real estate did not belong to the farm operator at that time.[15]

As compared with the United States, as a whole, the farmers in Pennsylvania are relatively well off. This condition may be attributed to the relatively high cash income evenly distributed throughout the year, to the frugality of its people as exemplified in the live-at-home

15. Source: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture.

policy adopted by many of its farm families, to the relative security of tenure, to farm and home conveniences, and to farm management practices of diversification of crops and livestock.

Chapter III

POPULATION

Since this is a study of the institutions, organizations, and agencies of the people of Pennsylvania, it is necessary to study the State's population, for population characteristics and changes have important relationships to the social organization of any area.

Let us look briefly at some of the historical factors that have influenced population change. Eight major epochs in population movement have taken place. Each has taken place for different reasons and not as isolated events. They are intimately bound up with the quest for new sources of wealth. They have their groundings not only in Pennsylvania but in the nation and the world as a whole. First, was the movement for farm land in which the fertile southeast and the more productive valleys were taken up. Second, was the rise of commerce and the transformation of raw agricultural commodities into products ready for use. This led to the initial growth of Pennsylvania cities. Third, was the development of the anthracite coal fields leading to a heavy concentration of population in the mountainous east central area. Fourth, came the discovery of oil and the rapid flow of people to the northwestern part of the state. Fifth, was the increased demand for lumber and the accompanying rise of settlements of people in the forests of northern Pennsylvania, especially in the Allegheny Plateau. Sixth, the mining of bituminous coal and the growth of population began in the southwest. Concomitant with this was, seventh, the development of the steel industry, especially in Allegheny and contiguous counties. Eighth, the decentralization of cities, in which people, during the last three decades, have left the congestion of metropolitan centers and have sought

residences in suburban satellites. This story is told visually in Figure 16.

Each of the above epochs carried with it minor developments such as the rise of truck farming in the coal areas to supply the population concentrated there. Each of these movements has occurred in definite ecological areas and have many ecological implications.

1. Numbers.

The population of Pennsylvania, nearing the 10 million mark in 1930[1] was exceeded by only one other state, New York. Within the commonwealth lived almost a twelfth of the nation's people. The estimated population for Pennsylvania in 1935 was 10,066,000.[2]

Pennsylvania's population is primarily non-agricultural, since two-thirds of the total population lives in cities. Of the 32.2 per cent rural population, three-fourths are rural-nonfarm residents. Only one other state has more rural population than Pennsylvania, namely Texas. No other state had as large a rural-nonfarm population; while 17 states had a higher farm population than Pennsylvania.

The United States Census defines the above terms as follows:

a. Rural — open country population plus persons in towns and villages under 2500 population.

b. Rural-farm — that population living on tracts of land containing three or more acres or, if containing less than three acres, producing annually at least $250 worth of agricultural products. Is the same as "farm".

c. Rural-nonfarm — those inhabitants of villages under 2500 population plus open country residents living on tracts of land smaller than three acres

1. Fifteenth Census of the U.S., Population, Volume III. 1930.
2. U. S. Population Estimates, National Resources Committee, 1935.

and producing less than $250 of agricultural produce a year.

d. Urban — those incorporated places having a population in excess of 2500.

In a very real sense the distinction between rural and urban is of limited value as a basis for comparing segments of the population. There is too much overlapping and interrelatedness. On the one hand the state abounds with small rural mining towns that may range in size from 250 to 2500. For all practical purposes these villages have little in common with whatever agriculture the surrounding farm lands afford. These urbane small villages might well be thought of as "little cities". On the other hand, certain towns over the rural limit of 2500 persons and which are classed as urban are very closely related to the surrounding farms which they serve and are in all respects but one-size-rural. These urban centers are in every sense of the word large "agricultural villages". At best the definition of "rural" is arbitrary and frequently misleading.

Another aspect, and one quite as important, of the question of the fruitlessness of distinguishing between rural and urban is the fact of their interdependence one upon the other. Each is a part of a whole scheme of interrelationships — division of labor, exchange of services, and trading of products. It is this interdependence of the various units of organization in an area that gives rise to the use of the term ecological. In general, their rural life (or farm or urban life) must be conceived of as fitting into the whole pattern of society.

Figure 9 shows the distribution of villages, towns, and cities in Pennsylvania. Three major areas of urban concentration predominate

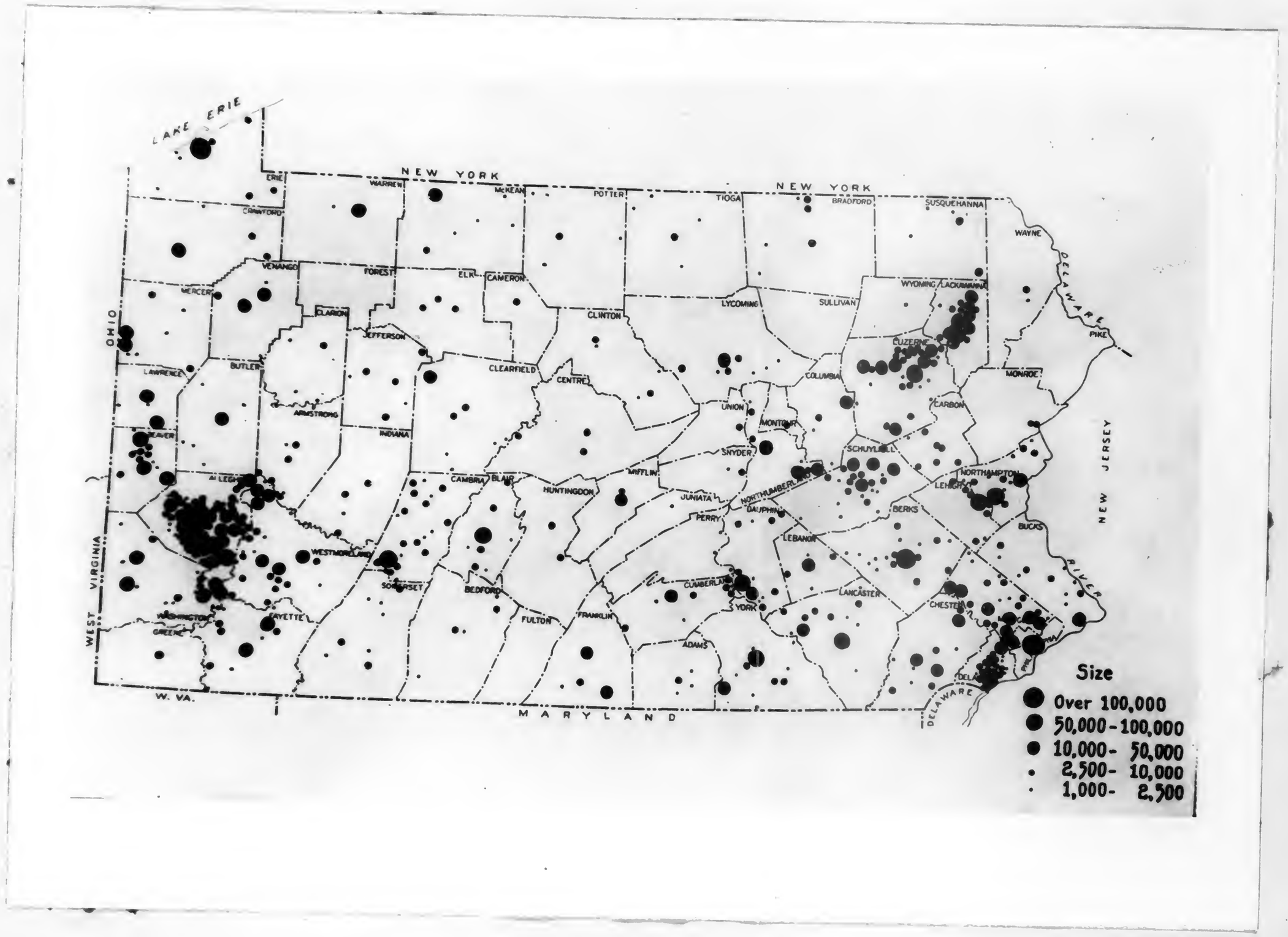

Figure 9. Location of Cities, Towns, and Larger Villages in Pennsylvania, 1959.

(1) the Philadelphia district, (2) the Scranton-Wilkes-Barre axis in the hard coal area, and (3) the Pittsburgh steel district. In addition, six other secondary urban areas are apparent, (1) the Allentown-Bethlehem-Easton industrial valley, (2) the lower anthracite region, (3) the Reading textile mills section, (4) the lower Dauphin County manufacturies, (5) the coal and steel axis of Altoona and Johnstown, and (6) the Erie city area. These urbanized industrial areas, well dispersed as they are over the state, while presenting a good outlet for fluid milk and other farm products present also some practical difficulties for the development and maintenance of an effective social organization.

In 1935 there were almost a million farm persons in the state. Lancaster, York, Chester, and Berks Counties, all in the southeast, had farm populations numbering over 30,000 each (Table 2). In addition, 13 other counties had farm populations exceeding 20,000 persons. On the other hand, Cameron, Forest, Pike, and Philadelphia Counties had less than 2,500 farm persons and 18 others had farm populations under 10,000. Other things being equal, more farm organizations would be expected to exist in the more heavily populated farm areas, while relatively fewer organizations should exist in the last mentioned counties.

Marked differences also existed between counties in the percentage of the total population which was farm. Eleven counties had two-fifths or more of its population residing on farms, while 19 counties had 10 per cent or less of their populations with farm residences. The average for the state as a whole is 8.8 per cent.

Rural-nonfarm population does not have the same meaning in Pennsylvania as it does in most of the rest of the country. In non-industrial regions,

Table 2. The Number and Per Cent of Total Rural and Rural-Farm Population of Pennsylvania, By Counties, 1930[3]

Counties	Number			Per cent of total	
	Total	Rural	Rural-Farm	Rural	Rural-Farm
Adams	37,128	31,544	17,502	85	40
Allegheny	1,374,410	211,931	21,158	15	1
Armstrong	79,298	54,696	17,155	69	17
Beaver	149,062	46,001	11,617	31	7
Bedford	37,209	34,356	16,722	92	41
Berks	231,717	91,146	31,962	39	12
Blair	139,840	37,491	10,524	27	6
Bradford	49,039	32,661	21,353	67	33
Bucks	98,727	68,657	25,219	69	24
Butler	80,480	56,912	20,280	71	25
Cambria	203,146	92,647	17,002	46	8
Cameron	5,307	2,378	967	45	16
Carbon	63,380	24,537	5,182	39	7
Centre	46,294	33,440	11,832	72	21
Chester	126,629	74,485	30,904	59	21
Clarion	34,531	31,330	13,116	91	30
Clearfield	86,727	62,771	17,387	72	17
Clinton	32,319	18,704	5,196	58	14
Columbia	48,905	27,050	11,494	55	23
Crawford	62,980	38,227	25,642	61	37
Cumberland	68,236	34,314	14,691	51	20
Dauphin	165,231	50,013	13,913	30	7
Delaware	280,284	75,851	6,131	27	2
Elk	33,431	14,948	4,561	45	11
Erie	175,277	41,846	23,958	24	12
Fayette	199,542	151,156	23,046	76	8
Forest	5,180	5,180	2,115	100	27
Franklin	65,010	38,087	20,376	59	28
Fulton	9,231	9,231	6,369	100	68
Greene	41,767	36,852	15,907	88	31
Huntingdon	39,021	26,371	10,586	68	24
Indiana	75,395	57,858	19,850	77	21
Jefferson	52,114	32,291	13,559	62	23
Juniata	14,325	14,325	7,294	100	45
Lackawanna	310,397	29,213	7,885	9	2
Lancaster	196,882	106,052	50,135	54	24
Lawrence	97,258	37,616	12,750	39	12
Lebanon	67,103	34,572	12,082	52	17
Lehigh	172,893	45,950	15,150	27	7
Luzerne	445,109	101,039	14,446	23	3
Lycoming	93,421	33,143	14,131	35	14
McKean	55,167	29,629	7,148	54	10
Mercer	99,246	39,001	20,777	39	18
Mifflin	40,335	23,889	7,128	59	15
Monroe	28,286	16,226	6,906	57	22

Continued on next page

3. Fifteenth Census of the United States. 1930.

Table 2. (Continued)

Counties	Number			Per cent of total	
	Total	Rural	Rural-Farm	Rural	Rural-Farm
Montgomery	265,804	89,971	21,632	34	8
Montour	14,517	7,332	3,369	51	22
Northampton	169,504	47,779	14,204	28	8
Northumberland	128,504	55,482	12,550	43	9
Perry	21,744	21,744	9,036	100	40
Philadelphia	1,950,961	———	1,705	—	—
Pike	7,483	7,483	1,878	100	28
Potter	17,489	14,748	7,568	84	36
Schuylkill	235,505	96,243	15,843	41	6
Snyder	16,836	16,039	7,986	85	41
Somerset	80,764	64,099	21,302	79	21
Sullivan	7,499	7,499	3,239	100	43
Susquehanna	33,808	25,394	15,500	75	40
Tioga	31,871	28,228	14,612	89	41
Union	17,468	14,160	5,829	81	31
Venango	63,226	27,560	10,308	44	12
Warren	41,453	26,590	9,285	64	20
Washington	204,802	118,193	27,087	58	10
Wayne	28,420	22,930	12,002	81	45
Westmoreland	294,995	149,801	29,127	51	9
Wyoming	15,517	15,517	7,174	100	42
York	167,135	87,089	39,372	52	21
TOTAL	9,631,350	5,097,839	846,240	52.2	8.8

rural-nonfarm signifies, for the most part, village people composed mainly of retired farmers and persons occupied with those enterprises needed to provide certain goods and services to the farmer. Not so in Pennsylvania. For, whenever a county possesses a large rural-nonfarm population, it is a safe assumption that coal mines, oil wells, mills, or suburbs are located there. Thus, about one-fourth of the total population (two and a quarter million) are rural residents not connected with agriculture. Needless to say, the type of population and the other factors which accompany these other-than-agriculture rural occupations affect profoundly the kind and quality of rural life in these areas.

Six counties - Forest, Fulton, Juniata, Perry, Pike, and Sullivan - were 100 per cent rural by the census classification in 1930 (Figure 10). As many as 37 others were predominantly rural, making a total of 43 out of 67 so defined. This leaves but 24 urban counties.

Within the rural population only six counties had as many farm persons as were in the rural-nonfarm population. From Figure 10 we see also that the per cent of rural population ranges from 0 to 100. Philadelphia County has only urban population, even though the 1935 census of agriculture classed 1,706 persons in the county as farm. In all counties in the lowest quarter are found large cities. In general, the counties having the highest proportion of rural population fall in the Allegheny Plateau and Mountains. Conversely, the steel section of southwest Pennsylvania and the manufacturing and hard coal area of the east, especially the southeast, comprise the most urban counties.

Comparisons within the state are facilitated by a glance at Figure 11, which shows the internal variations of "ruralness."[4] The most rural counties of the state are indicated in blue, while the least rural counties are indicated by yellow. The two blocks of counties with low rurality are located in the urbanized mining and industrial sections of the state. The range of the index is from 0 in Philadelphia County to 285 in Fulton County. Eighteen counties have an index over 200.

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4. This index of rurality was calculated as follows:
   1. Determine state and county per cents for the rural population of the total population.
   2. Determine state and county per cents for the rural-farm population of the rural population.
   3. Divide per cent county rural population by per cent state rural population.
   4. Divide per cent that the county rural farm population is of the county rural population by the per cent that the state rural-farm population is of the state rural population.
   5. Add 3 and 4 and divide by 2.

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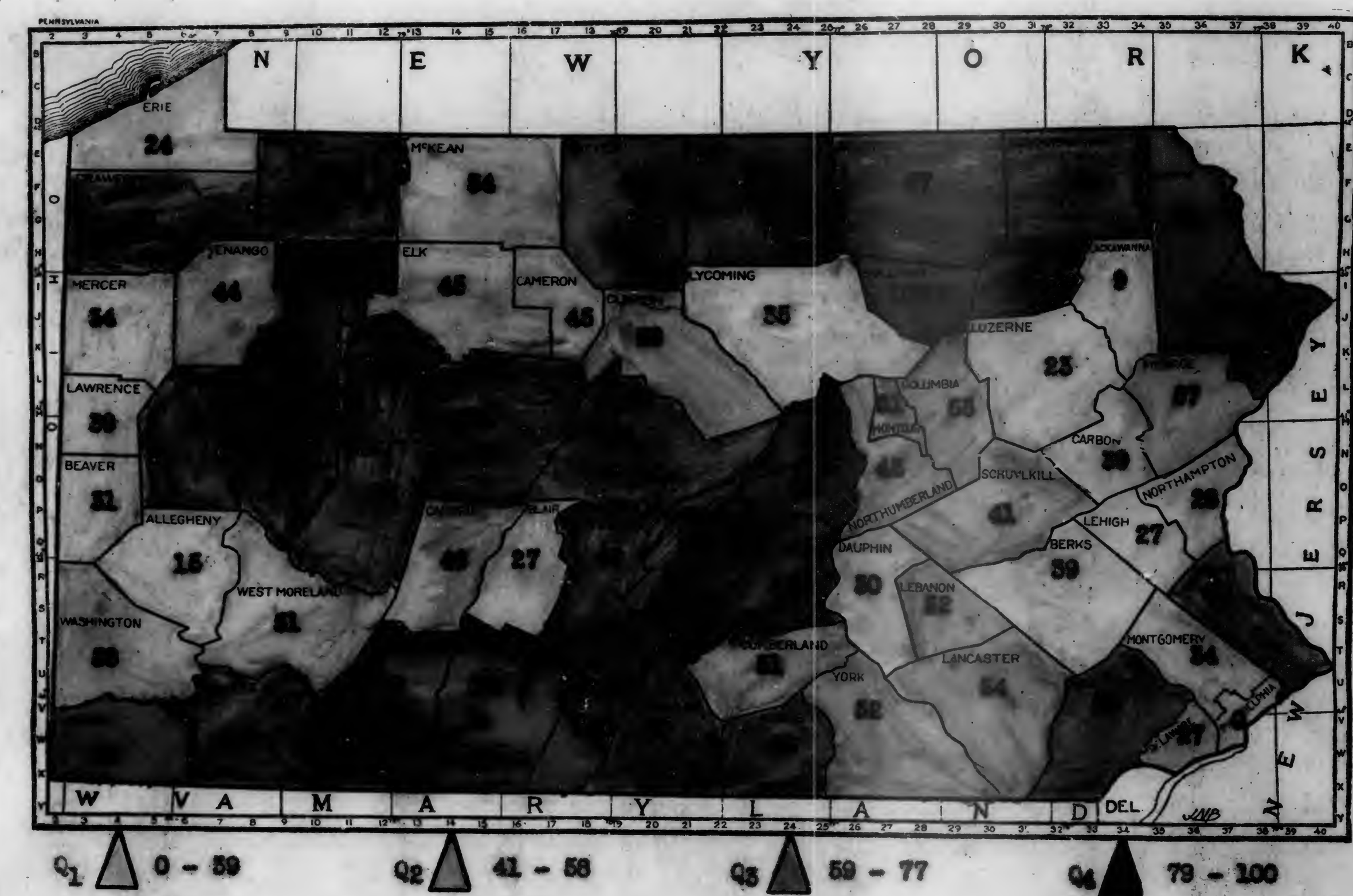

Figure 10. Per cent of the Total Population in Pennsylvania Which is Rural Population, By Counties, 1950.

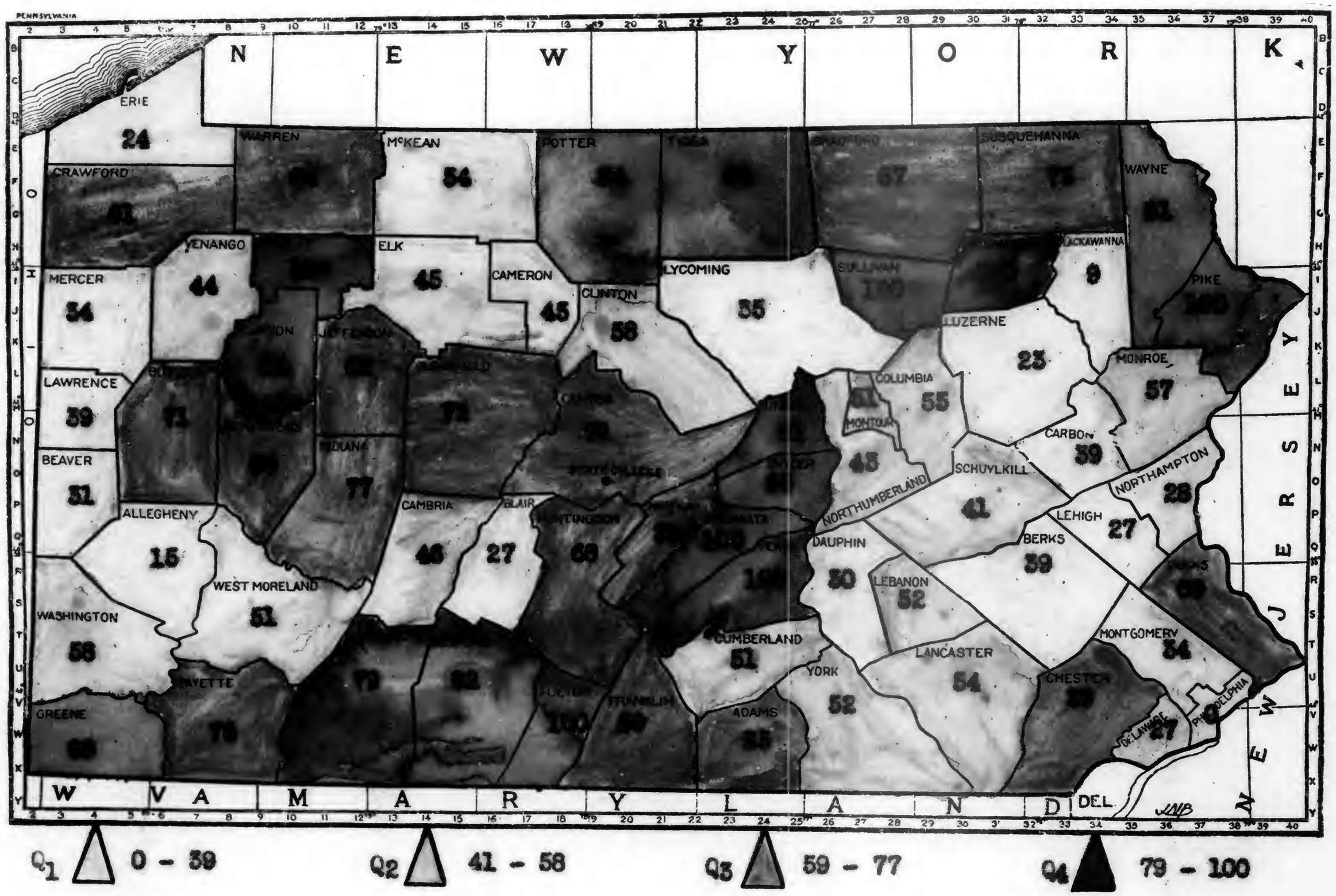

Figure 10. Per cent of the Total Population in Pennsylvania Which is Rural Population, By Counties, 1930.

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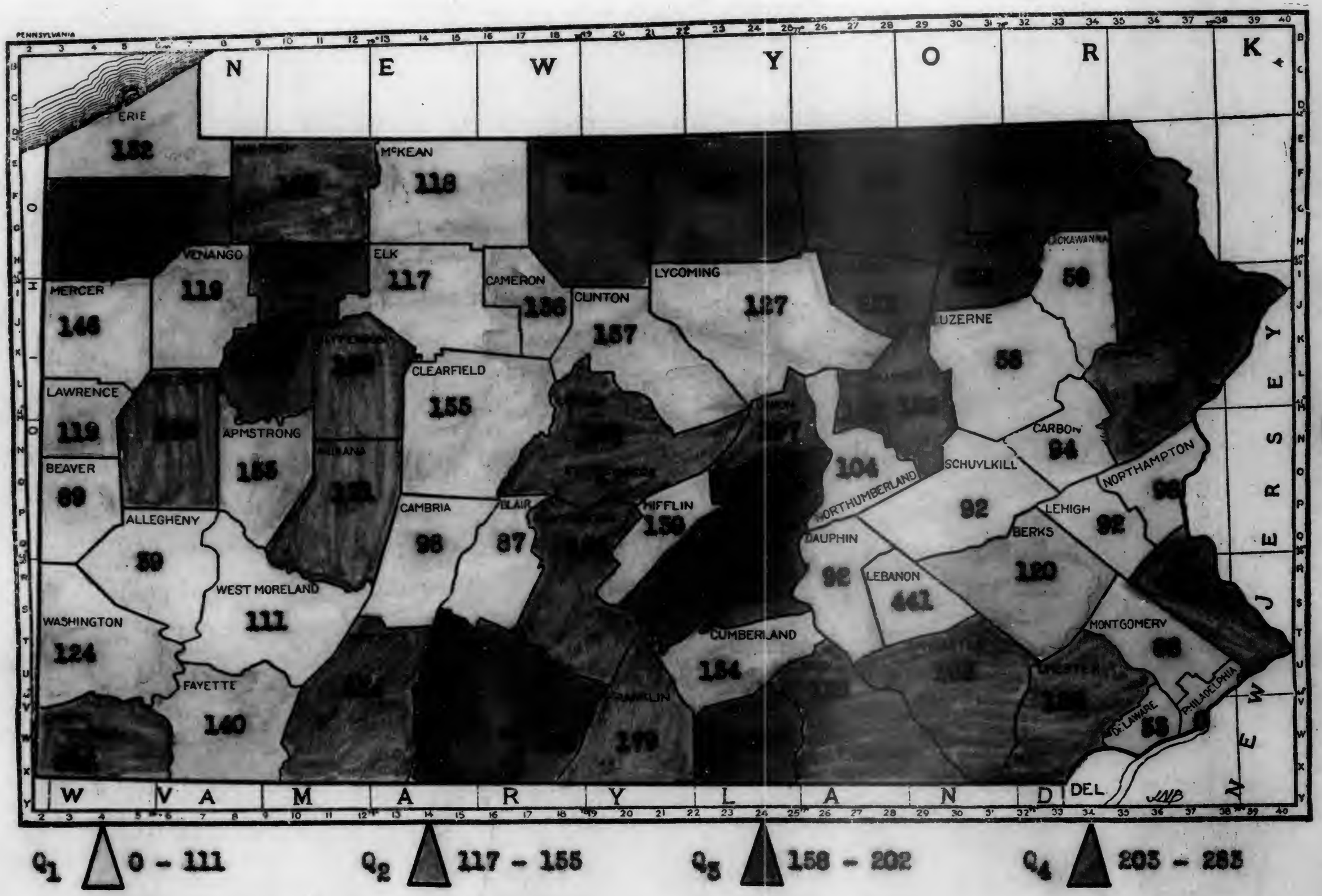

Figure 11. Index of Rurality of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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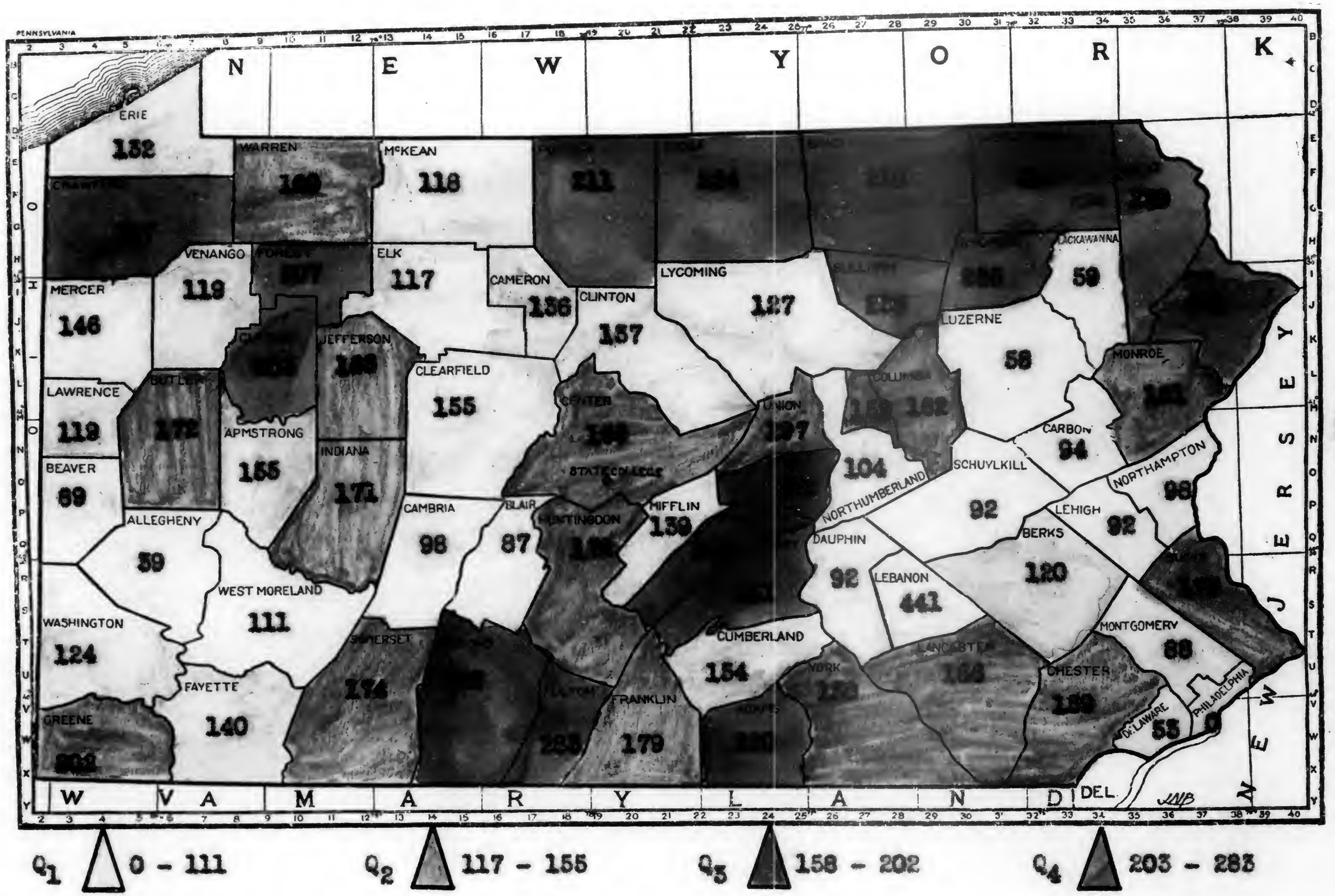

Figure 11. Index of Rurality of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

2. Density

With respect to density of population, the state again exhibits some outstanding extremes. In one county people are crowded; in another county the population is so sparse as to render impossible the support of even the simplest institutions. Thus we find over 15 thousand persons per square mile in Philadelphia County, more than 1,200 times the density of Forest, Cameron, and Pike Counties, with a density of less than 14. The average for the state was 215. These variations in the density of total population are more lucid when shown graphically (Figure 12). Here it is seen that the Allegheny Mountain and upper Allegheny Plateau areas are unusually sparsely populated.

Next, let us see how the farm population, in which we are especially interested, distributes itself. Figure 13 shows some relation to the previous figure except that the counties tend to distribute themselves in a more agglomerated way. Thus, the entire upper end of the Alleghenies is in the quarter of lowest density; the entire southeast is in the fourth quarter; and almost the entire southwest is in the third quarter. Lancaster County, with its nearby markets and fertile soil, is most thickly settled by farmers (50 per square mile), while Cameron had but two such persons per square mile. Six counties in the rough Allegheny Plateau section had five or less persons per square mile. As seen in the previous chapter, this is the area of subsistence and part-time farms.

How do the farm people distribute themselves with relation to farm land in contrast to density based on total area? Figure 14 discloses that farm people are very thinly scattered throughout the northeast counties

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Figure 12. Density of Total Population Per Square Mile in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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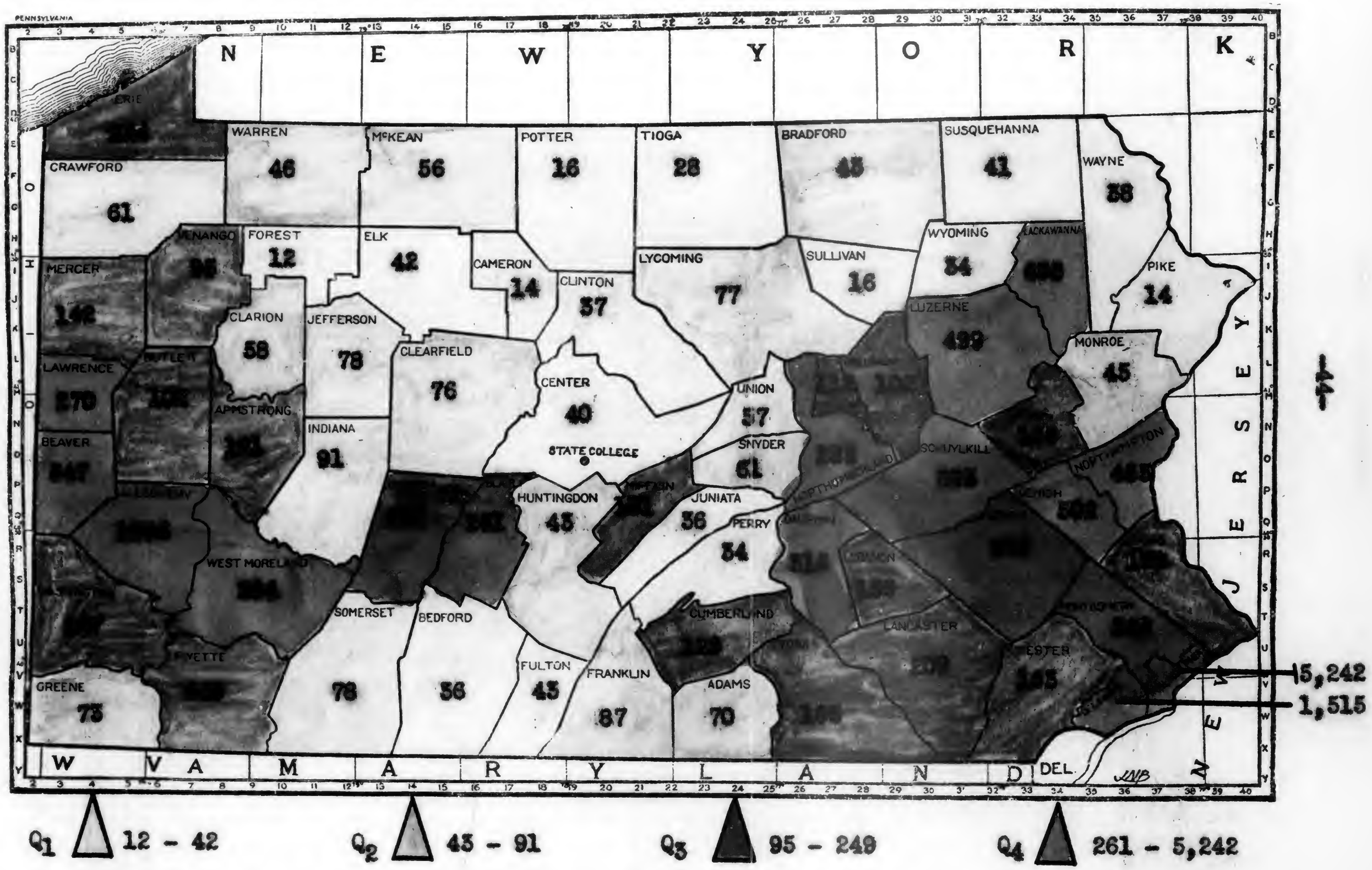

Figure 12. Density of Total Population Per Square Mile in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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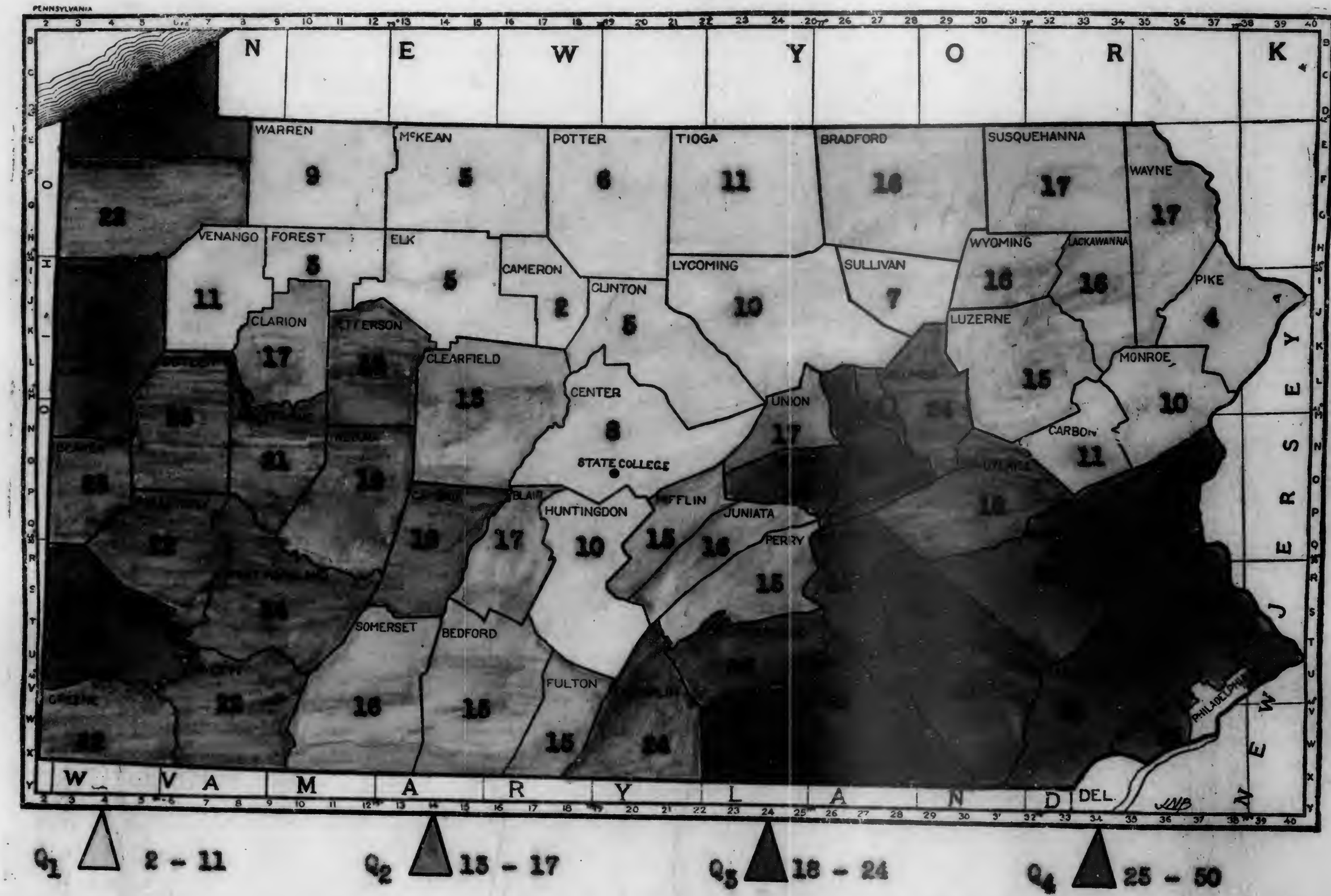

Figure 13. Density of Rural-farm Population Per Square Mile in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1950.

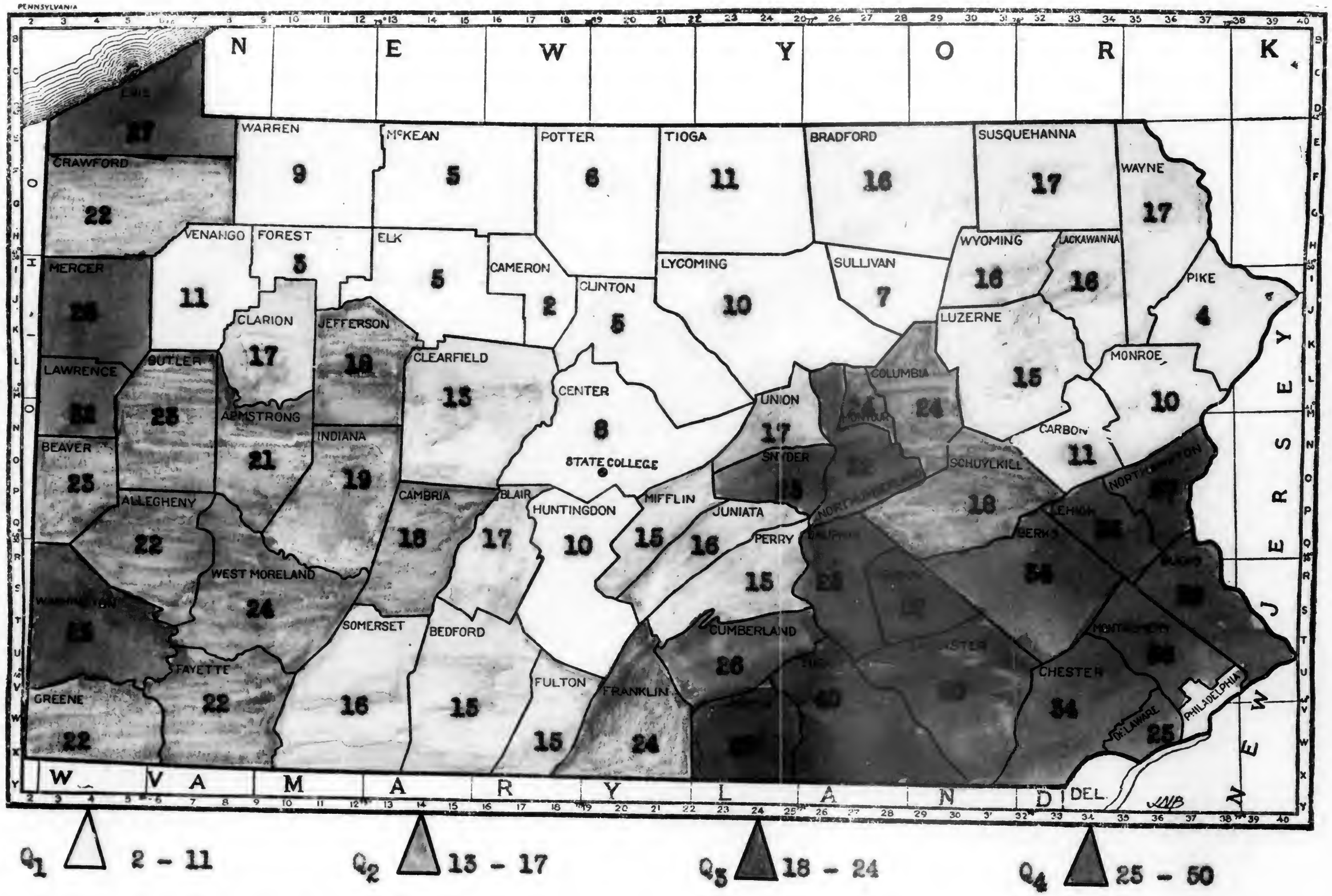

Figure 13. Density of Rural-farm Population Per Square Mile in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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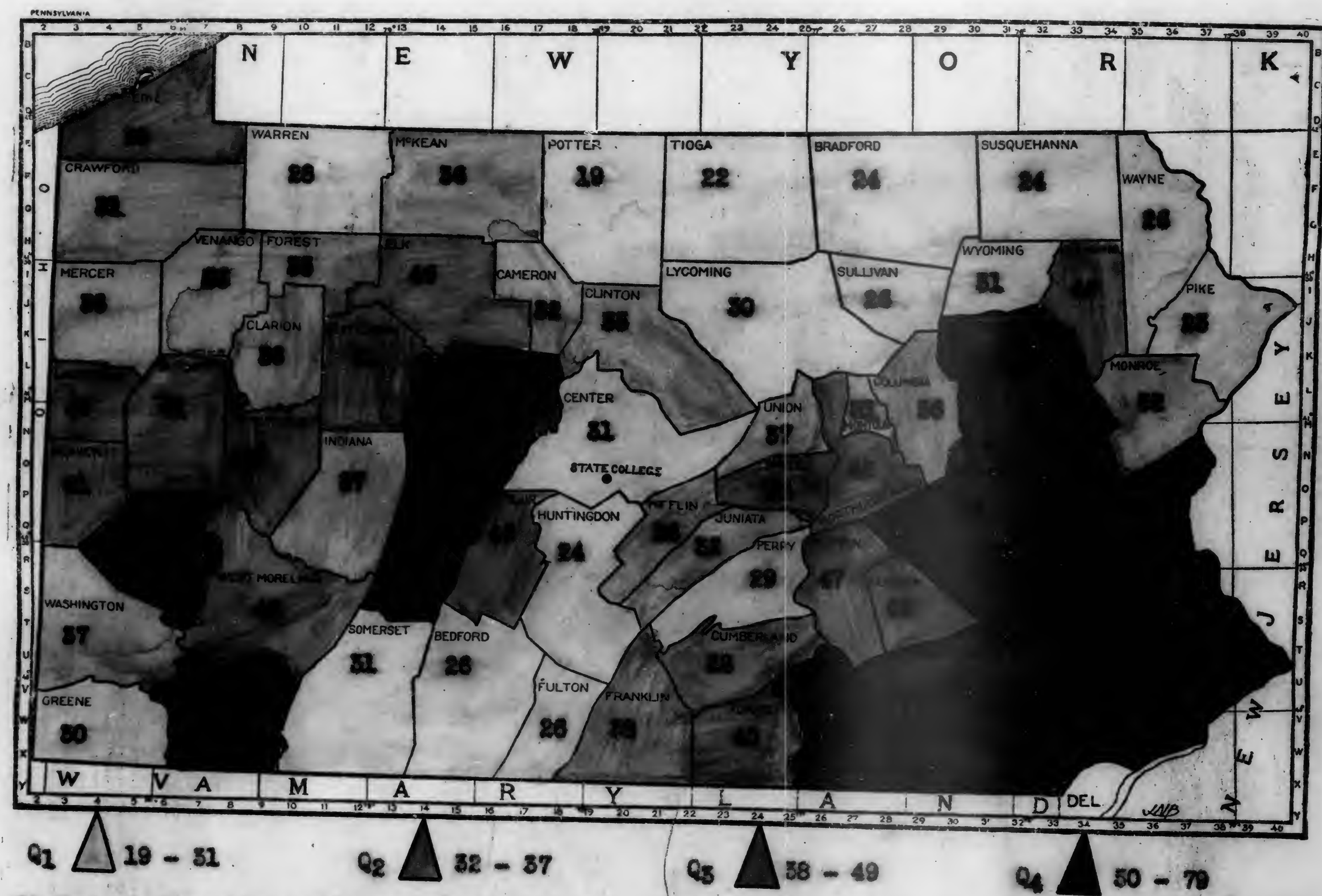

Figure 14. Density of Farm Population Per Square Mile of Farm Land in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.

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Figure 14. Density of Farm Population Per Square Mile of Farm Land in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.

and in the south central counties. In this respect there is considerable difference between this and the foregoing map. On the other hand, farm population is dense throughout the southeast and in certain scattered counties of the western half of the state in spite of a higher proportion of land in farms in these areas. A further analysis of these and other data shows that density of farm population is associated with (a) productive land and (b) the incidence of small and part-time farms. It is to be expected, therefore, that the industrio-agricultural counties, as well as the Piedmont area, should show a concentrated distribution of farm people.

However, if we are concerned with rural social agencies, we must attend not to farm populations alone but to farm populations in connection with the rural-nonfarm. It takes both to comprise the rural community. Figure 15 reveals the disparity between counties regarding rural population density. It should be noticed that 10 counties have rural densities of less than 25 persons per square mile. As a result, rural folk of these counties are at a distinct disadvantage in maintaining rural institutions and service agencies in comparison with more thickly populated rural territory. The average rural density is 69, while the range is from 410 in Delaware County to six in Cameron County.

Many counties having an insufficiency of farm population can, with the addition and cooperation of the village people, develop needed social machinery which otherwise would be impossible. A comparison of Figures 13 and 15 shows this important point clearly. It is of crucial importance in at least 35 of the counties of the commonwealth for, without the rural-nonfarm population, farm people would be deprived of such agencies as

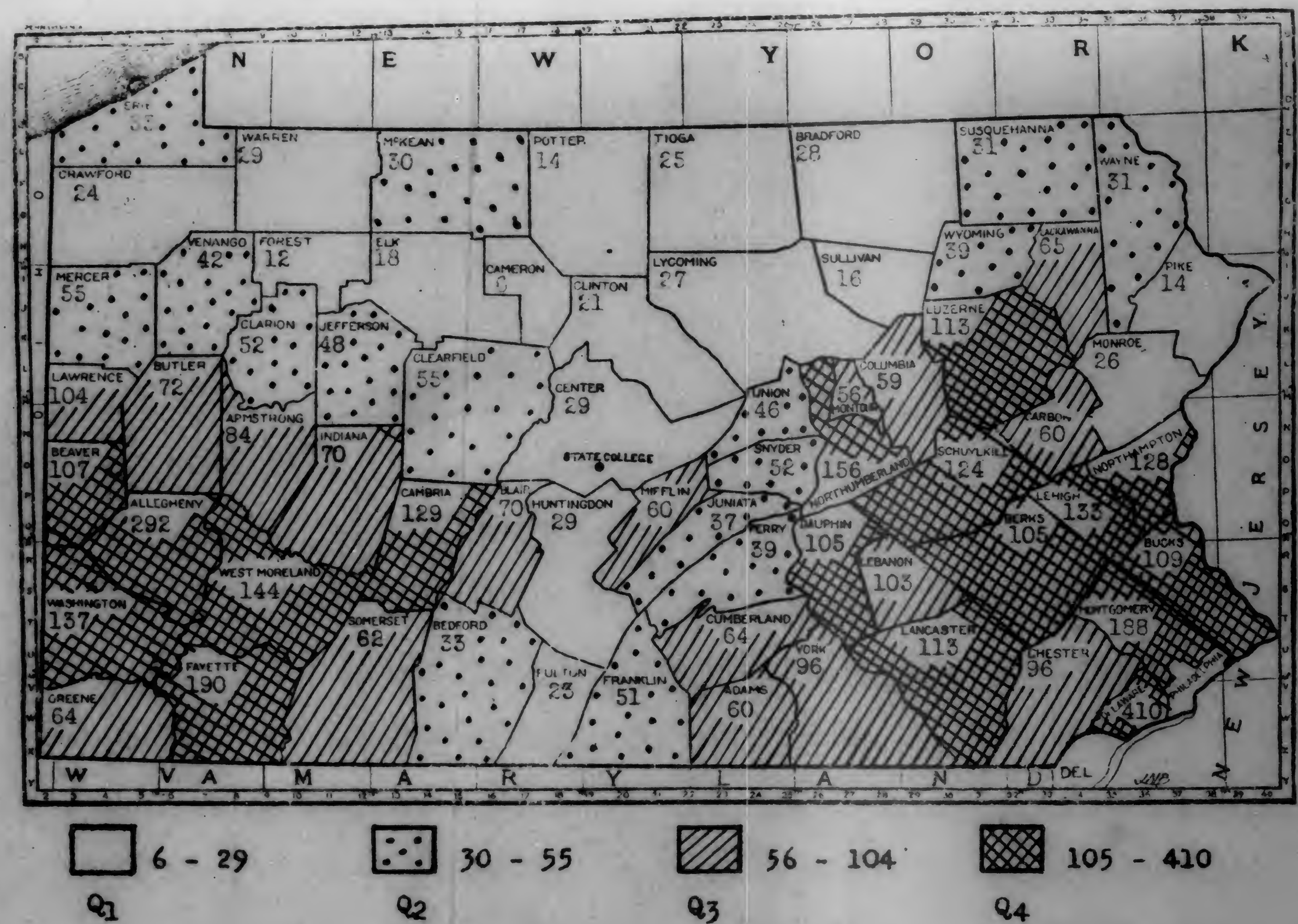

Figure 15 - Density of the Rural Population Per Square Mile in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930

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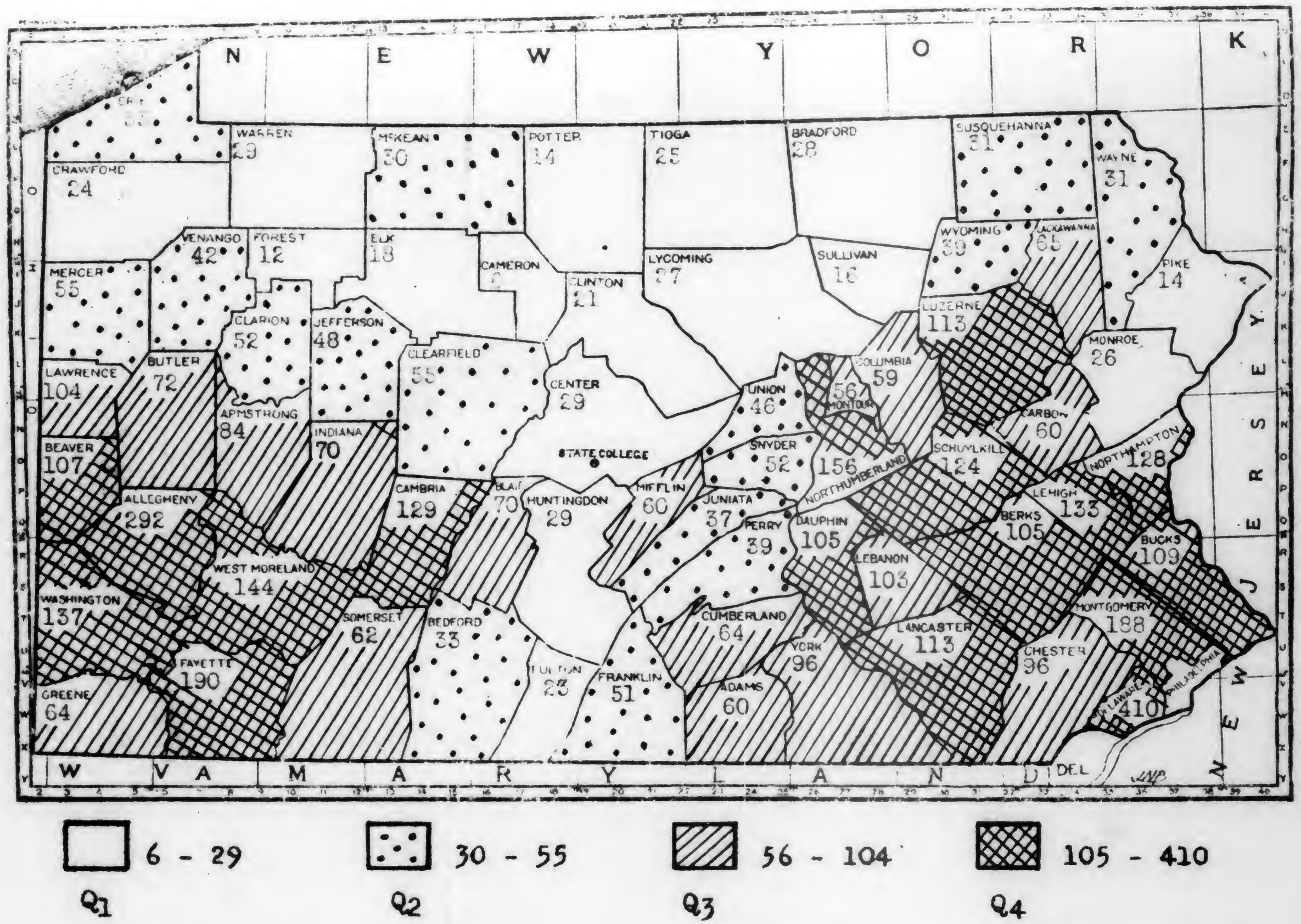

Figure 15 - Density of the Rural Population Per Square Mile in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930

schools, churches, libraries, and fire protection, and the agencies it would be able to support would doubtless suffer in quality.

Again, for the state as a whole about three-fourths of the rural population is rural-nonfarm. This means in at least 61 counties out of 67, where the farm population comprises less than half of the rural population, that the burden of providing adequate facilities and activities for farm people is by no means carried by farmers themselves. It is a dual responsibility requiring the best talents of both groups.

Finally, there are, great differences in density within counties. This is nicely shown by the fourth map in Figure 16. Each dot here indicates the presence of 200 people in 1930. A glance at this map shows immediately why few churches, schools, and granges are to be found in certain wide areas of counties in the upper Allegheny Plateau. There are too few people there. The four maps in this figure also tell the story of population shifts outlined at the first of the present chapter. It need not be repeated here, for an inspection of these figures for 1840, 1870, 1910, and 1930 reveals the steps followed in settling the commonwealth and erecting the political boundaries. Doubtless the story of these shifts in population also represents fairly accurately the shifts in social agencies which accompany the people.

5. Age and Sex.

There are marked differences in the age distribution of the urban and rural populations (Table 3).

Whereas 27.9 per cent of the urban population was under 15 years of age, over one-third of the rural population was of that age. This means a disproportionately high cost to rural people of bearing and rearing children

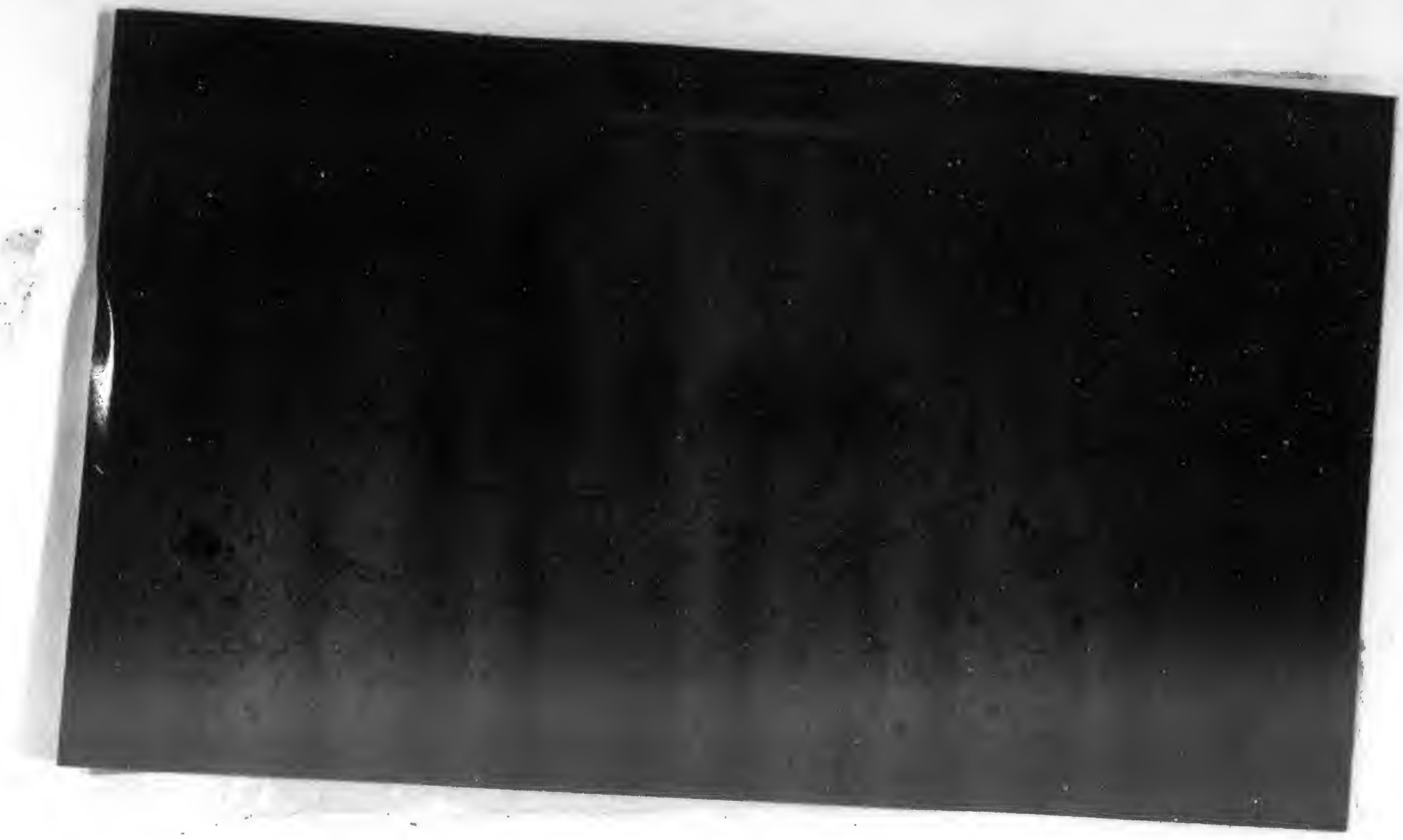

Figure 16a. Distribution of Total Population in Pennsylvania, 1840, 1870.

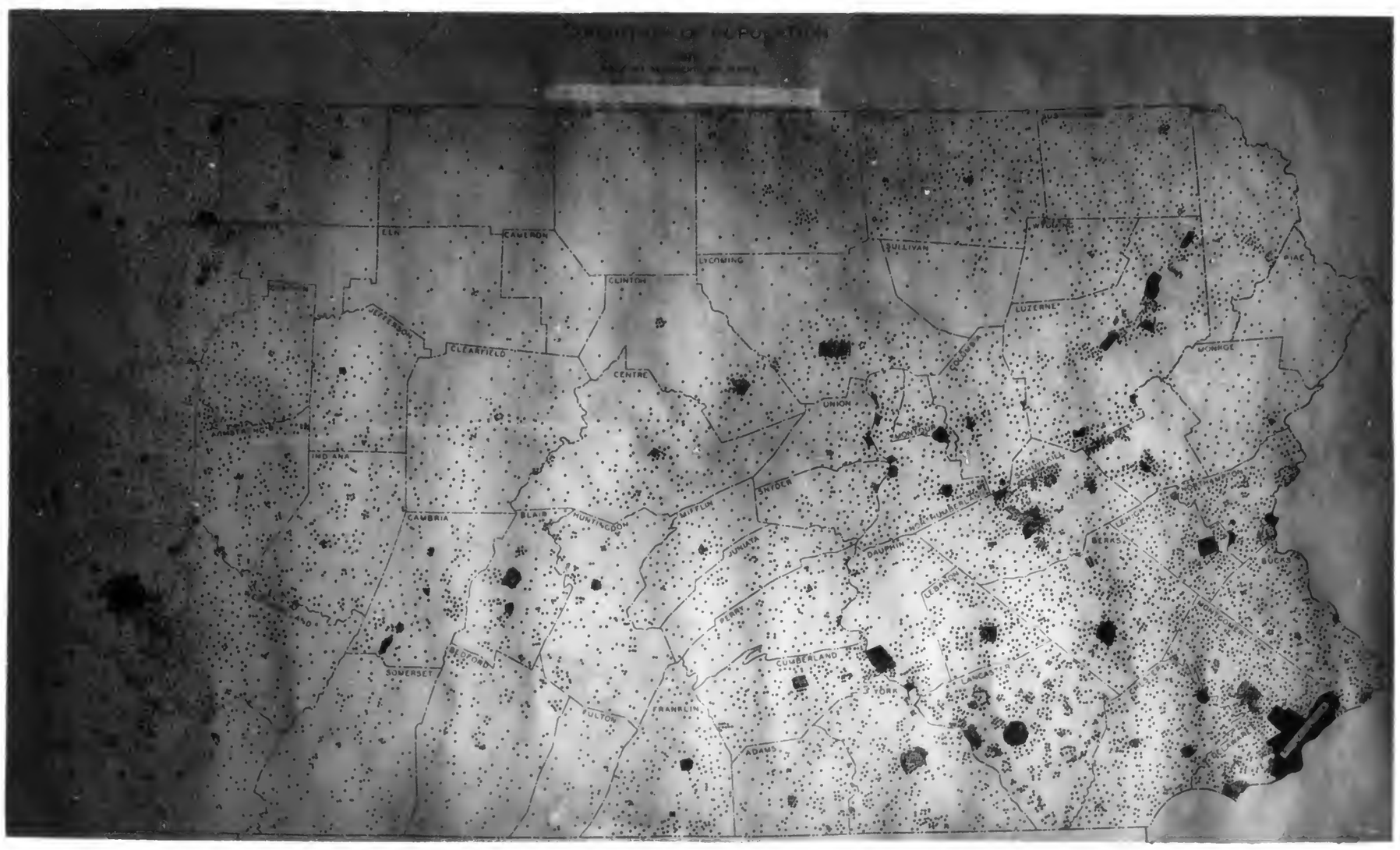

Figure 16a. Distribution of Total Population in Pennsylvania, 1840, 1870.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

Figure 16b. Distribution of Total Population in Pennsylvania, 1910, 1930.

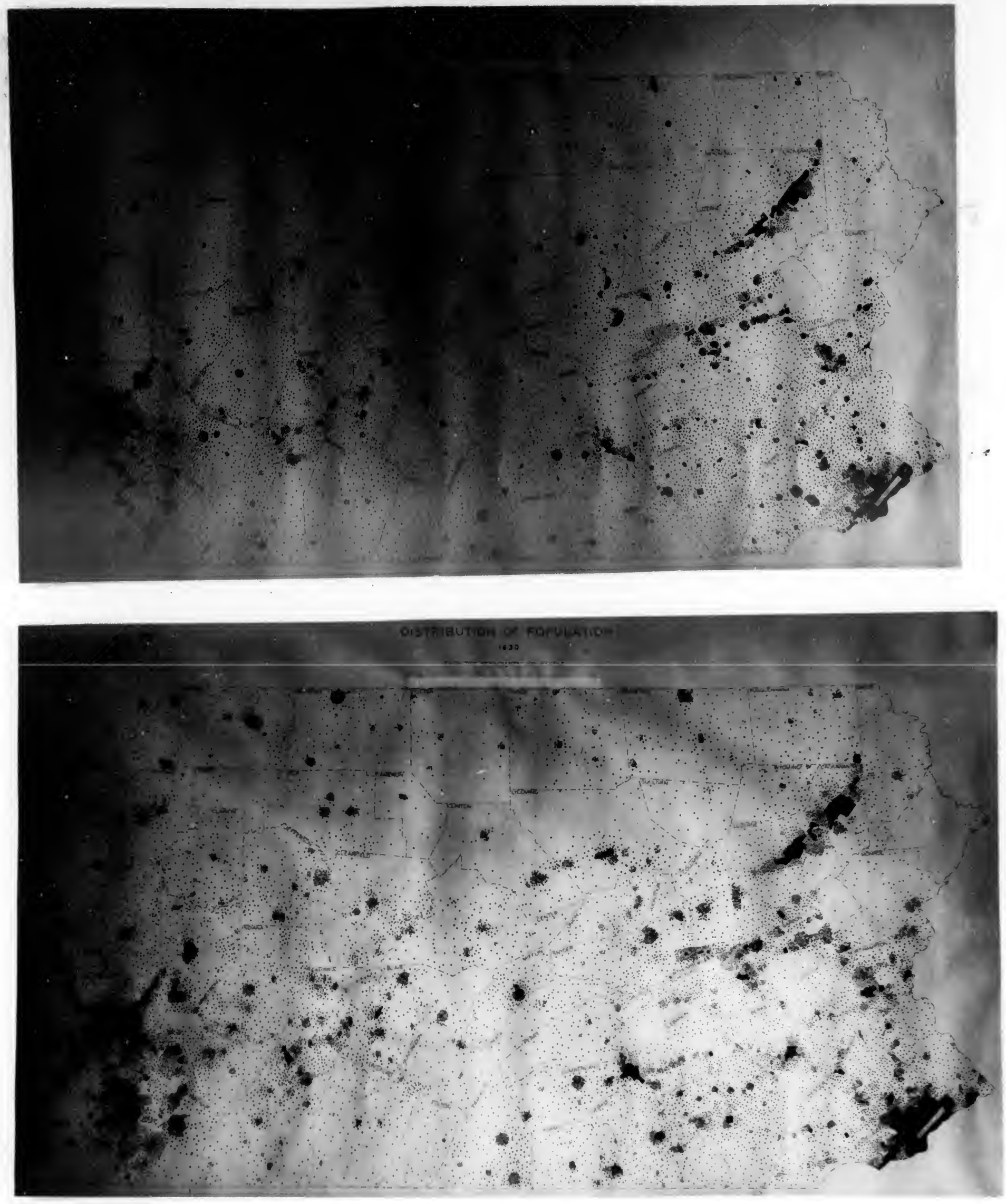

Figure 16b. Distribution of Total Population in Pennsylvania, 1910, 1930.

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Table 5. Percentage Age Distribution of the Urban and Rural Population of Pennsylvania, 1930[5].

Age class	Total	Urban	Rural-nonfarm	Rural-farm
Under 15	29.9	27.9	34.6	35.5
15 - 24	18.0	18.2	17.5	18.0
25 - 34	14.9	16.0	13.6	10.0
35 - 44	14.1	14.9	12.6	11.8
45 - 54	10.7	11.0	9.7	11.2
55 - 64	7.0	7.0	6.5	8.5
65 and over	5.5	4.9	5.7	7.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

only to have many of them migrate to the cities. The affect of this migration appears in the second age class, 15 to 24, and continues through the fifth age class, 45 to 54, for the per cent of the population in each of these age classes is seen to decrease. Whereas the third class (25-34) is 57 per cent of the first age class (under 15) for the urban population, it is only 50 per cent for the farm population. It is evident, therefore, that the most productive years of a large proportion of farm persons is spent in the city. This situation is most acute between the ages 20 and 44 for Pennsylvania. The farm population contains more than its share of people over 55 years of age, while both the farm and the village populations contain an excess of persons over 65 years of age. Thus at both ends of the age distribution, rural society, especially farm society suffers, since here the proportion of dependent, non-productive people is much higher than for the urban population. This is important in terms of ability to support adequate facilities, whether school, health, library, or church. This is reflected when the age composition of rural organizations is analyzed.

5. Fifteenth Census of the United States. 1930.

In the total population of the state there were more males than females, 101.2 to 100, due largely to the differential migratory pull caused by mining, quarrying, lumbering, and manufacturing. For the urban population this situation was reversed with but 98.4 males per 100 females in 1930. The rural population had 107.5 males per 100 females but there was wide difference here between the farm population with 112.9 males per 100 females and the rural-nonfarm population with 105.5 males. The reason for this difference is that girls tend to migrate earlier than boys and in the direction of employment opportunities; that is, toward the city and away from the farm and the mine.

The sex ratio of over a million foreign born whites presents quite a different picture. With them there were 117.2 males per 100 females in 1930. This ratio had undergone considerable diminution, moreover, in the last two decades, there being 145.5 and 129.6 males per 100 females in 1910 and 1920, respectively. Especially in rural territory is the ratio high. There the male figure was 136 for the rural-nonfarm class and 125.1 for the farm population in 1930.

4. Marital Status

Two-thirds of the citizens of Pennsylvania over 15 years are married. As seen in Table 4 there is considerable difference between different classes of the population. The rural-nonfarm population was the "most married" while the city populations had the lowest proportion married.

More city men were married than city women while in the rural populations the reverse obtained. The greatest difference occurred in the farm population where only 55.6 per cent of the males and 64.4 per cent of the females over 15 were married.

Table 4. Percentage of Persons 15 Years and Over Married, by Sex, Rural and Urban, 1930[6]

Class	Total	Males	Females
Total	59.6	59.6	59.6
Urban	58.7	59.7	57.7
Rural	61.6	59.5	64.1
Rural-nonfarm	62.5	60.7	64.0
Rural-farm	59.7	55.6	64.4

Interesting differences exist between nationalities. Among the 10 classes of foreign born white population in the state, there was no instance where the per cent of persons over 15 married was less than 71.8 per cent. Indeed in one class, rural-farm females, the per cent married reached 84.2 per cent. Add to this 10 per cent widowed, plus a few divorced cases, and you have practically the entire group above 15 having experienced marriage.

The highest proportion of single males over 15 was found in the rural-farm population with 38.0 per cent. Rural-nonfarm males had the least number single (33.3 per cent). On the other hand, it was the urban women that were least married (30.1 per cent) while the most married female group was the rural-nonfarm women with only 25.4 per cent single persons.

There were more than twice as many widows (10.6 per cent) as widowers (4.8 per cent) in the entire population. The ratio spread for the urban population (4.5 per cent to 11.2 per cent), closed for the rural-nonfarm population (5.2 per cent to 9.8 per cent), and closed even further for the farm population (5.6 per cent to 7.6 per cent).

In no class were divorced persons in excess of one per cent. The highest class was urban females with .82 per cent, while the lowest was farm females with .39 per cent divorced, less than half that of the former.

Why does this brief analysis interest us here? First, older youth as well as adult agencies need to know the marital status of their potential

6. Ibidem.

constituents and to plan accordingly. Secondly, marriage and children go together, and children not only affect youth organizations but affect also adult church membership and activity. Further a married population tends to be a stable population, other factors being equal, and finally, such agencies as public health and welfare need these data to chart their progress, to locate prenatal clinics, midwife aid, and the like.

5. Nationality and Race

Over 95 per cent of Pennsylvania's population is white while just over four-fifths is native white. Thirteen per cent of the total is foreign born white; and 4.5 per cent are negroes, these latter living mostly in the cities. (Table 5)

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of Pennsylvania Population by Nativity and Race for Urban, Rural-Nonfarm, and Rural-Farm, 1930[7]

Nativity and Race	Total	Urban	Rural-Nonfarm	Rural-farm
White	95.4	94.2	97.6	99.5
Native white	82.6	79.4	87.5	94.8
Native parentage	56.1	49.5	65.2	83.2
Foreign or mixed parentage	26.5	29.9	22.4	11.6
Foreign white	12.8	14.8	10.1	4.7
Negro	4.5	5.7	2.4	0.5
Other races	0.1	0.1		
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Again, as in other phases of the discussion on population, fundamental differences exist between classes. Whereas, 95 per cent of the farm population is native white less than 80 per cent of the cities are so

7. Ibidem.

classed. Again, 85.2 per cent of the farm population are whites of native parentage but less than half of the city population is so classed. Foreign born whites constitute less than five per cent of the farm population while the negro element here is negligible. It is thus clear that the city population is characterized by heterogeneity, the farm population by homogeneity, and the rural-nonfarm population in every instance a mean between these two. This makes a difference in the composition of organizations. In the entire population there were 3,788,178 foreign persons and children of foreign and mixed parentage. The figure for the rural population was 367,854 in 1930, and 137,865 for the farm population.

The largest share of foreign white stock traces to the British Isles with 847,330 persons, almost half of these Irish. Italy supplies 16.2 per cent of the total with 613,257; Poland, 516,041; Germany, 487,241; Czechoslovakia, 335,206; Russia, 269,935; and other countries, such as Austria, Yugoslavia, Lithuania, Hungary, supply less than five per cent each.

But foreign blood is diminishing in the state for, during the last score of years, the per cent of foreign born white persons has dropped six points, from 18.8 to 12.8. This is especially apparent in the urban population where the decrease has been nearly eight per cent. In the farm population the percentage has increased in the last decade due to miners and factory workers, their minds rooted in the soil of their native countries, returning to the land as soon as they have secured sufficient equity as hands of industry. As a result whole counties in the Allegheny Plateau are liberally sprinkled with foreign farmers. And many 4-H Clubs and F.F.A. groups are composed largely of foreign stock.

Since foreign population appears to be associated with urbanisation, it is expected that any analysis of intra-state differences will show city dominated counties to be low in native white stock. Such is the case. A glance at Figure 17 shows the highest proportion of native whites to be in those counties where farmers comprise a large element of the county total population. On the one extreme we find Snyder, Union, and Juniata Counties with more than 99 per cent native white population. At the other end of the scale are Philadelphia, Allegheny, and Washington Counties with less than 75 per cent native white. The average for the entire state was 82.6 in 1930. In general, industrial eastern and western Pennsylvania have the highest proportions of foreign born. Europeans tend to follow the mine and the factory. On the other hand, both of the upper quartile groups of counties are in non-industrial counties. Central Pennsylvania is notably high in its per cent of native population.

Figure 18 is based on the farm population only and shows practically the reverse of Figure 17. The east and west ends of the states have the highest number of foreign born farmers while the central part shows an indigenous farm populace. The range is from one-tenth of one per cent in the Allegheny Plateau counties of Fulton, Franklin, Juniata, and Snyder to 13.1 in Philadelphia-dominated, suburban Bucks County. The average for the state was 4.7 per cent for the farm population. It is doubtful that the number of foreign born inhabitants would alter appreciably the structure or functioning of rural organizations. It seems probable that the likeliest effect would be little more than to give variety and an added element of interest to some of the grange, 4-H club, P. T. A., and other programs.

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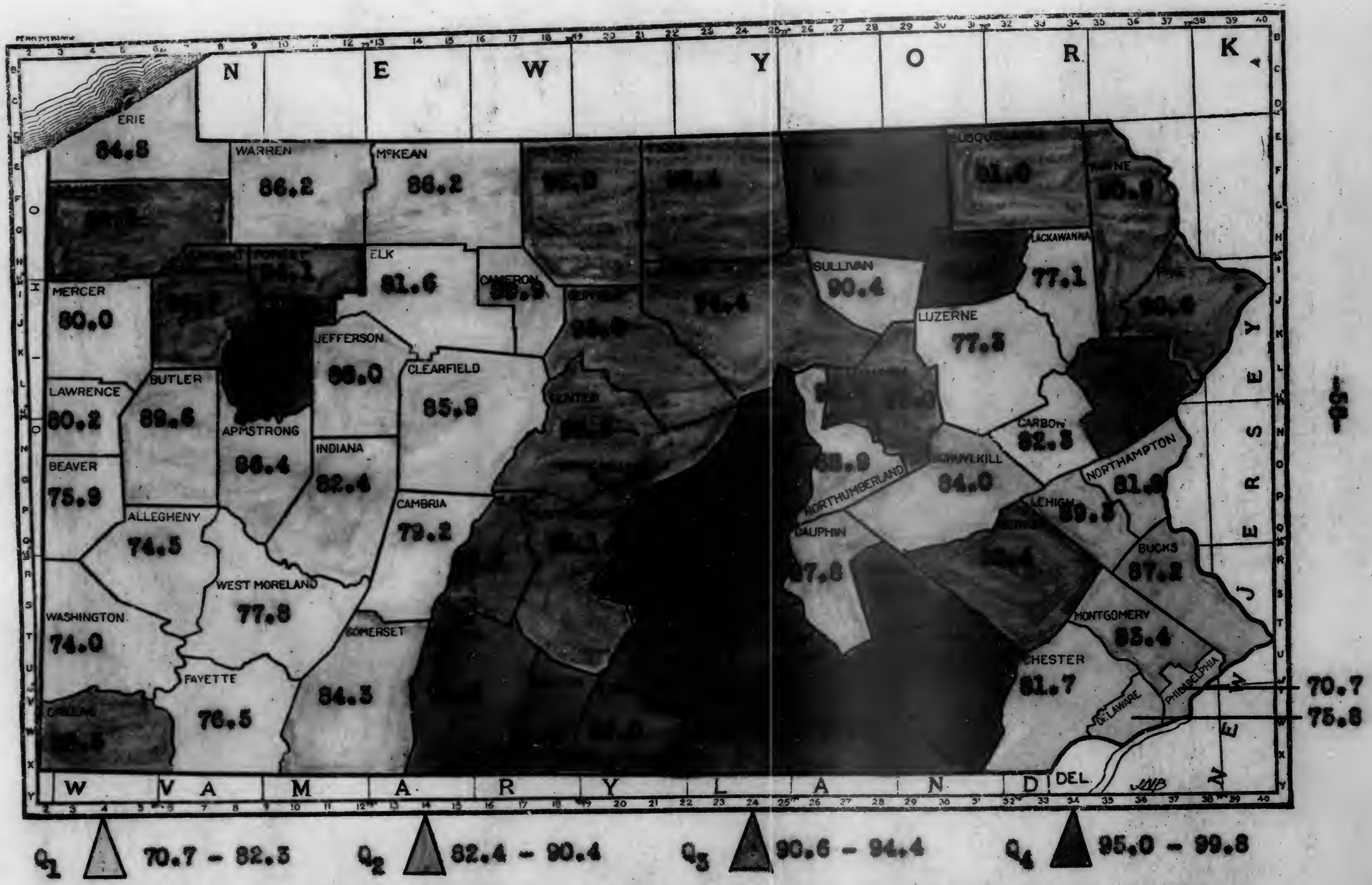

Figure 17. Per Cent Native White of Total Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1950.

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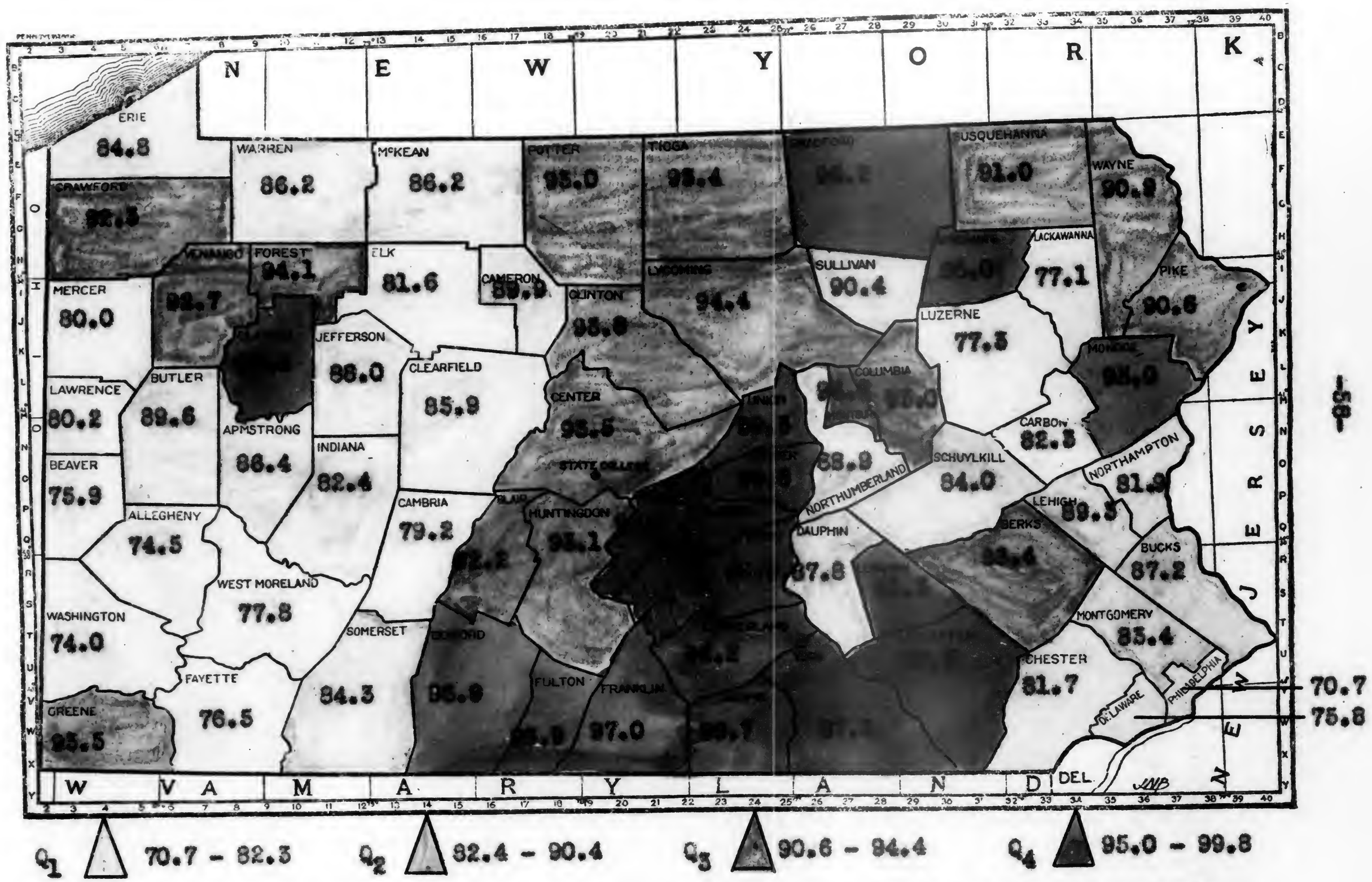

Figure 17. Per Cent Native White of Total Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1950.

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Figure 18. Per Cent of Foreign Born White in the Rural-Farm Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

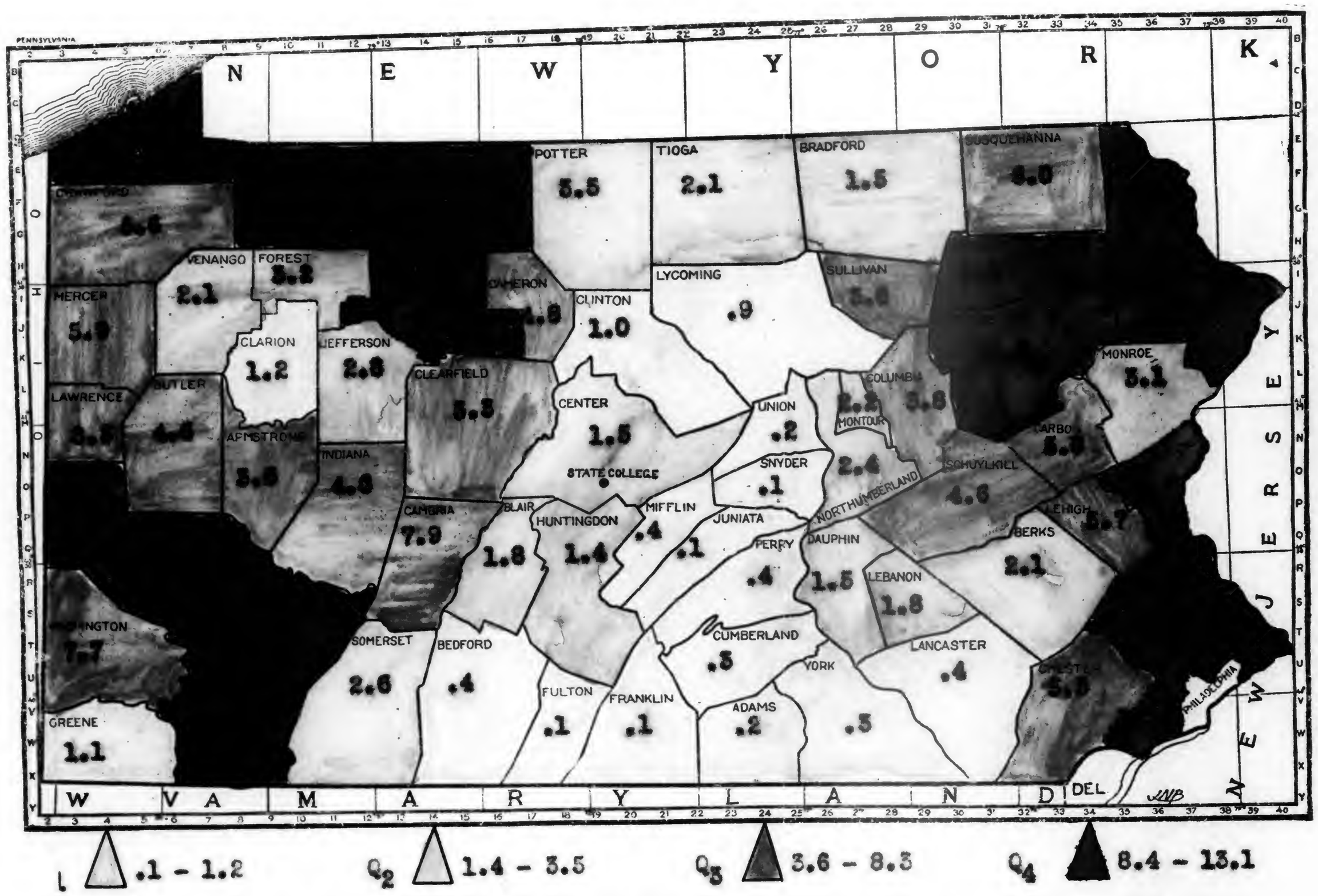

Figure 18. Per Cent of Foreign Born White in the Rural-Farm Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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On the other hand, there are communities, such as St. Marys in Elk County and McSherrystown in Adams County, where the entire social organization has a foreign dominance. To a less degree, the same could be said for counties such as Westmoreland, Fayette, Allegheny, and Philadelphia.

But census data alone do not convey highly the important qualitative aspects of the farm population. The lowlands of southeast Pennsylvania, containing one-sixth of the crop land, is inhabited by the Pennsylvania Germans. These people naturally are classed as native whites. They have resided here for generations. But they have succeeded in maintaining a distinct culture which not only dominates their own area but radiates an influence of frugality, conservatism, and dependability throughout the entire commonwealth. Likewise, the Scotch-Irish of the northern tier and the English of western Pennsylvania have developed culture patterns that affect social organization greatly. These effects will be brought out in discussing each of the rural social agencies.

6. Literacy

Even with a large foreign population, only 5.1 per cent of the total population 10 years of age and over was not able to read and write. However, there are wide differences between segments of the population as

Table 6. Per Cent Illiteracy in Pennsylvania Population 10 Years Old and Over by Color and Nativity, 1930 and 1920[8]

Class	1930		1920
	Number	Per cent	Per cent
Native white	36,517	0.6	0.8
Foreign born white	187,942	15.4	18.9
Negro	14,908	4.2	6.1
Total	240,525	5.1	4.6

8. Ibidem.

evidenced in Table 6. Less than one per cent of the native white stock was illiterate in 1930 as contrasted with 15.4 per cent for the foreign white population, and 4.2 per cent for negroes. But these figures represent a substantial decrease of illiteracy in the decade since 1920.

Figure 19 shows the geographic aspect of this situation. It is not surprising to find that the fourth quarter counties of high illiteracy fall in the hard coal and quarry counties of the central east and the soft coal and industrial counties of the west. Likewise, we find that the third quarter counties are grouped as satellites around the above counties in the areas of urban and industrial development. The central part of the state is noticeably free from illiteracy, even in such "low culture" counties as Fulton, Cameron, Forest, and Snyder. It is, of course, apparent that the incidence of illiteracy is associated with the ratio of foreign born to native whites. A comparison of the maps on illiteracy and per cent native white shows a very close correspondence for the population as a whole. And this same relationship between these two factors exists within classes of the population. That is, it exists for either the urban, rural-nonfarm, or farm population when considered separately.

This does not mean, of course, that the proportion of illiteracy or the proportion of foreign born is in any sense similar for these three types of population. It merely means that the correspondence between these two factors is high. Actually, there is considerable difference between the classes of the population. For example, only 1.9 per cent of the farm population are illiterate while twice the proportion (3.8 per cent) of the rural-nonfarm are so classed. The rate for the urban population is 3.0 per cent.

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Figure 19. Per Cent of Illiteracy in the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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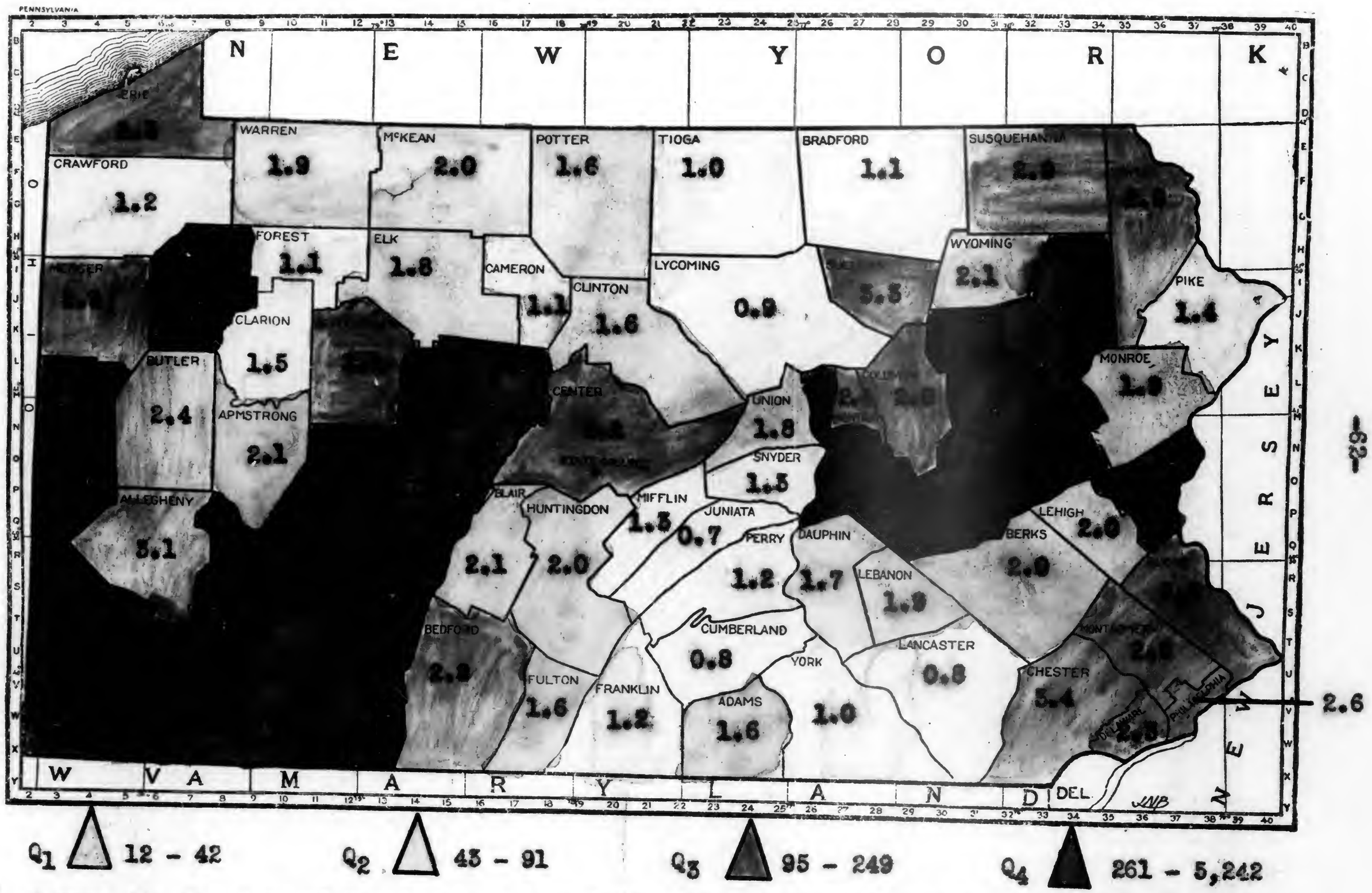

Figure 19. Per Cent of Illiteracy in the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

7. Migration

We have already discussed in Section 5 of this chapter some of the implications of this cityward migration from farms, especially during the productive years of life. We have seen also the undue proportion of aged and very young (dependents for the most part) in the farm and rural-nonfarm population. Further, we have seen in Section 5 on "Nationality and Race" some of the effects of immigration. In this section, we will analyze these and other aspects of the migration picture in more detail.

In spite of high fertility rates and low death rates among the farm population, there were ten per cent fewer persons living on farms in 1930 (846,240) than in 1920 (941,360). This means that a relatively high rate of cityward migration was taking place. The approximate net migration of farm population for the 1920-1930 period was 177,000 persons, not including children under 10.[9] This does not mean a net loss of this many persons to the farm population for, while this was occurring, there was some urban-farm migration.

In 1935, the farm population reached the high figure of 975,082 persons. This reversal meant that cityward migration had slackened and that farmward migration had increased. These trends were true not only of Pennsylvania but were shared in by the country as a whole.[10]

Figure 20 shows the net gain and loss of rural population in Pennsylvania's counties between 1920 and 1930.[11] Ninety per cent of the counties

9. Source: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.
10. Lively, C. E., and Taeuber, Conrad. Rural Migration in the United States., Division of Research, W. P. A., Washington. p. 28.
11. Source: Region IV Office, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. D. A., Upper Darby, Pa.

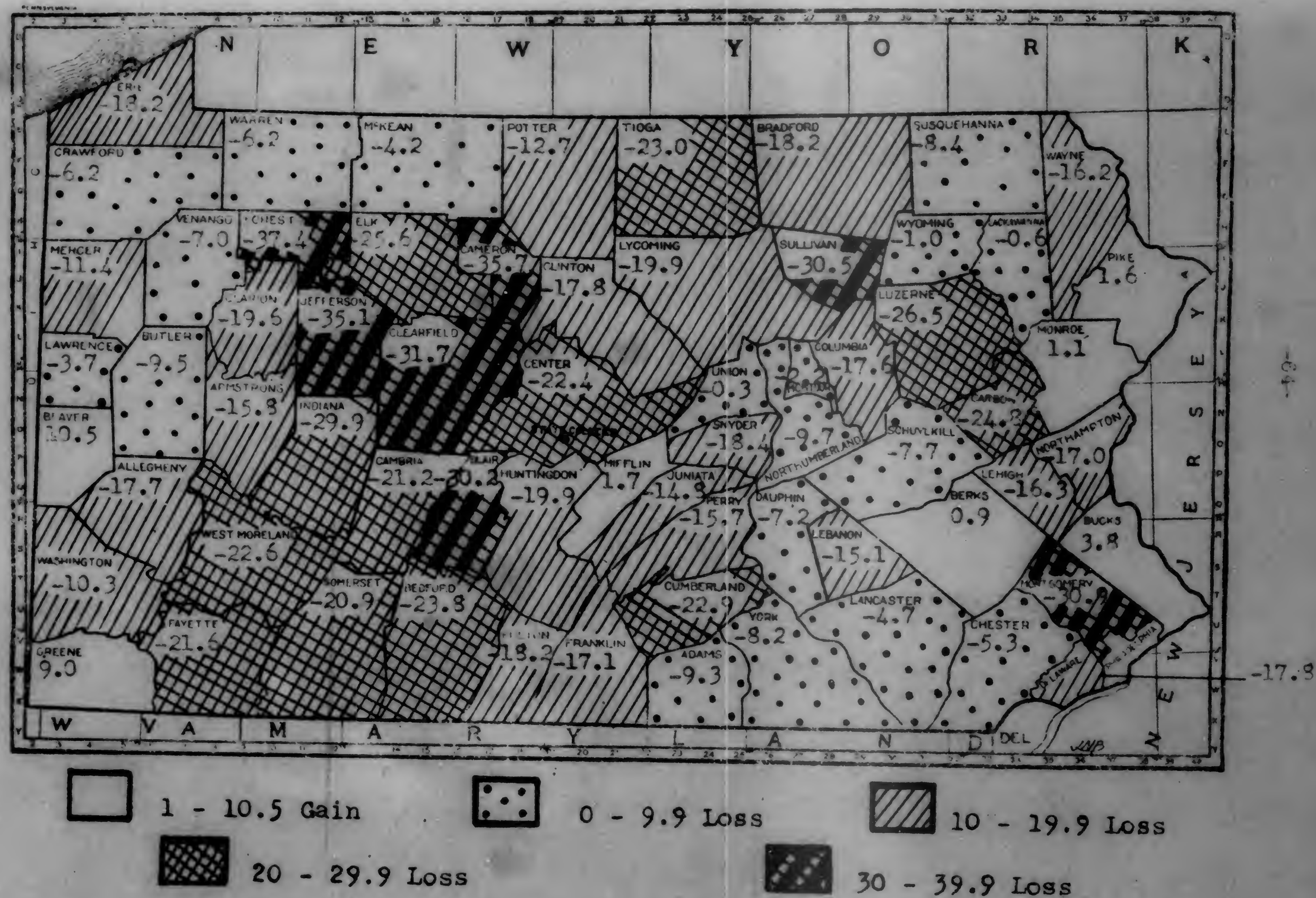

Figure 20 - Per Cent Net Gain or Loss of Rural Migrants in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1920-1930

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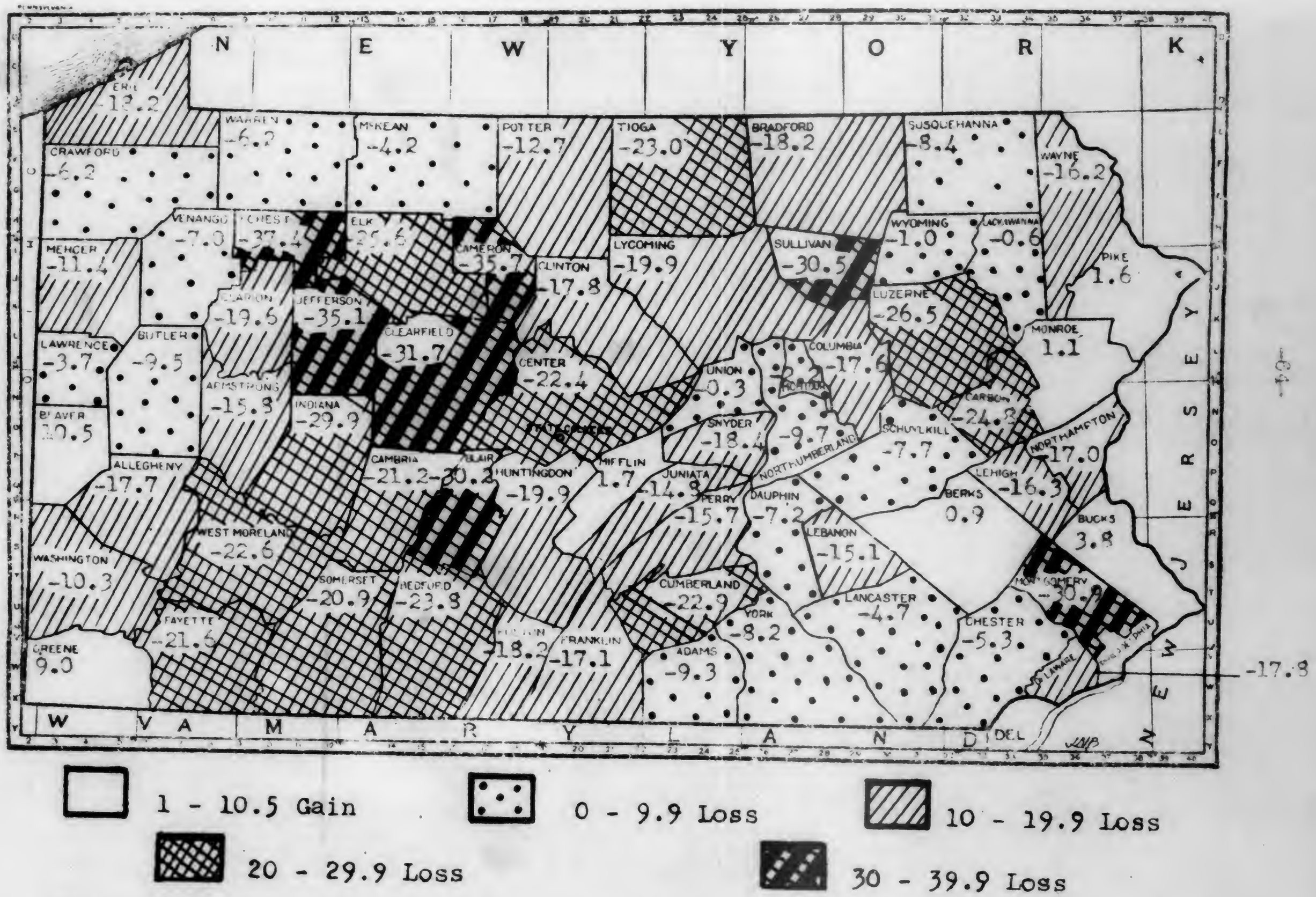

Figure 20 - Per Cent Net Gain or Loss of Rural Migrants in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1920-1930

in the state suffered a net loss in this decade. The heaviest loss was in the North Allegheny Plateau, next heaviest in the southern Allegheny Plateau, and third heaviest in the Allegheny mountains. Throughout central Pennsylvania the loss was heavy with the exception of one small county, Mifflin, which had a slight increase. The two general areas showing smallest loss were the more fertile southeast and the dairy section of the northwest. Only seven counties increased their rural populations and each for its own reasons. Greene County expanded oil operations in this decade; Beaver, Berks, Mifflin, although widely separated, gained in rural migrants from the same causes, the establishment of village industries; Bucks County gained in rural-nonfarm population from Philadelphia decentralization; and Monroe and Pike Counties grew from the influx of the expansion of summer boarder trade in northeastern Pennsylvania. The average net gain for these counties was four per cent. But this is insignificant when we note that six counties had a net loss of more than 30 per cent for the decade, that 18 counties had a net loss of more than 20 per cent, and that a total of 40 counties had a net loss greater than 10 per cent. In all, rural Pennsylvania had a net loss of 492,000 persons in the decade 1920-1930.[12]

Since no general census has been taken since 1930 it is not possible to indicate with exact accuracy the trend of rural migration since that time. However, this last census of agriculture has produced sufficient data to enable estimates of net farm migration up to 1935.[13] The 1935 census of agriculture reports a total of 95,758 persons living on farms who were living in nonfarm residences in 1930. This is one out of every ten farm

12. Lively and Taeuber. Op. cit., p. 182.
13. Ibidem. p. 29.

persons. This does not represent the net migration, however, because during that period, in spite of industrial slackening, there were several thousand persons in the state who left farm for nonfarm residences.

Figure 21 shows the intra-state situation with respect to the differences between counties and sections. It is seen clearly that the bulk of the persons returning to farms were in the western third and the northern tier of the state. As a matter of fact, the return to farms in this area was one of the greatest in the entire country for the depression period.[14] This places increasing responsibility on the shoulders of all social agencies and agents. In many places, they have been unable to cope with the demand. Fifteen per cent new farmers cannot be absorbed in a population without adjustment. And a few counties had more than this number. Allegheny County was high with 19.2 per cent. Central and southeastern Pennsylvania, on the other hand, underwent no such shift of population.

The United States as a whole had a net farmward migration for only one year. But Pennsylvania has had a net farmward migration for each of the five years, 1930 to 1934. The heaviest net return to the farms took place in the central part of the Allegheny Plateau. But this area was flanked by a secondary fairly high net migration throughout the Allegheny Plateau, involving the western and northern parts of the state (Figure 22).[15] The farmward migration in Pennsylvania was much higher than that of the country as a whole during the depression years. Much of this was

14. United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.
15. Ibidem.

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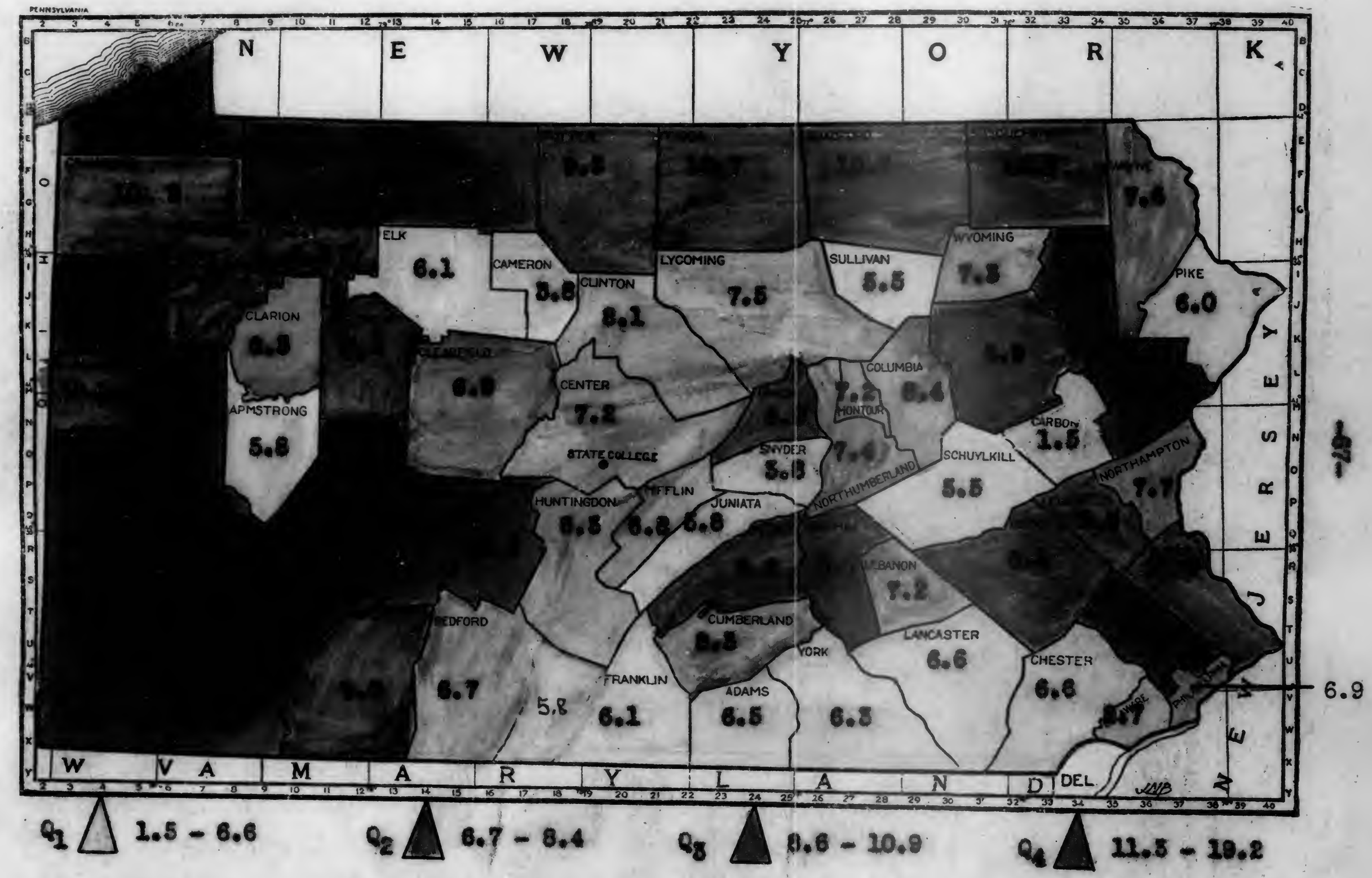

Figure 21. Per Cent of Persons on Farms in Pennsylvania in 1955 Not There in 1950, by Counties.

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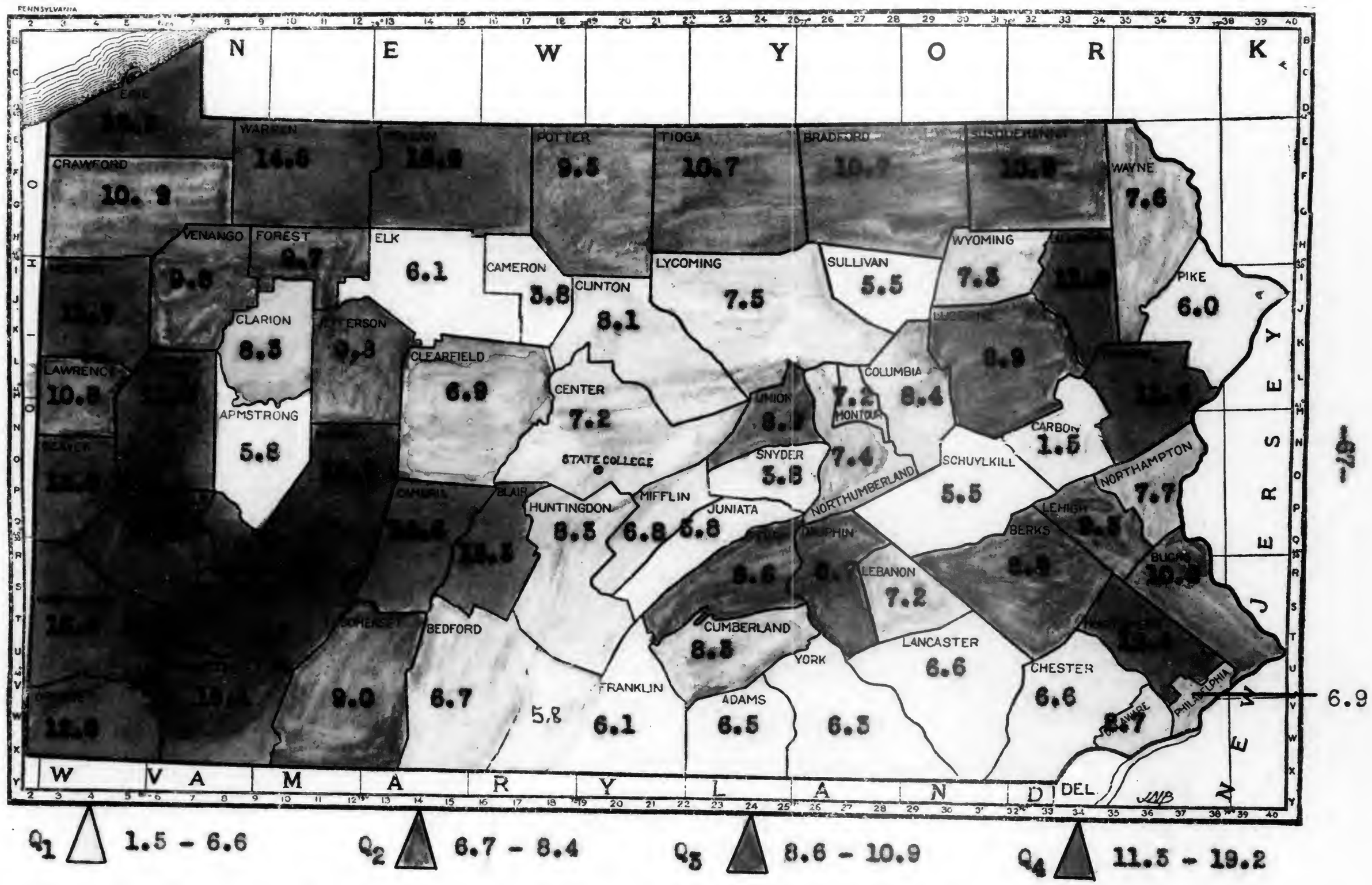

Figure 21. Per Cent of Persons on Farms in Pennsylvania in 1935 Not There in 1930, by Counties.

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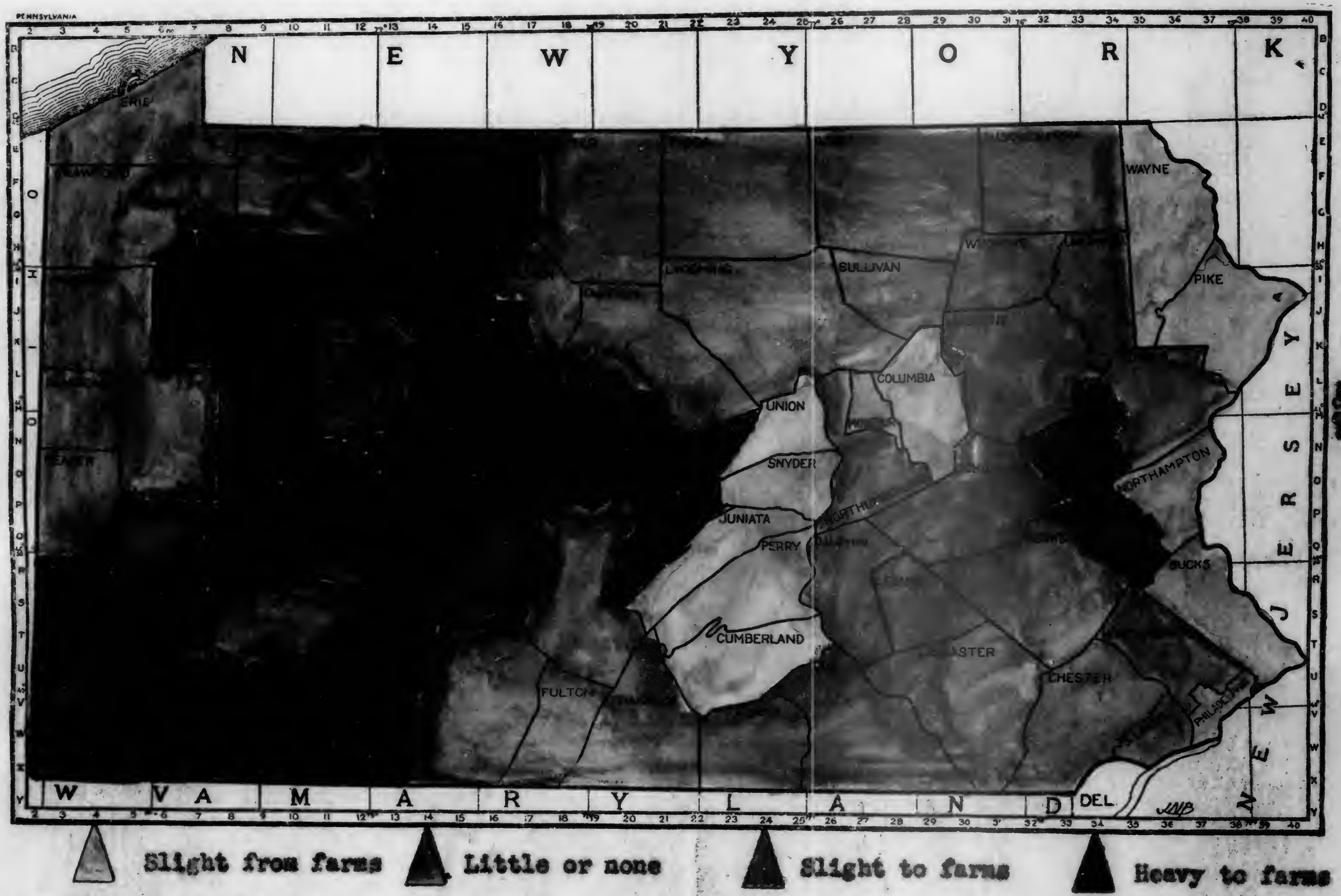

Figure 22. Net Migration of Pennsylvania Farm Population, by Counties, 1930-1935.

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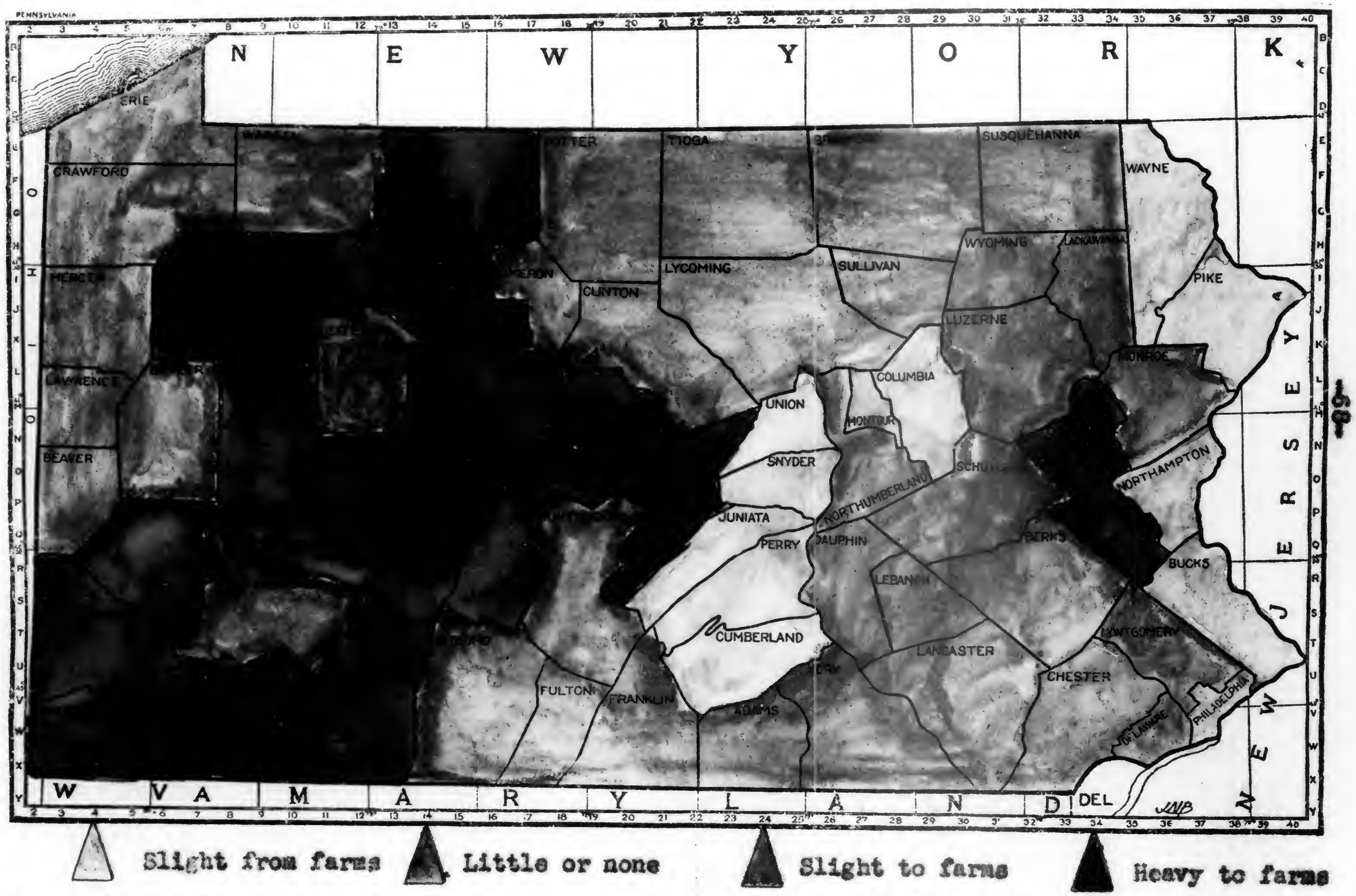

Figure 22. Net Migration of Pennsylvania Farm Population, by Counties, 1930-1935.

due to the movement of industrial workers to part-time and self-sufficing farms when thrown out of work and to reduce living costs while still employed part-time. This was especially true in western Pennsylvania in the steel and soft coal area. These persons tend not to participate heavily in community life. Nor do they support strongly community institutions, for they are frequently living in the psychological atmosphere which surrounded their former abode.

Another important point in the present discussion is the selective aspect of migration. It involves chiefly the young people. Goodrich[16] estimates that more than 40 per cent of the persons 10 to 20 years old in 1920 migrated to cities in the decade 1920 to 1930. On the other hand, only nine per cent of those 50 years old or over left the farms. What does this mean in terms of leadership and membership of rural social institutions and organizations? Another aspect of this same question is the fact that, migratory opportunities having largely vanished during the depression, this group is now dammed up in rural territory. These young people together with the ones "backwashed" from the city during the lean years presents a serious challenge to the ingenuity of rural leaders throughout the state to aid them in the constructive use of their time and talents.

The question of the qualitative aspect of migration also arises. Do the more capable persons, the potential leaders, migrate in greater proportion than the less able persons? This question cannot be answered. For although several studies have attempted the solution, the results are far from conclusive.

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16. Goodrich, Carter. Migration and Economic Opportunity. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia. 1936. p. 690.

Why do these people migrate? In some instances the reasons are closely bound up with economic opportunity. But, in many instances, the reasons go deeper; and the mental operations through which the potential migrant goes in arriving at his decision to migrate are subjective and complicated. Until further research gives us more specific answers, the best we can say is that they migrate to improve their total situation - and this, of course, involves economic, educational, religious, health, recreational, familial, social, aesthetic, and civic opportunities. We need not go into this further here except to say that the desire for adequate social agencies and institutions, their inavailability in areas which experience the greatest exodus, and the inadequacy of economic resources in these areas to make such services possible, are intimately related to our problems.

8. Occupation

Nearly half (48.1 per cent; 3,722,428 persons) of Pennsylvania's population over 10 years was gainfully employed in 1930. Seventy-five per cent of the males over 10 were reported as working, while 21 per cent of the females were so occupied. More urban females (24.2 per cent) were gainfully employed than either farm women (10.0 per cent) or rural-nonfarm women (14.6 per cent). The percentages for males were about the same for all three classes of the population.

The kind of work these men and women do depends greatly on where they are located. Those along the Allegheny River will likely be employed in the steel mills; those in McKean County, in the oil fields; those in the

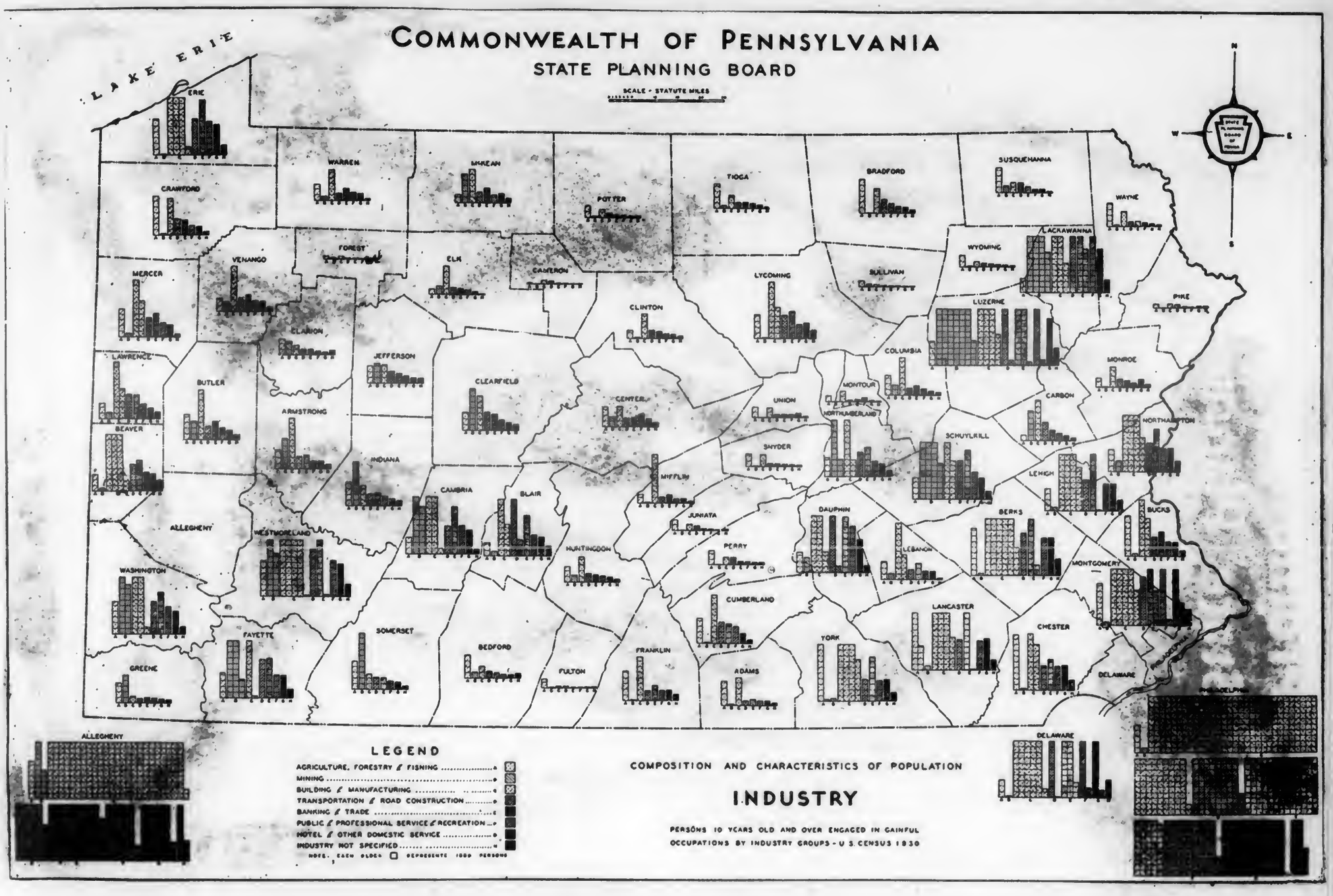

Figure 23. Persons Over 10 Gainfully Employed in Occupational Classes in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

anthracite region, in coal mining, and so on. The distributive aspects of industrial employment are seen in Figure 23.[17] A great deal of value for the present problem can be gained from a careful study of the facts presented here. One can tell fairly accurately that the United Mine Workers' organizations will be active in coal regions, Sons of Italy Lodge would tend

17. Pennsylvania Planning, Pennsylvania State Planning Board, Harrisburg, 1939. Vol. 4, No. 3.

to be strong here also, and that the Veterans of Foreign Wars would likely be prevalent in the larger urban places. Likewise, the height of column of blocks at the left of each county series gives one a good basis for predicting the prevalence of Granges and Farm Bureaus.

As is evident from Figure 24,[18] the largest group is employed in manufacturing and mechanical industries. The next largest group is trade, and so on over the list.

Of the gainfully employed rural farm males, three-fourths are engaged in agriculture. The other one-fourth are engaged in manufacturing and mechanical industries (11 per cent), 4.6 per cent are miners, 4.5 per cent are working in transportation, 2.1 per cent in trade. (Table 7).

Table 7. Percentage Distribution of Industrial Groupings of Gainfully Employed Persons in Pennsylvania Ten Years Old and Over, Male and Female, by Class of Residence, 1930.[19]

Industry	Total		Rural-farm		Rural-nonfarm	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
All industries	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Agriculture	8.4	0.9	74.0	19.7	5.0	0.6
Forestry	0.2	-	0.5	-	0.6	-
Mineral Extraction	10.2	-	4.6	-	26.7	0.2
Manufacturing and Mechanical Industries	41.4	26.4	10.9	20.9	35.4	21.6
Transportation	10.5	2.5	4.5	1.6	11.6	3.9
Trade	12.9	10.2	2.1	3.5	9.3	8.5
Public Service	2.2	0.1	0.5	0.4	1.2	0.6
Professional Service	4.5	13.5	1.0	18.9	3.6	16.8
Domestic and Personal Service	3.9	27.2	0.6	28.0	2.2	27.5
Clerical	6.0	19.2	1.7	8.3	4.2	10.3

18. Pennsylvania - An Inventory. Department of Public Instruction, Harrisburg. 1936. P. 15.
19. Fifteenth Census of the United States. 1930. Vol. IV., p. 1383.

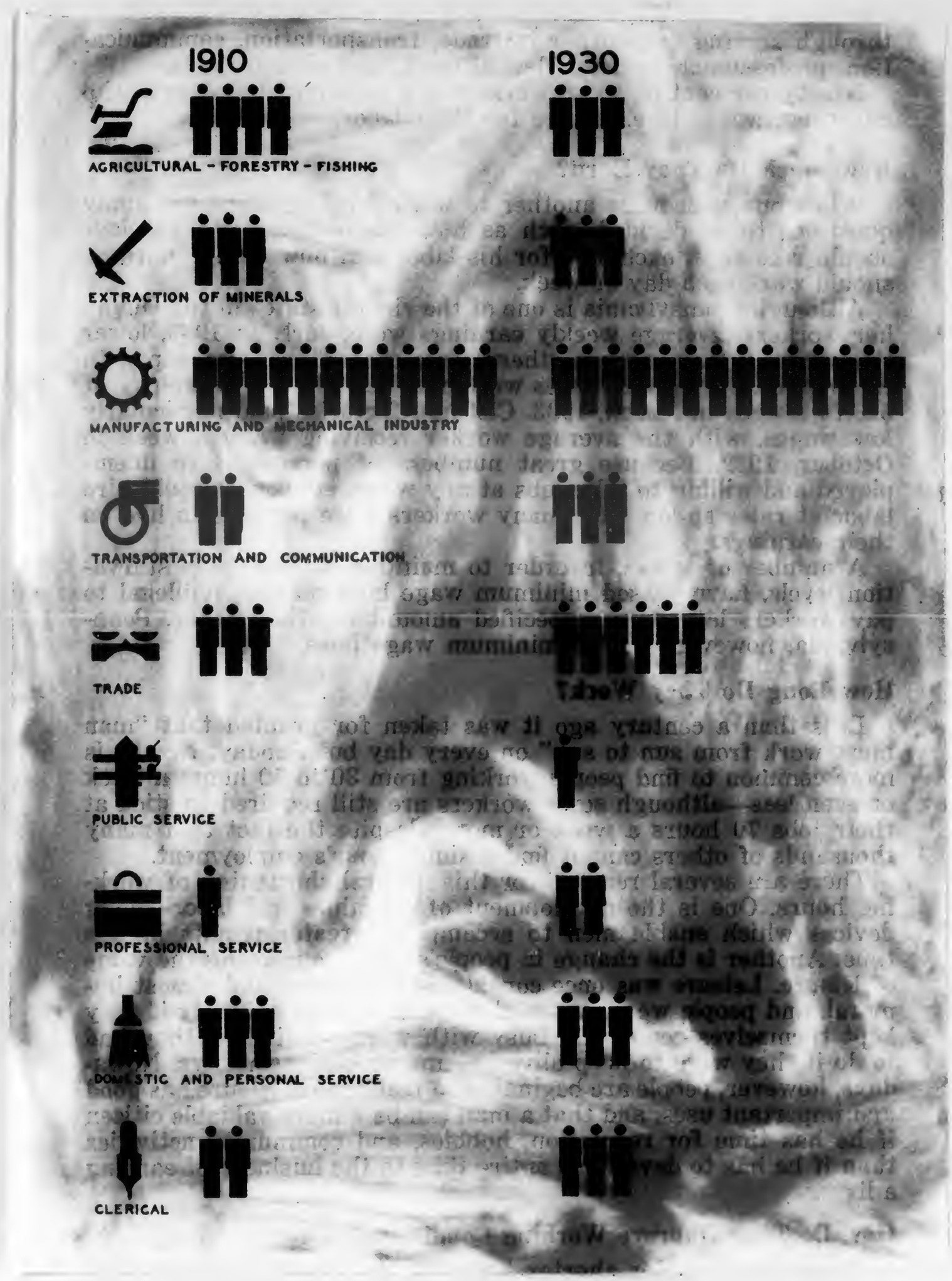

Figure 24. Gainful Workers over 10 Years in Pennsylvania by Occupational Groups, 1910 and 1930
(Each Figure = 100,000 Persons)

A majority of gainfully employed farm females were working in non-agricultural occupations: 28 per cent in domestic and personal service; 20.9 per cent in manufacturing industries (largely clothing mills); 18.9 per cent in professional service; while 19.7 per cent were engaged in agriculture. However, we must remember that but one out of 10 farm women were considered "gainfully employed."

The occupational distribution of the rural-nonfarm population is quite unlike that for the farm population but resembles more the distribution for the total population of the state. However, there are two notable exceptions. First, the proportion in the nonfarm population engaged in mining is twice as large as that in the total population and the per cent working at trades is much lower. The significant thing to point out with respect to rural-nonfarm occupations is the fact of industrial domination of small towns by mines, steel mills, building industries, clothing mills, and the like. Thus, it can be said of Pennsylvania that occupationally the villagers depend upon the city rather than the farm. This occupational situation involving 2¼ million nonfarm people affects profoundly rural social agencies.

Figure 25[20] shows the relative importance of the agricultural industry in the various counties in 1930. Only one county (Fulton) had more than half its gainfully employed engaged in agriculture. Sixteen others fell between 25 and 50 per cent, while an additional 26 counties were in the 10 to 25 per cent class. There were four areas where agriculture was relatively unimportant: the Allegheny steel district, the Altoona-Johnstown section, the Philadelphia manufacturing area, and the hard coal district.

20. Source: Lively and Tauber. Op. cit. P. 70.

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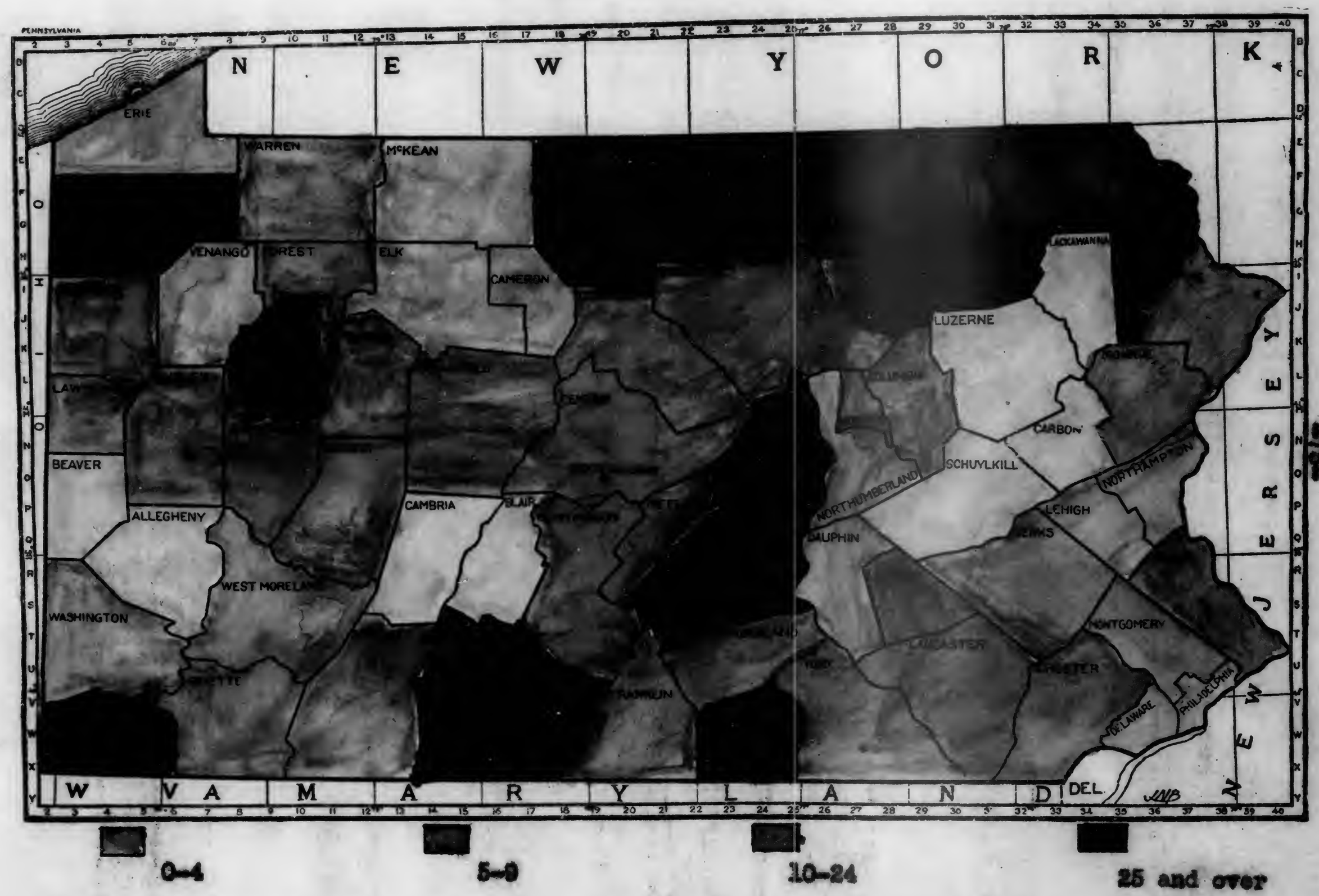

Figure 25. Per Cent of Gainful Workers 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Agriculture, in Pennsylvania, 1930.

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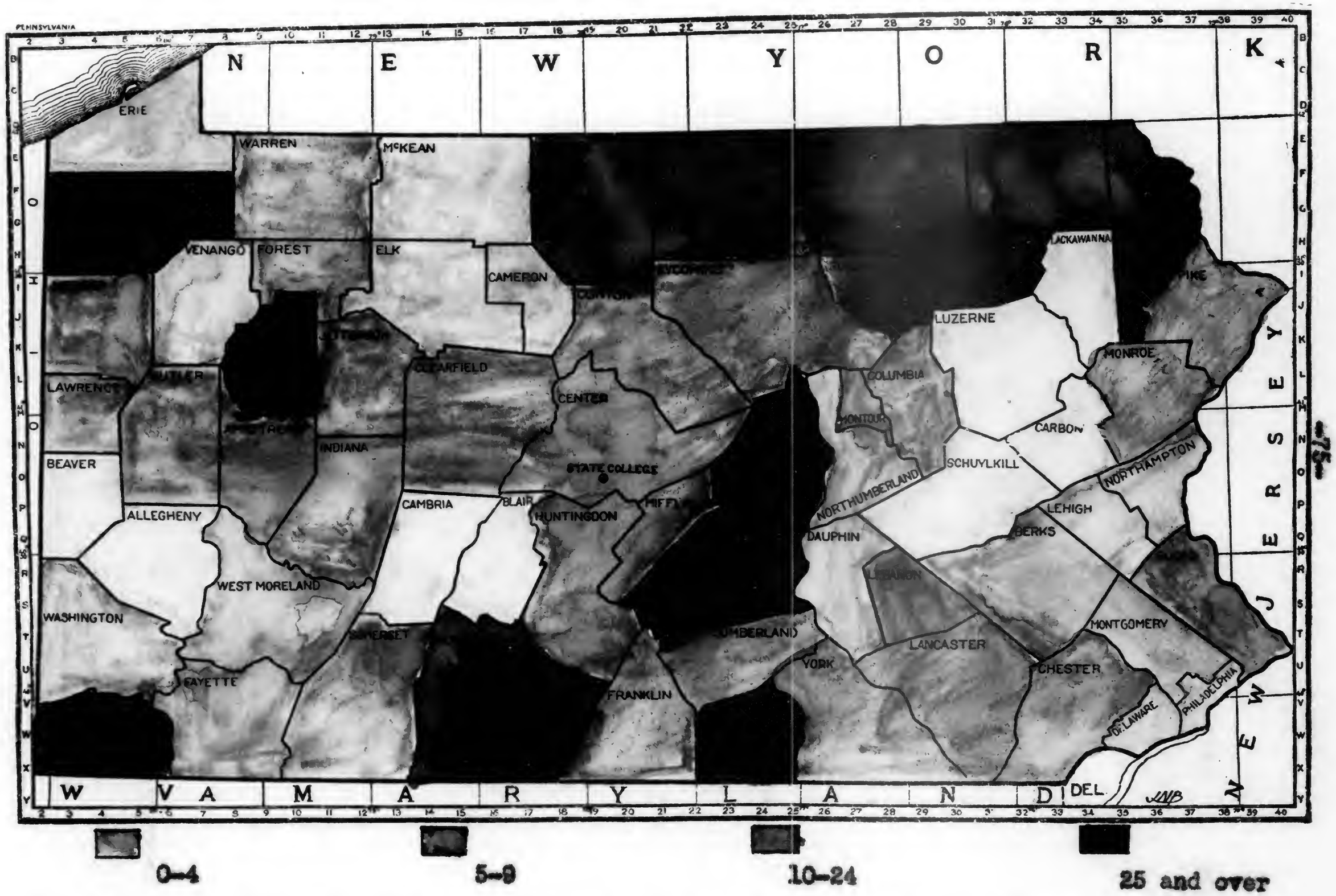

Figure 25. Per Cent of Gainful Workers 10 Years of Age and Over Engaged in Agriculture, in Pennsylvania, 1930.

The map emphasizes the excellence of local agricultural produce markets even in poor agricultural areas.

The factor of women in industry has done much to produce the lack of balance between jobs and people. One-fourth of all employees in Pennsylvania are women. Figure 26 gives some indication of the geographical patterning of per cent of women employed. For example, the heavy industries of the northwestern half of Pennsylvania, such as steel, coal, lumber, and oil are dominated by males. Forest County, which is primarily lumbering, has 99 per cent of its employed workers in the male class. The southeast, on the other hand, employs many women, proportionately, in such industries as textile mills, box factories, shoe manufacturies, and the like. Even the hard coal counties have many women employees in the textile manufacturies which have sprung up there because of a surplus of cheap labor. As a matter of fact, the sex ratio in these counties has shifted from a male surplus to a female surplus now that the hard coal industry has suffered severe setbacks. Cameron County has the highest proportion of women workers. Over three-fifths of the employees here are women, most of them laborers in the bulb and radio tube factory in Emporium.

9. Growth

In the section on migration, we have seen the effect of movements of people from country to city and city to country on each class of the population. Here we are concerned not only with these phenomena but with all which affect the growth or decline of the population in any classification.

From Table 8 we see that the total population increased 10.5 per cent in the decade between 1920 and 1930. But this increase did not occur

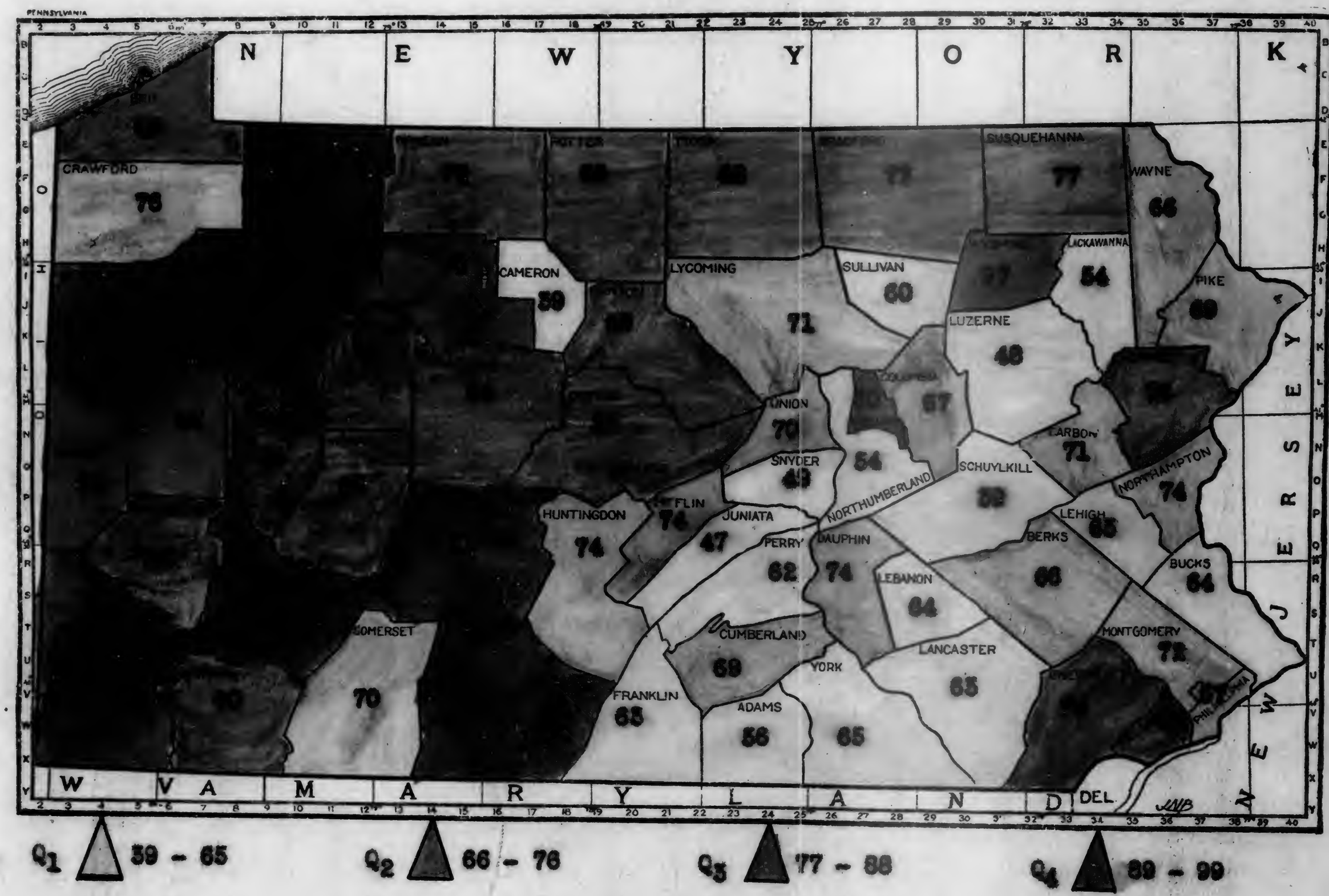

Figure 26. Per Cent of Adult Males to Total Number of Employees in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1937.

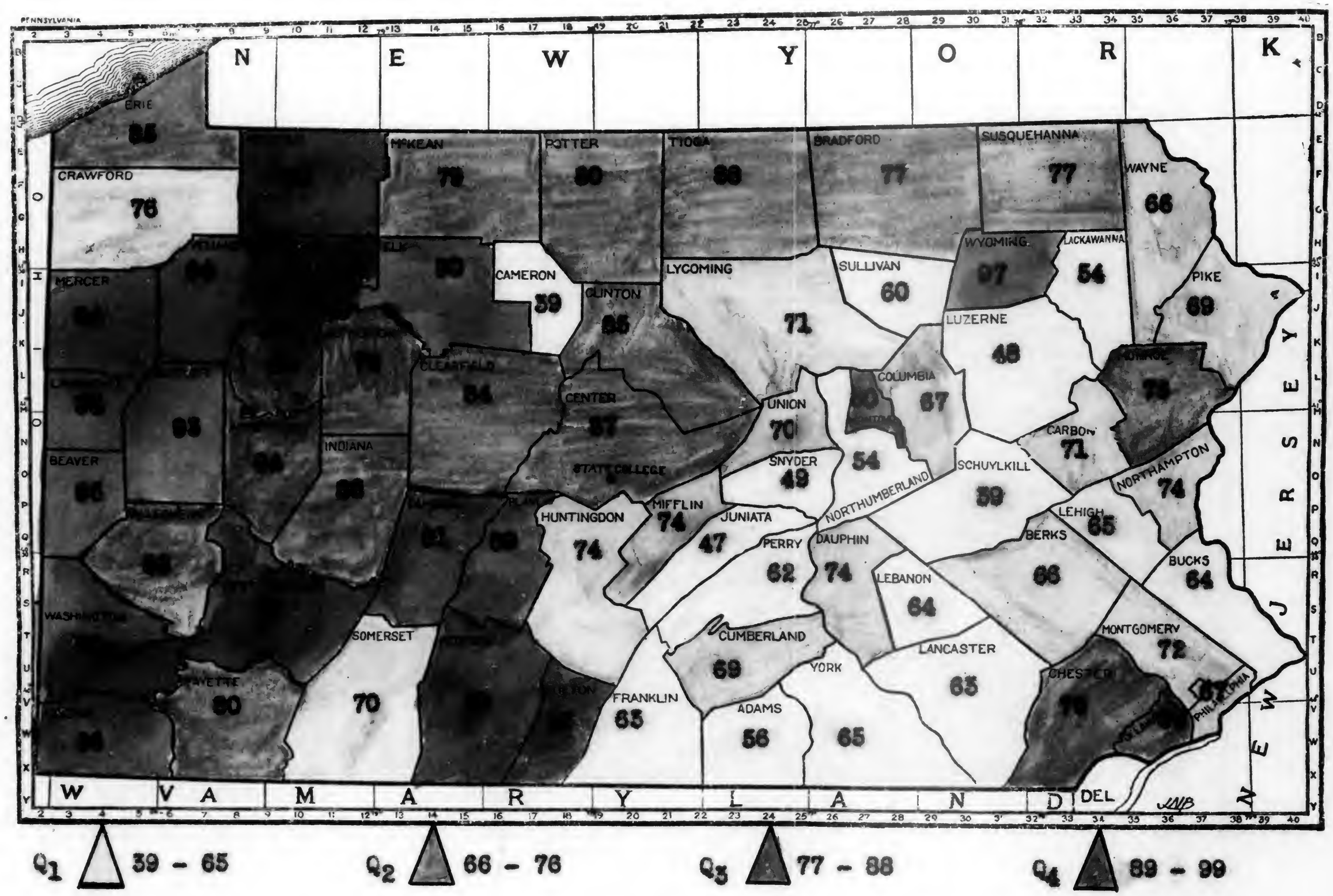

Figure 26. Per Cent of Adult Males to Total Number of Employees in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1937.

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Table 8. The Number and Increase of Population of Pennsylvania, Rural and Urban, 1930 and 1920.[21]

Class	1930	1920	Increase, 1920 to 1930 Number	Per cent
Total	9,631,350	8,720,017	911,333	10.5
Urban	6,533,511	5,607,815	925,696	16.5
Urban-farm	10,454	6,974	3,480	49.9
Rural	3,097,839	3,112,202	-14,363	-0.5
Rural-farm	846,240	941,360	-95,120	-10.1
Rural-nonfarm	2,251,599	2,170,842	80,757	3.7
Per cent urban	67.8	64.3	-	-
Per cent rural	32.2	35.7	-	-
Per cent rural-farm	8.8	10.8	-	-
Per cent rural-nonfarm	23.4	24.9		

uniformly in the entire population. For whereas the urban population increased 16.5 per cent and the rural-nonfarm population increased 3.7 per cent, the total rural population decreased slightly. This was because of a 10.1 per cent decrease in the farm population. Inasmuch as the farm fertility ratio was higher than the rural-nonfarm rate in 41 counties of the state which, in turn, were higher than the urban rate, the conclusion must be reached that these gross differences in growth are attributable to migration. This we discussed in a preceding section.

Figure 26 shows the distribution of fertility rates for the farm population.[22] This ratio is expressed in terms of the number of children under 5 per 1,000 females 20 to 44 years of age in the population. It is variously referred to as the adjusted, net, intrinsic, or corrected rate of natural increase. From the map, it is seen that the lowest rates are found

21. Source; United States Census, 1930.
22. Ibidem.

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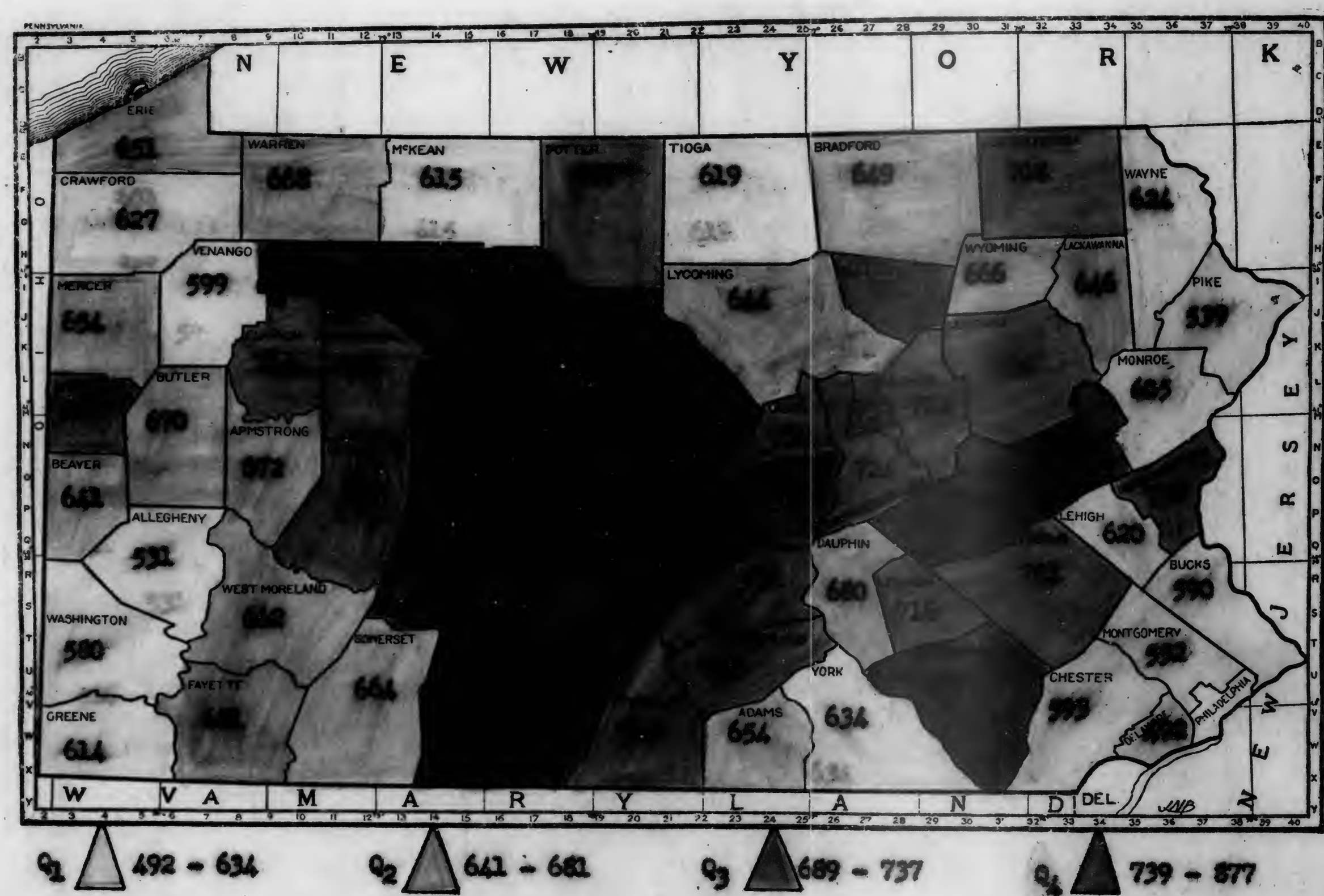

Figure 26. Fertility Ratio of Rural Farm Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1950.

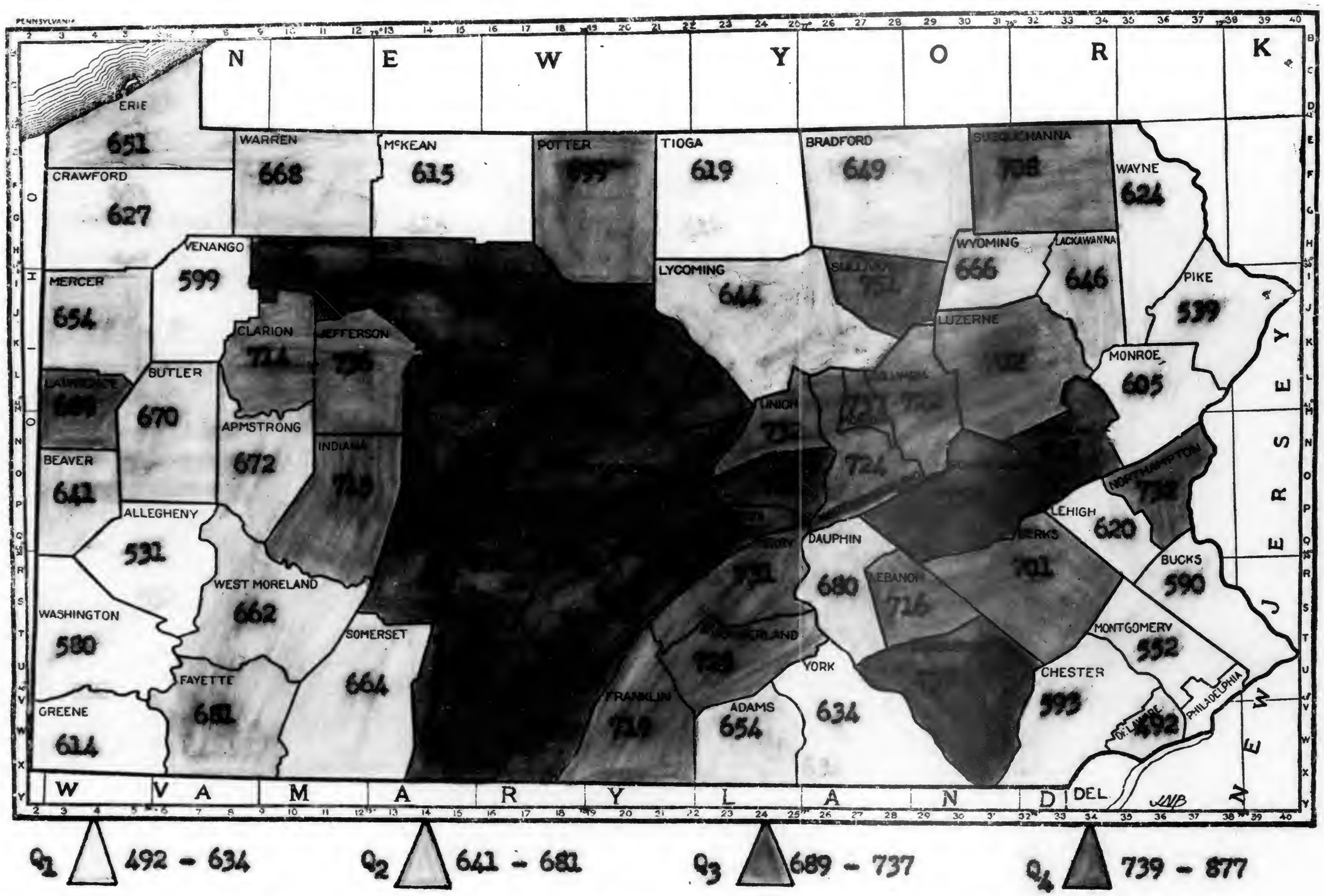

Figure 26. Fertility Ratio of Rural Farm Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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in urban dominated centers. The low fertility counties are those located near the periphery of the state while the heavy fertility is found in the Allegheny Mountains and Plateau. The range for the state is from 492 children per 1,000 women 20 to 44 years of age in Delaware County to 877 in Cambria, a difference of 385. The average for the state was 678.

Figure 27[23] shows something of the same picture with respect to the fertility ratio of the rural-nonfarm population. Again the highest rates are found in the Allegheny Plateau. The effect of the soft-coal-mining village population, with its high proportion of foreign born Catholics, is seen. The entire soft coal territory is high, with the greatest rate occurring in Cambria and Indiana Counties. The Philadelphia hinterland has the lowest rural-nonfarm rate for any large area. This whole area of relatively fertile soil and high rural wealth has a large proportion of retired farmers in the villages. The range in rural-nonfarm fertility rate is from 328 in Indiana County to 275 in Montour County. In other words, the lowest rate is but 29 per cent of the highest.

A third map in this series, Figure 28, shows the fertility ratio of the rural population by counties.[24] It is a composite of Figures 26 and 27, but it conforms much more closely to the rural-nonfarm map than it does to the farm picture. This is caused by the greater nonfarm numbers in the rural population. Again, the Allegheny Plateau reveals a high rural fertility rate throughout in close correspondence to the rural-nonfarm map. This is another indication that for much of Pennsylvania rural subregions take their character not from the agriculture but from the rural-nonfarm industry which dominates the area. This is seen in the chapter on Cultural Areas.

23. Ibidem.
24. Ibidem.

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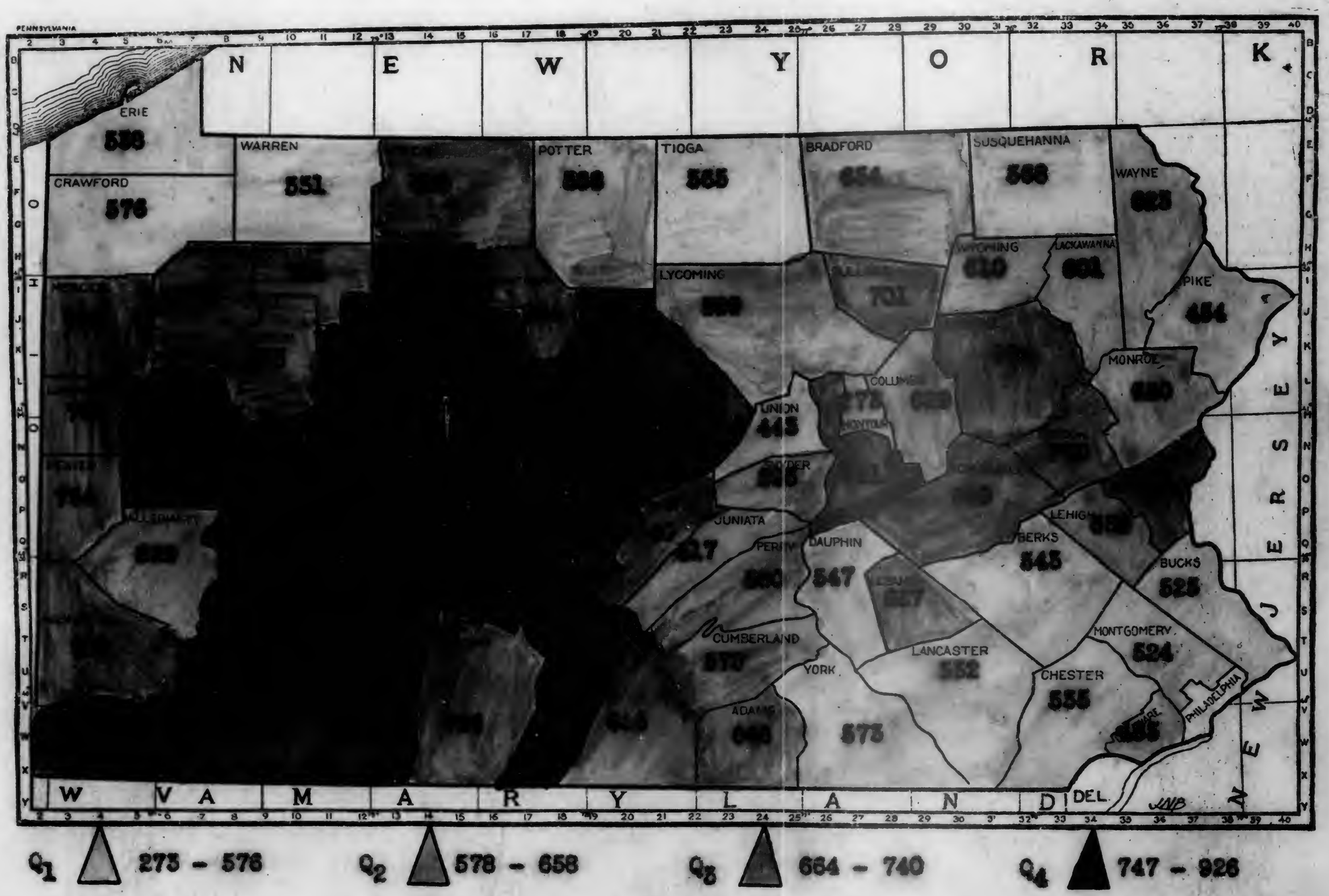

Figure 27. Fertility Ratio of the Rural-Nonfarm Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1950.

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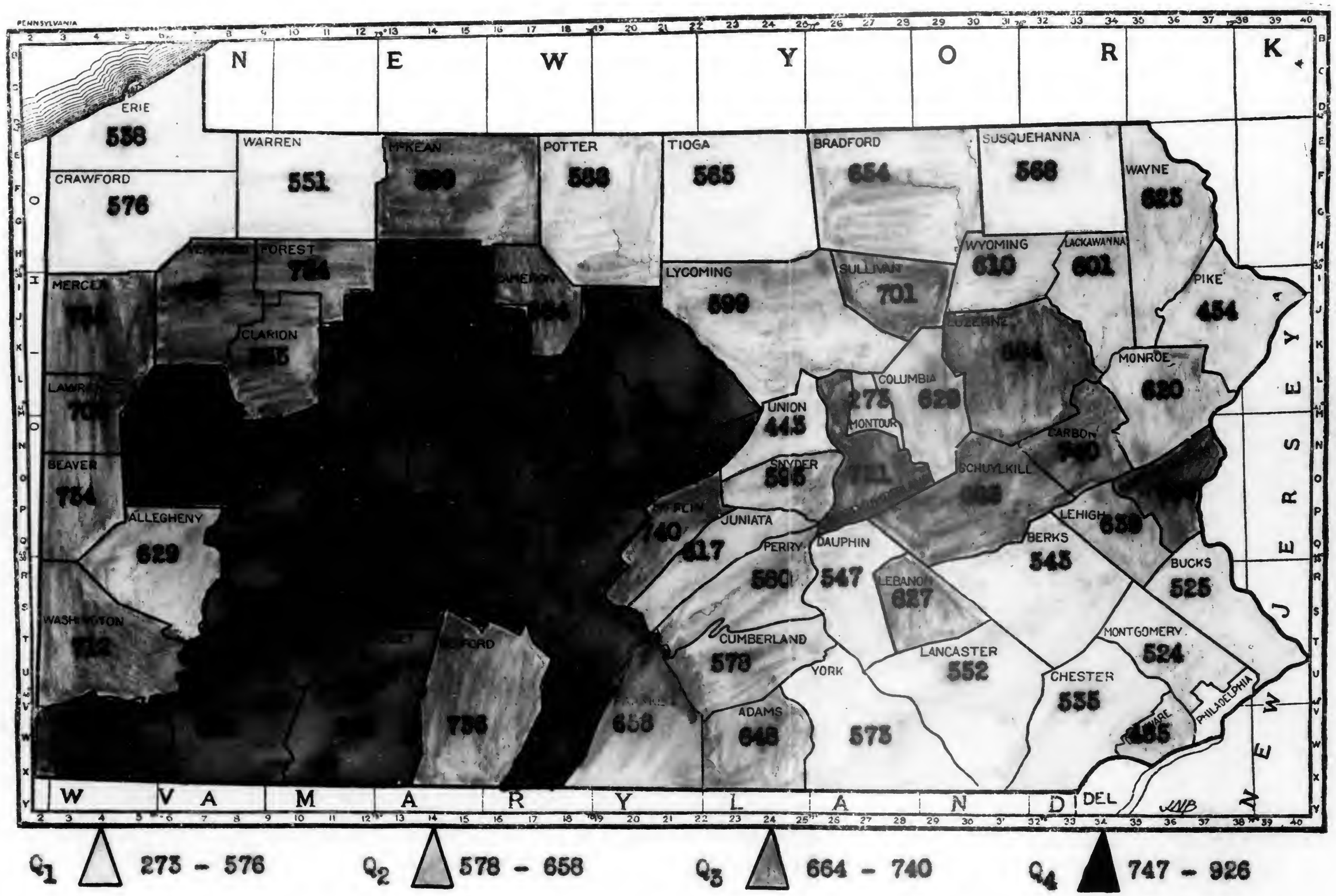

Figure 27. Fertility Ratio of the Rural-Nonfarm Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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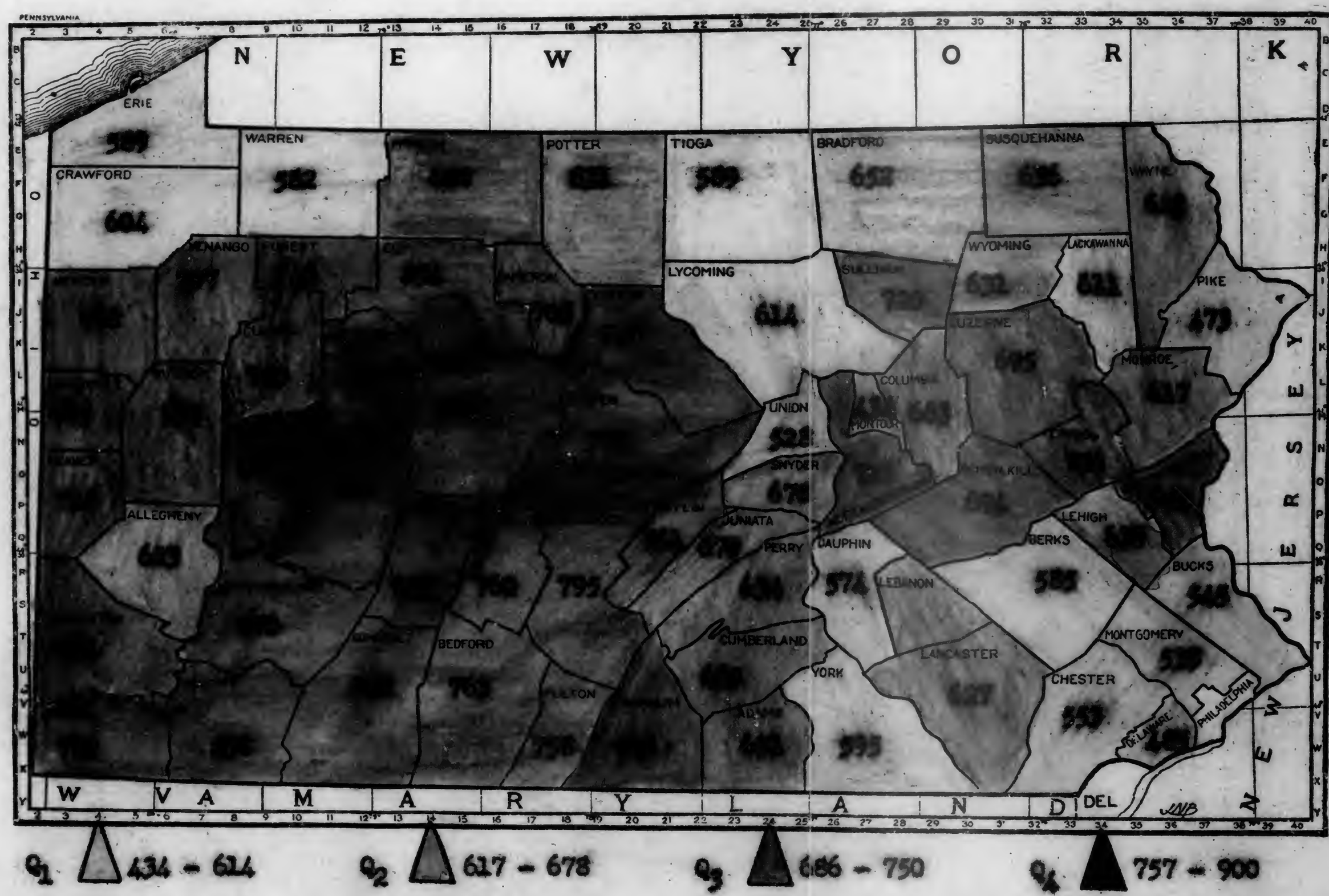

Figure 28. Fertility Ratio of the Rural Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

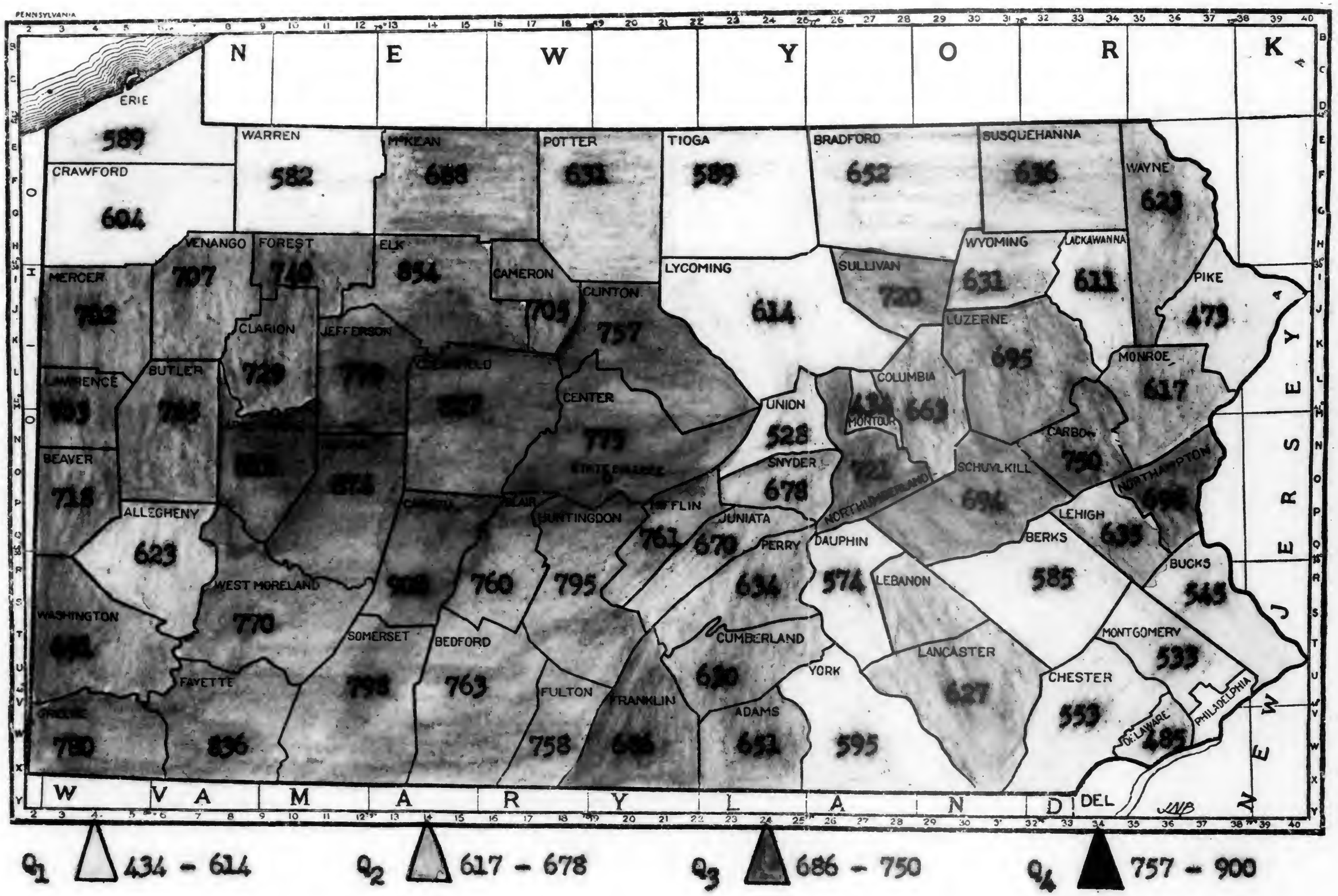

Figure 28. Fertility Ratio of theRural Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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There are wide differences between the fertility rates of urban and rural sectors of Pennsylvania population. For urban territory the ratio is 431 while for the rural population the figure rises to 680. Little difference is found between the classes of rural population in the entire state for the rural-farm ratio is 678 and the rural-nonfarm figure is 680.

Next we turn to look at the fertility rate of total population. As with previous maps, Figure 29 shows a definite ecological patterning.[25] The Allegheny Plateau, which is not influenced greatly by large cities, and which has considerable foreign born population again shows a high fecundity. Only Allegheny, Blair, and Lycoming Counties are below the median, and these counties are dominated by the cities of Pittsburgh, Altoona, and Williamsport respectively. The entire east end of the state has a low number of children, a situation intensified especially in the southeast. The effect of urban centers can be seen throughout the state. Where city people form a large part of the county total population, one finds a lower fertility ratio. The range in total fertility is from 357 in Philadelphia County to 765 in Indiana County. The average for the state is 499. This is still considerably above the number of children under 5 necessary to maintain the population; but we will discuss this in the next section.

As another index to the differential fertility of the various segments of the population it may be pointed out that whereas the median size of all families in the commonwealth was 3.61 that for the urban population was 3.54, for the rural-nonfarm was 3.70, while for the rural-farm population the median size was 4.01 members. For the urban native white families of native parentage, the figure was as low as 3.26 while remaining almost 4 for

25. Ibidem.

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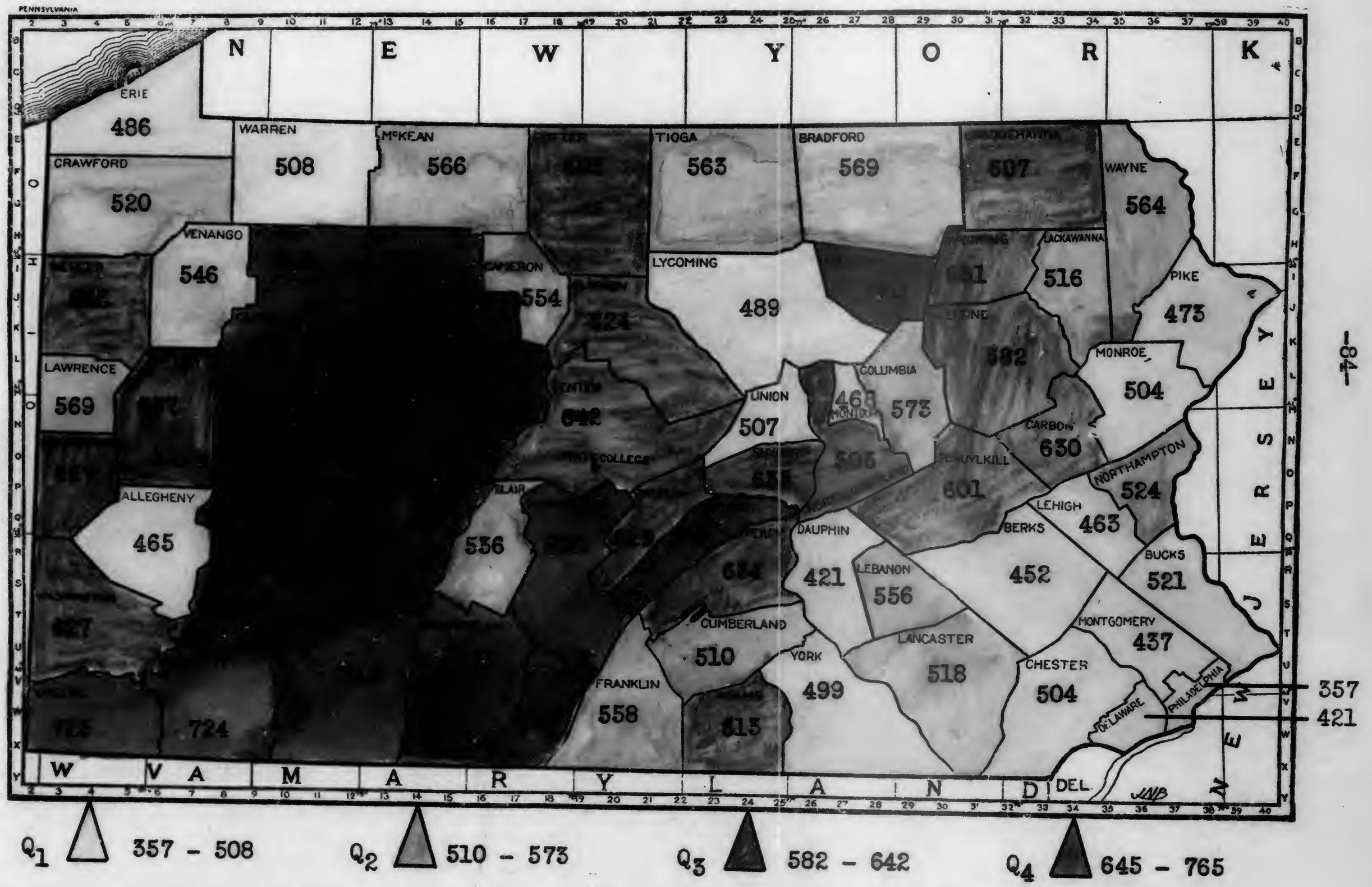

Figure 29. Fertility Ratio of the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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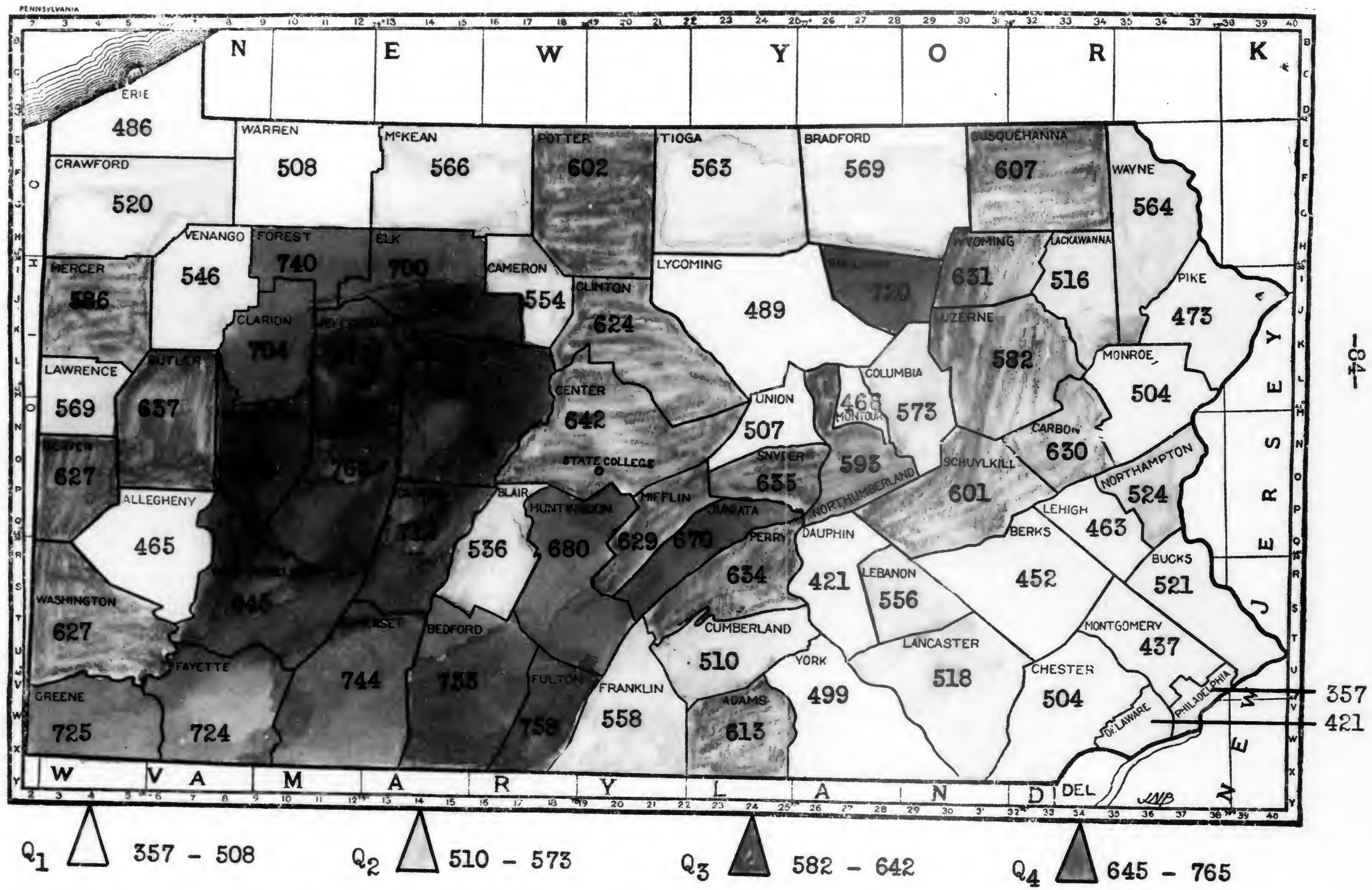

Figure 29. Fertility Ratio of the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

the farm population. The largest families were found in the farm foreign born white population. There the median size of family was 5.17.[26] The size of family for the state as a whole was higher than any other state in the north east central United States and the north east. Only two other states in the union had a higher urban ranking (North Carolina and Utah), while only four states had larger rural-nonfarm families.

A final map in this series (Figure 30) shows the recent birth rate for the total population of Pennsylvania. The rates for the counties, derived from data of the Division of Vital Statistics of the State Department of Health, gives the number of births per year per 1,000 population. The figures are adjusted to the residence of the mother. Again, the eastern part of the state has a low fertility, some of the northwestern counties are relatively low, while practically the entire Allegheny Plateau has a high rate. This map, indicating the same situation as shown in the previous four figures, shows also the perpetuation of the 1930 conditions, since the last map is for the year 1937.

It is a matter of common knowledge that the farm is the seed bed of America's population. In Pennsylvania, however, the village population is also highly fertile. It is probable that this high rural fertility will continue with some diminution. So the ultimate trends in population growth and decline between the urban and the more fecund farm and rural-nonfarm classes are dependent to a large extent on the other important variable migration. To this we now turn.

The historical aspects of intra-state differences in rural population changes are interesting. In the decade 1900-1910, the entire northern

26. Ibidem.

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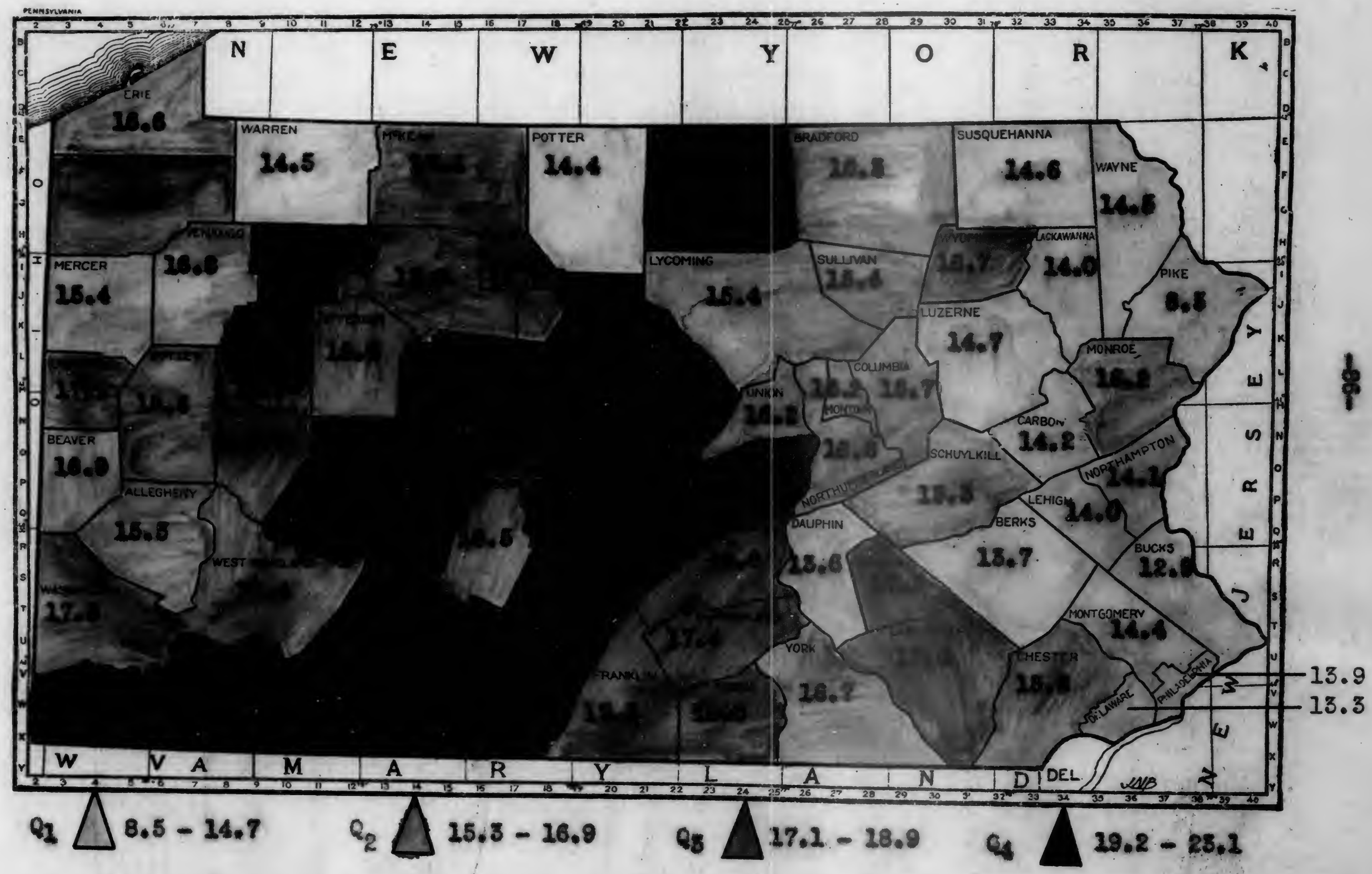

Figure 30. Number of Births Adjusted to Residence of Mother Per 1,000 Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1937.

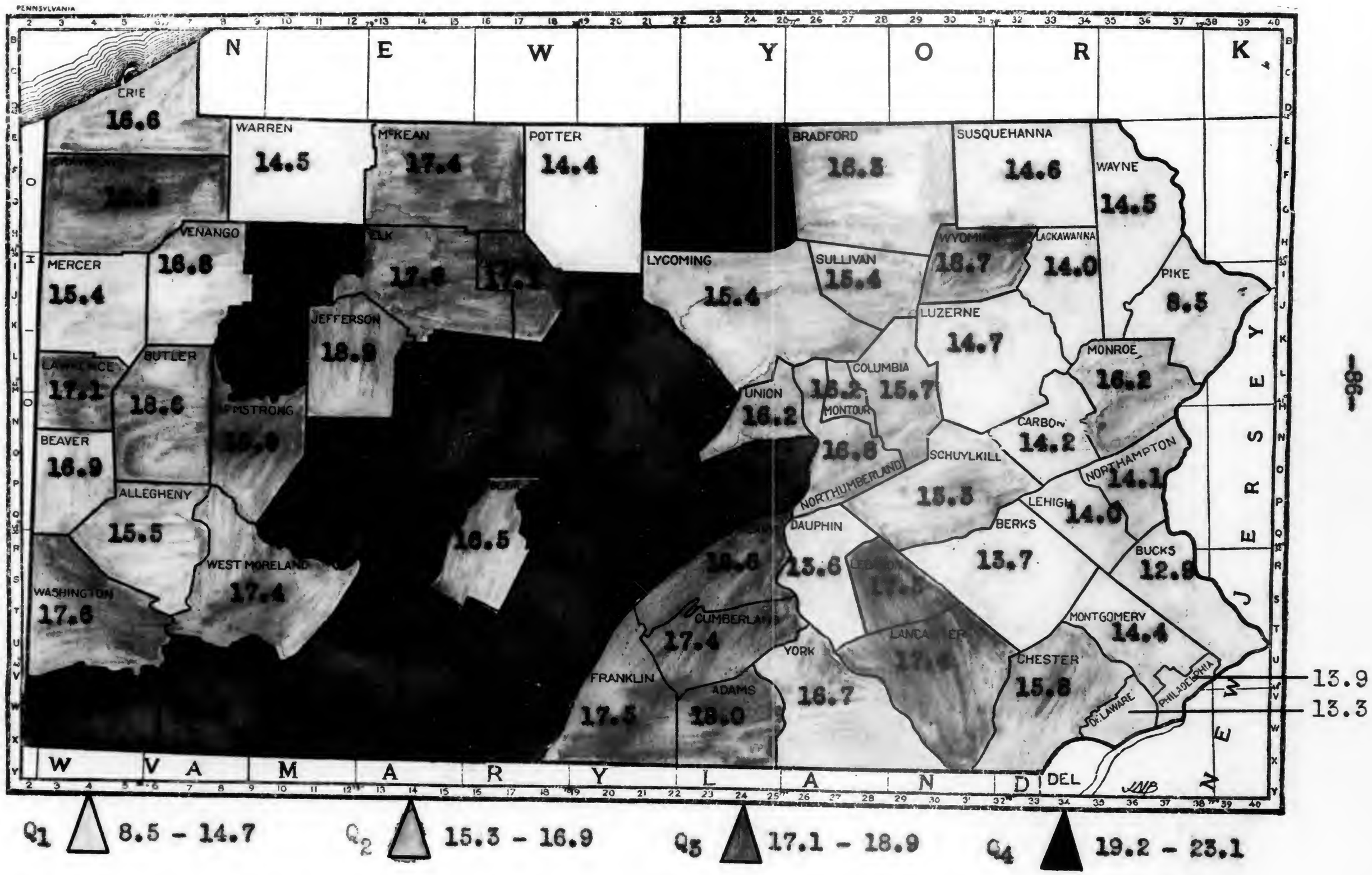

Figure 30. Number of Births Adjusted to Residence of Mother Per 1,000 Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1937.

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half of the commonwealth lost considerable rural population. During this period the lumbering industry was undergoing a sharp decline while at the same time industrial and mining activities were coming to the front rapidly. Especially was this true in the soft coal fields and with the textile industries. As a result, the rural population of the entire southwestern quarter of the state increased by more than 10 per cent; and the same situation obtained for the counties in Pennsylvania bordering the southern half of the Susquehanna River.[27]

During the next decade (1910-1920), the situation was almost identical. Again, the northern half of the state, with the exception of Erie County, lost rural population; and again, it was the southwestern quarter that gained markedly in rural population. But during this period the agricultural counties of south central Pennsylvania lost considerable numbers of rural population also.[28]

In the last decade (1920-1930) the total loss of rural population was slight (0.5 per cent) but the internal shifts again were enormous. The greatest loss in rural population occurred in the Allegheny Plateau and the Allegheny Mountains in the central part of the state (Figure 51).[29] In the main, the industrial areas in both ends of the state gained. Such counties as Forest, Cameron, and Jefferson in the Upper Allegheny Plateau lost a fifth of their rural population during the decade while such rural industrial counties as Beaver, Greene, and Mifflin gained a fourth or more in rural population.

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27. Source: Fourteenth Census of the United States. 1920.
28. Ibidem.
29. Fifteenth Census of the United States. 1930.

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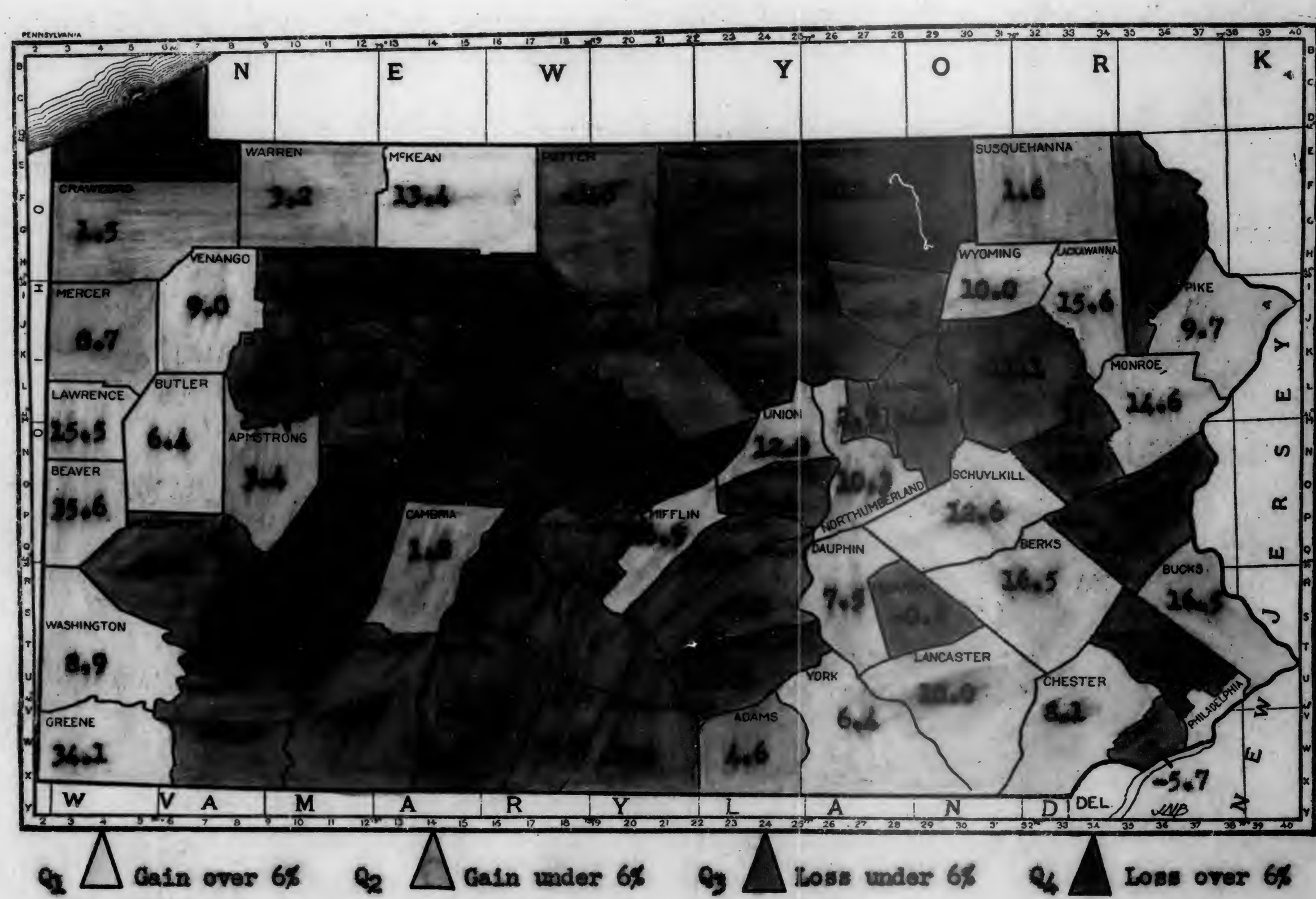

Q1 Gain over 6% Q2 Gain under 6% Q3 Loss under 6% Q4 Loss over 6%

Figure 31. Per Cent of Growth in the Rural Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1920-1930.

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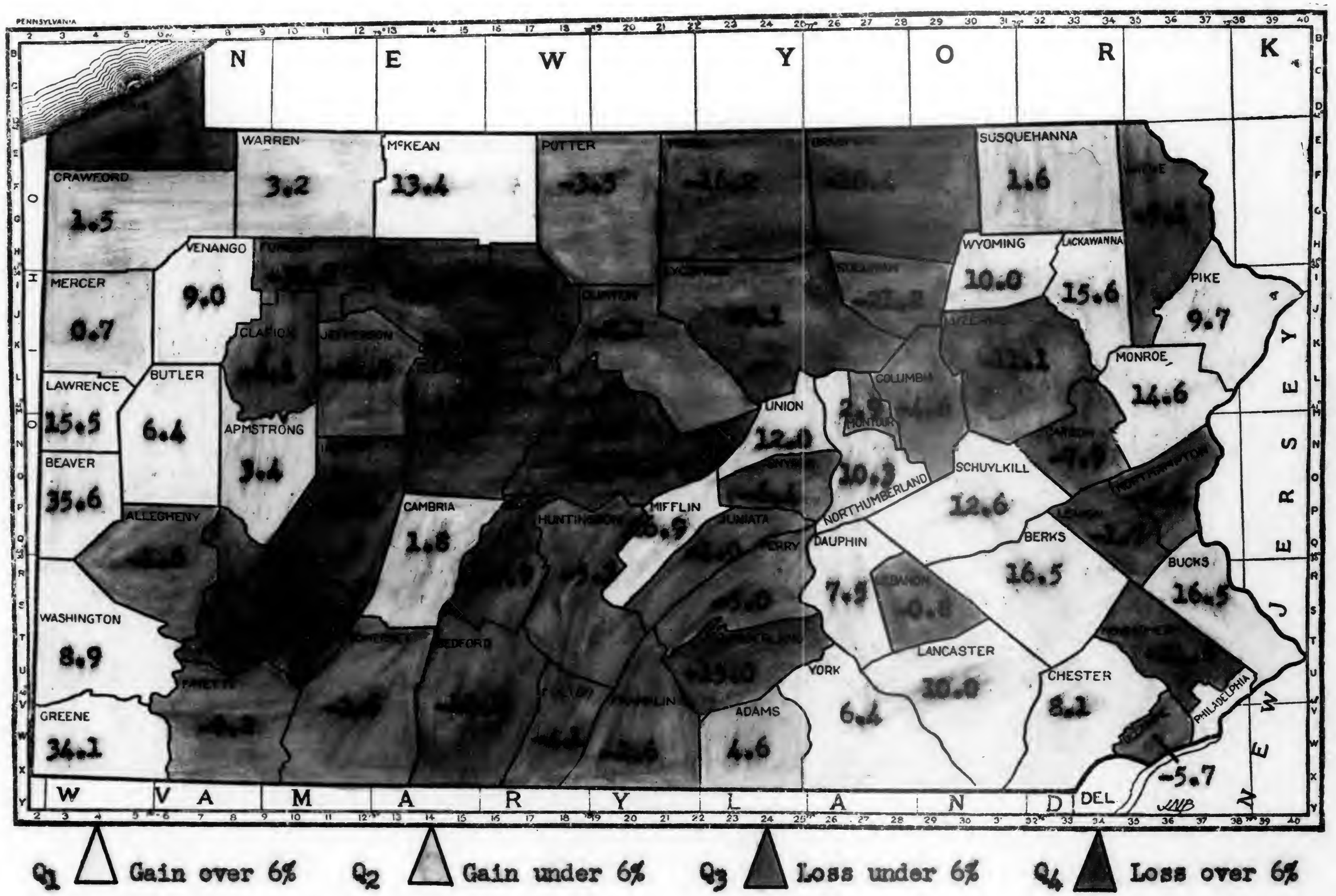

Figure 31. Per Cent of Growth in the Rural Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1920-1930.

The situation is much the same for the total population in the last decade (Figure 32).[30] It was the mining, industrial urbanized areas that obtained major increases. Suburban Delaware County, for example, gained 61.9 per cent in the decade. On the other hand, the rural mountainous counties lost population heavily. This was especially true in the upper Allegheny Plateau. Here, Forest County, for example, lost nearly a third of its people in the 10-year period. It is fairly safe to assume that any rural county, such as Forest, will have much difficulty in maintaining its social organizational structure when for three successive decades it has lost 15 per cent, 21 per cent, and 30.7 per cent of its total population.

No data are available for the rural population on what shifts have taken place since 1930, except estimates. However, there is reliable data for the farm population up to 1935. For this five-year period significant changes have resulted. Figure 33[31] gives us the geographic picture. All counties but two, Pike and Northampton on the extreme east, gained in farm population. The greatest gain was in the Allegheny Plateau where the increase was almost 50 per cent in Forest County. All of the counties in this quartile gained at least 20 per cent. This heavy increase may be attributed (a) to increased urban-farm migration during the depression, (b) to decreased farm-to-city migration, and (c) to the greater fertility of the population in this territory. Even the two "island" counties appearing in this plateau - Jefferson and Westmoreland - had net increases of 12.5 per cent and 13.8 per cent respectively.

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30. Ibidem.
31. United States Census of Agriculture. 1935.

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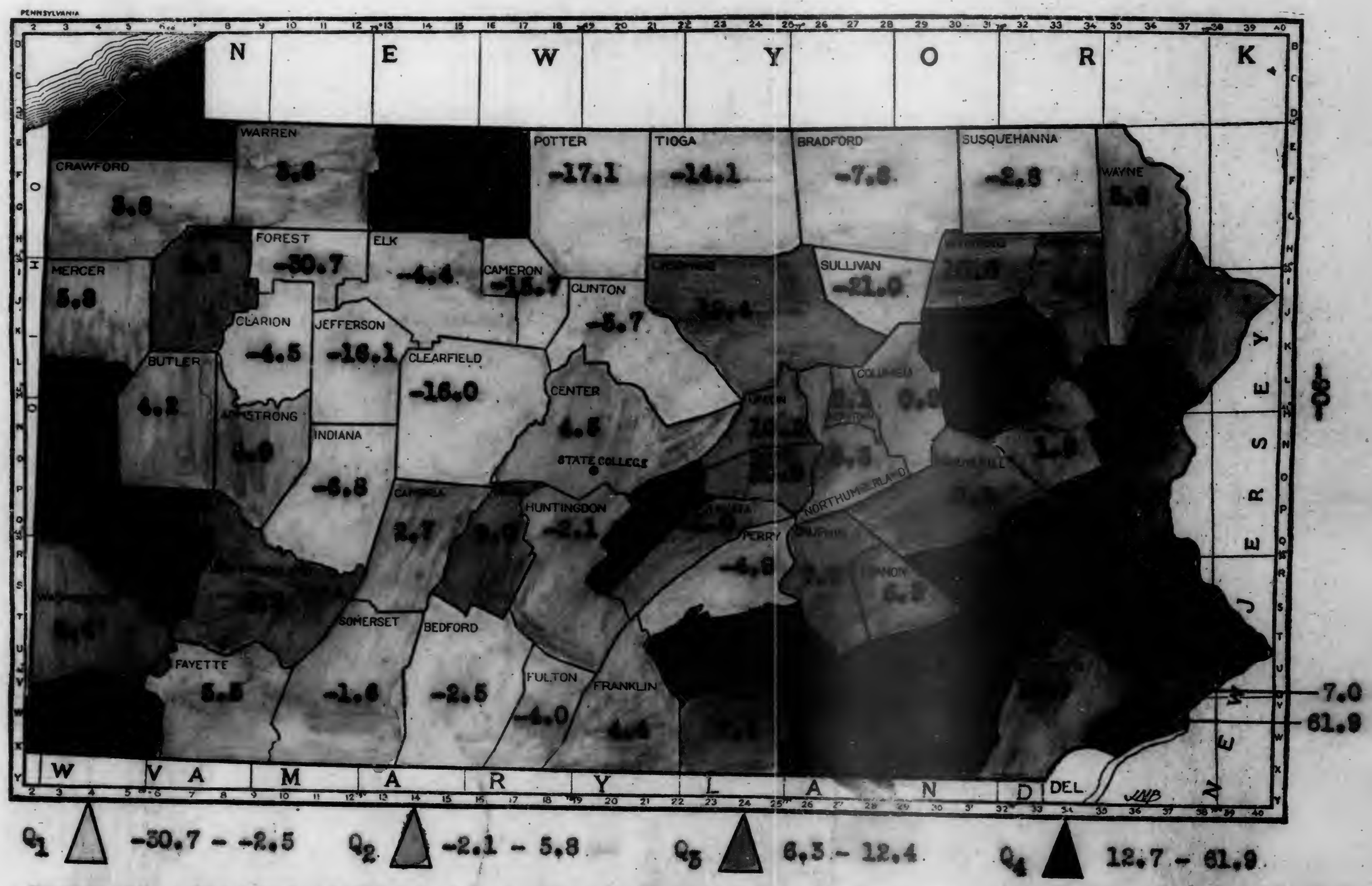

Figure 32. Per Cent of Growth in the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, in the Decade, 1920-1930.

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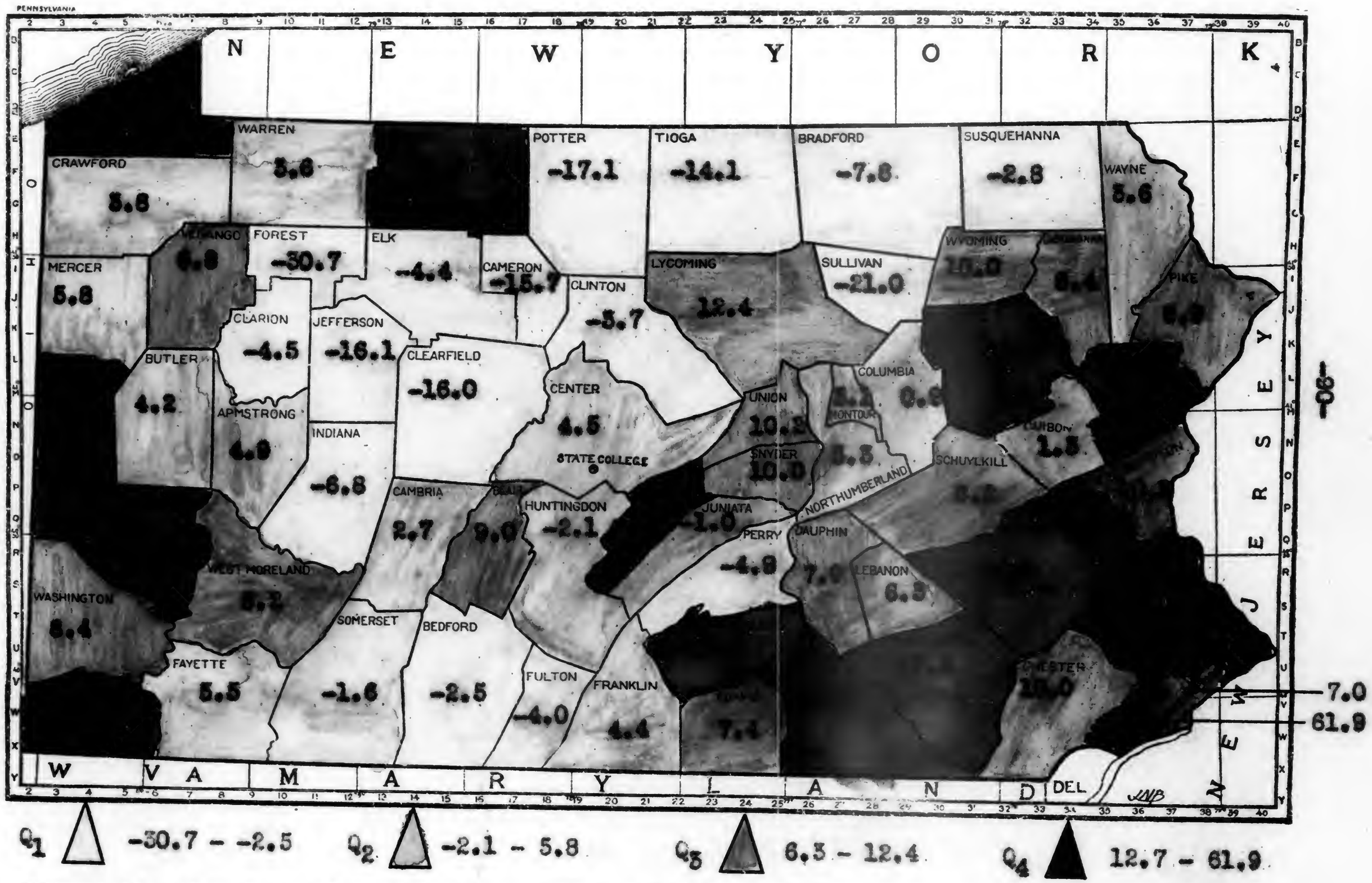

Figure 32. Per Cent of Growth in the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, in the Decade, 1920-1930.

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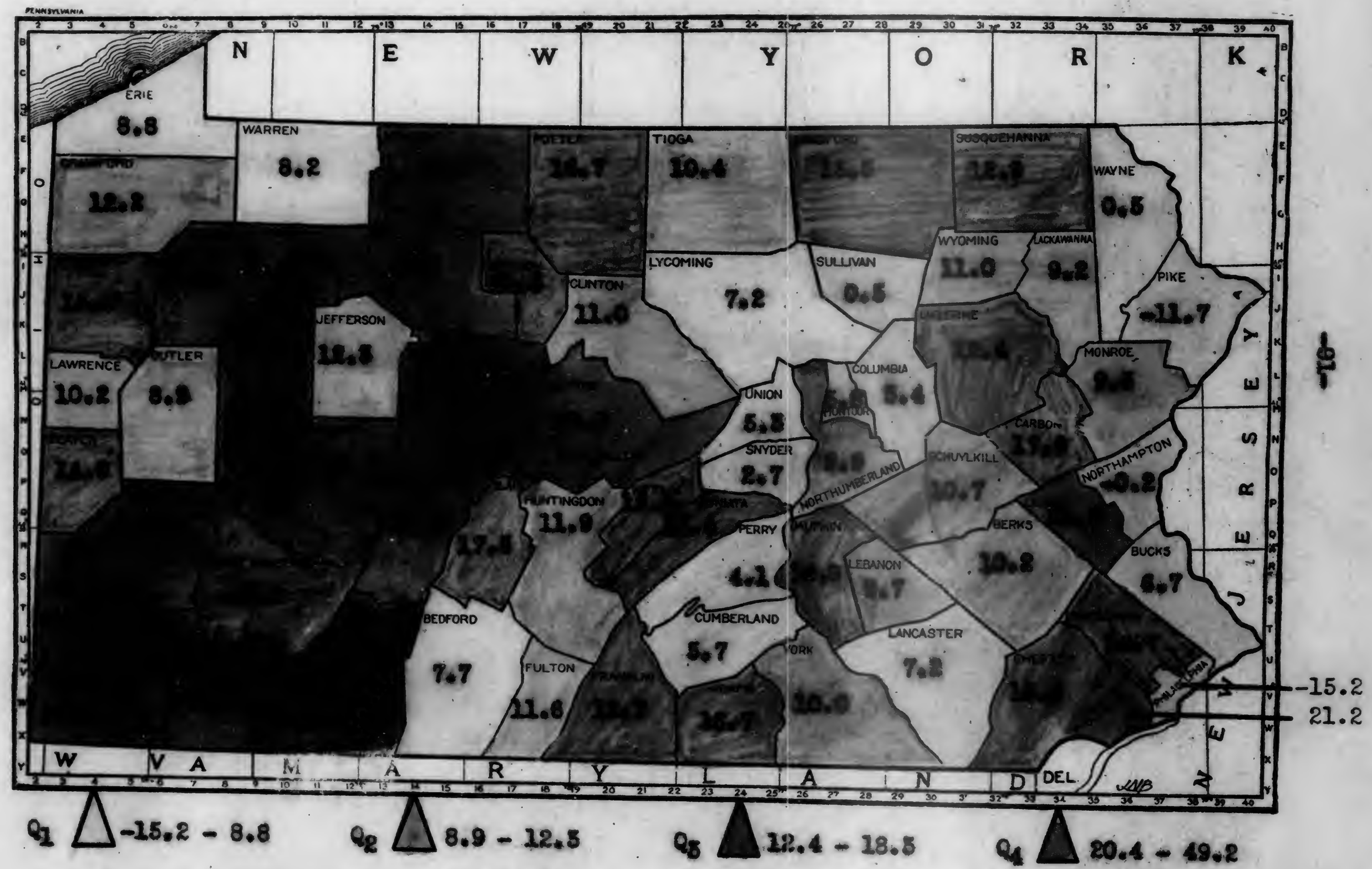

Figure 33. Percentage Change in Farm Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930-35.

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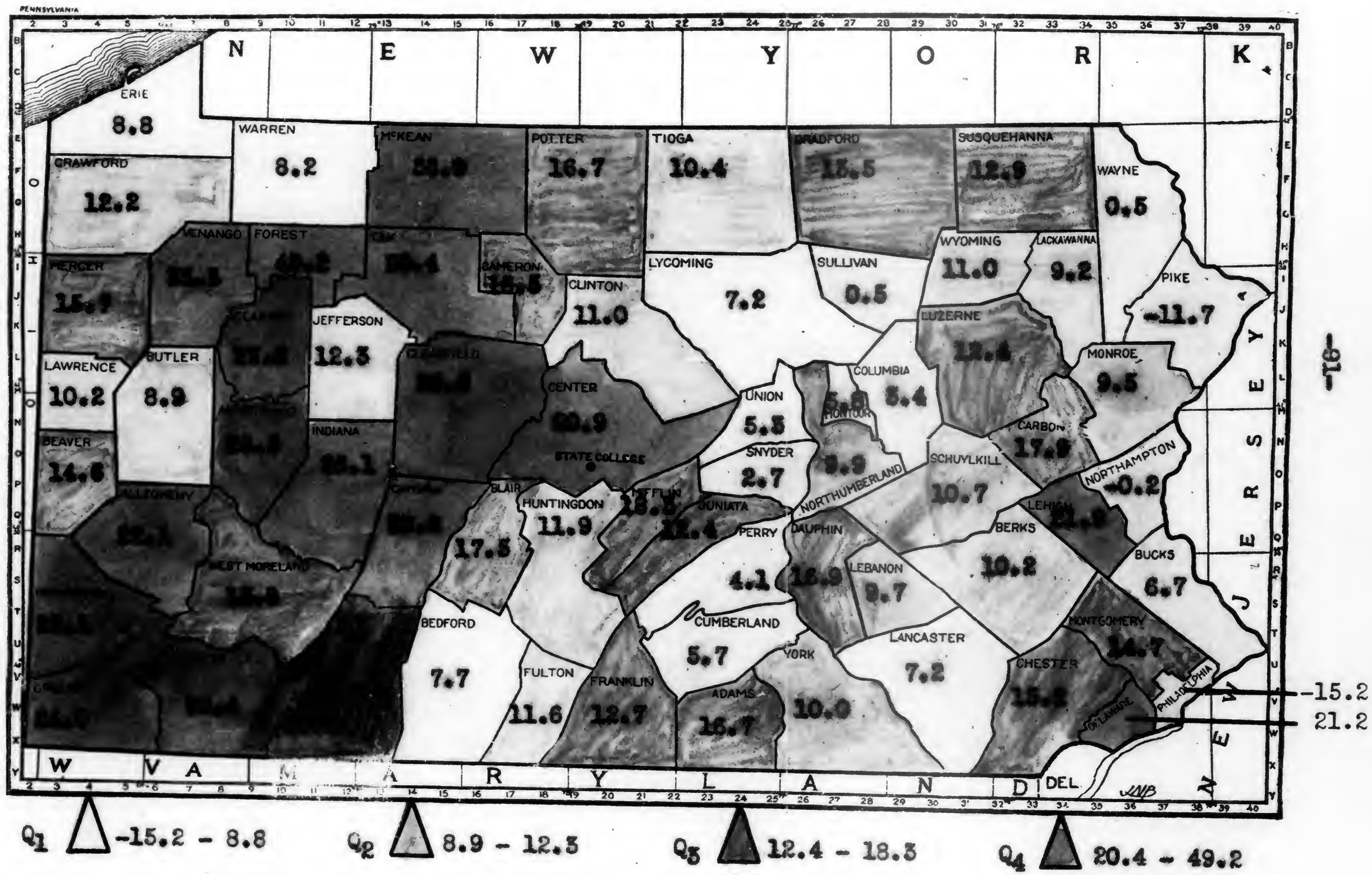

Figure 33. Percentage Change in Farm Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930-35.

That this sharp increase in farm population over such a short period, covering almost the whole state, makes heavy demands upon rural institutions and services, in general, and places an unusual burden upon farm facilities and leadership, in particular, goes without saying.

Recent estimates of the 1937 total population show that all of the 19 counties which lost population between 1920 and 1930 are now gaining in population. Further, all but two counties which made large gains in population between 1920 and 1930 had sharply reduced their rates of growth between 1930 and 1937.[32]

As we have seen in Part 7 of this chapter, those counties losing the most people between 1920 and 1930 are the counties where the birth rate is highest. These are the mountain counties having low incomes and low standards of living. Because of lack of economic opportunities in the commercial and industrial centers, there has recently been a damming up of these prolific populations in the poorer counties. This trend of events is throwing a heavy load[33] upon the social and economic resources of counties in the Allegheny Plateau, already sorely pressed, to maintain satisfactory institutions and services.

The Pennsylvania State Planning Board has recently prepared some figures which show interesting comparisons and contrasts between groups of homogeneous counties in the commonwealth with respect to rates of growth.

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32. Estimates of Pennsylvania State Planning Board.
33. The implications for social agencies of this kind of situation, faced in many parts of the country, are aptly drawn in a study by Lively and Beck in Ohio.

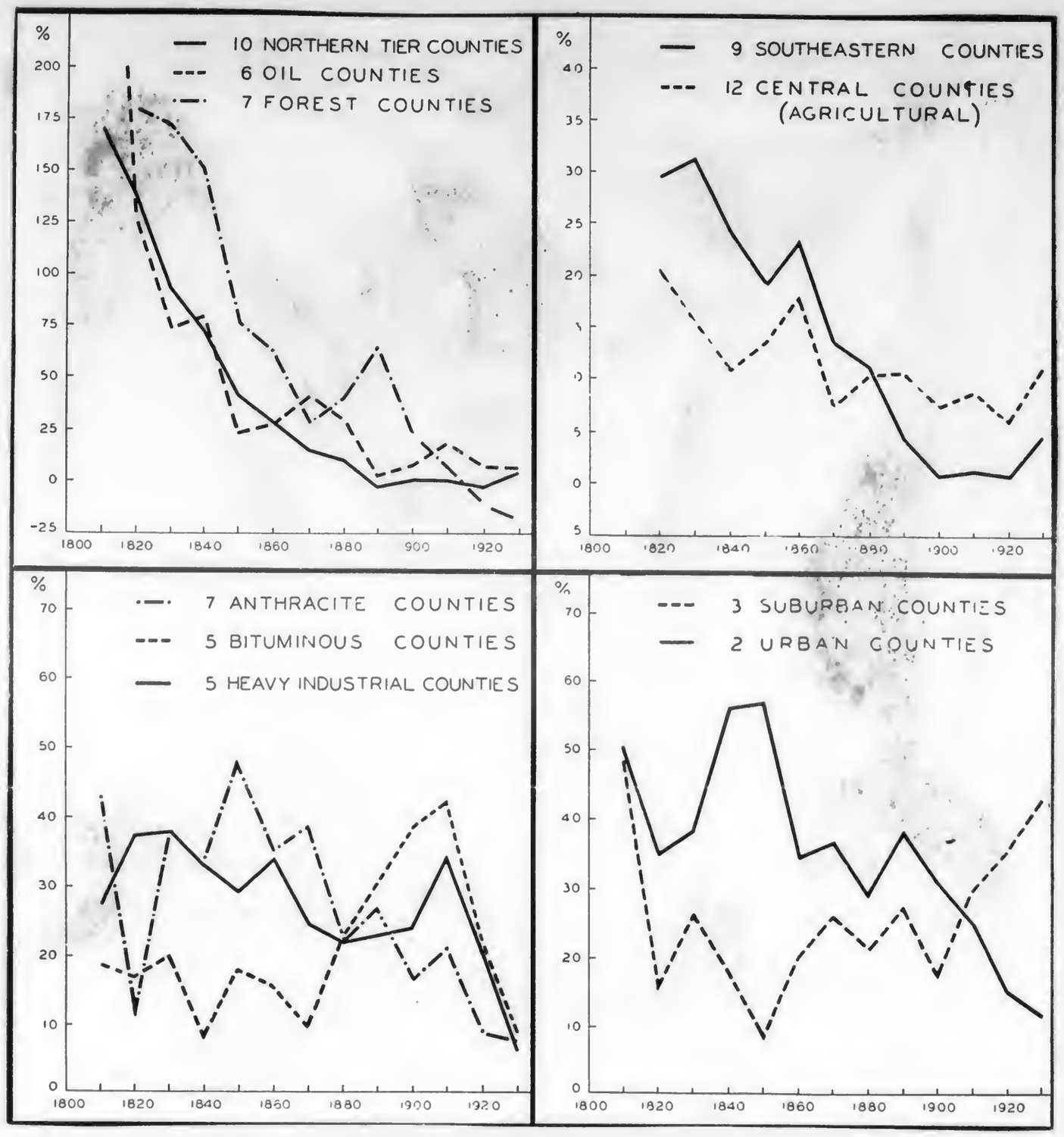

Figure 34. Population Growth Rates in Pennsylvania by Grouped County Classes, 1810-1950.

Thus, Figure 34 shows that the rates of growth for oil, lumber, and northern tier counties (upper left) have been decreasing at about the same high rate. The lumber counties, for example have dropped from +180 per cent to -20 per cent in a little over a century. Other groups have not attained the height that these counties have. We find that the agricultural sections of central and southeastern Pennsylvania (upper right) have also declined in their rate of growth but not nearly so sharply. And, further, they

have shown an upturn in the last decade.[34]

The coal and industrial counties have had their ups and downs, undergoing wide fluctuations (lower left). The growth rate in the anthracite area was highest in 1850, in the bituminous in 1910, and in the industrial counties in 1890. Since 1910, however, the rates in all three groups have dropped precipitously.

Although the two major cities are increasing in size their rates of growth are declining in contrast to the suburban counties whose rate has been on the increase since 1900, taking the overflow from the metropolitan centers (lower right, Figure 34). What do these emphatic sectional differences mean to social organization in those areas?

Population growth, for any year, with immigration and emigration balancing themselves, is equal to the number of births minus the number of deaths. We see in Figure 35 the trend of this difference for more than three decades.[35] The birth rate rose during the early part of the century because of the influx of mining and industrial workers with a high prolificacy. The advent of the war, with its effect on immigration, caused the rate to pendulate in the other direction. This decrease catapulted in 1919 because of the number of productive males in the war service. It rose on the return of the soldiers but since 1920 there has been a fairly regular and rather sharp decline in births. In the decade between 1924 and 1934, the birth rate has dropped from 25 to 16 per 1,000 persons. This is a decrease in the crude rate of 36 per cent. Whether the increasing rate of this decrease will continue is to be doubted. Already the curve appears

34. "Pennsylvania Planning," Pennsylvania State Planning Board, Harrisburg. Vol. 4, No. 5, p. 12.
35. Source: Division of Vital Statistics, Pennsylvania Department of Health.

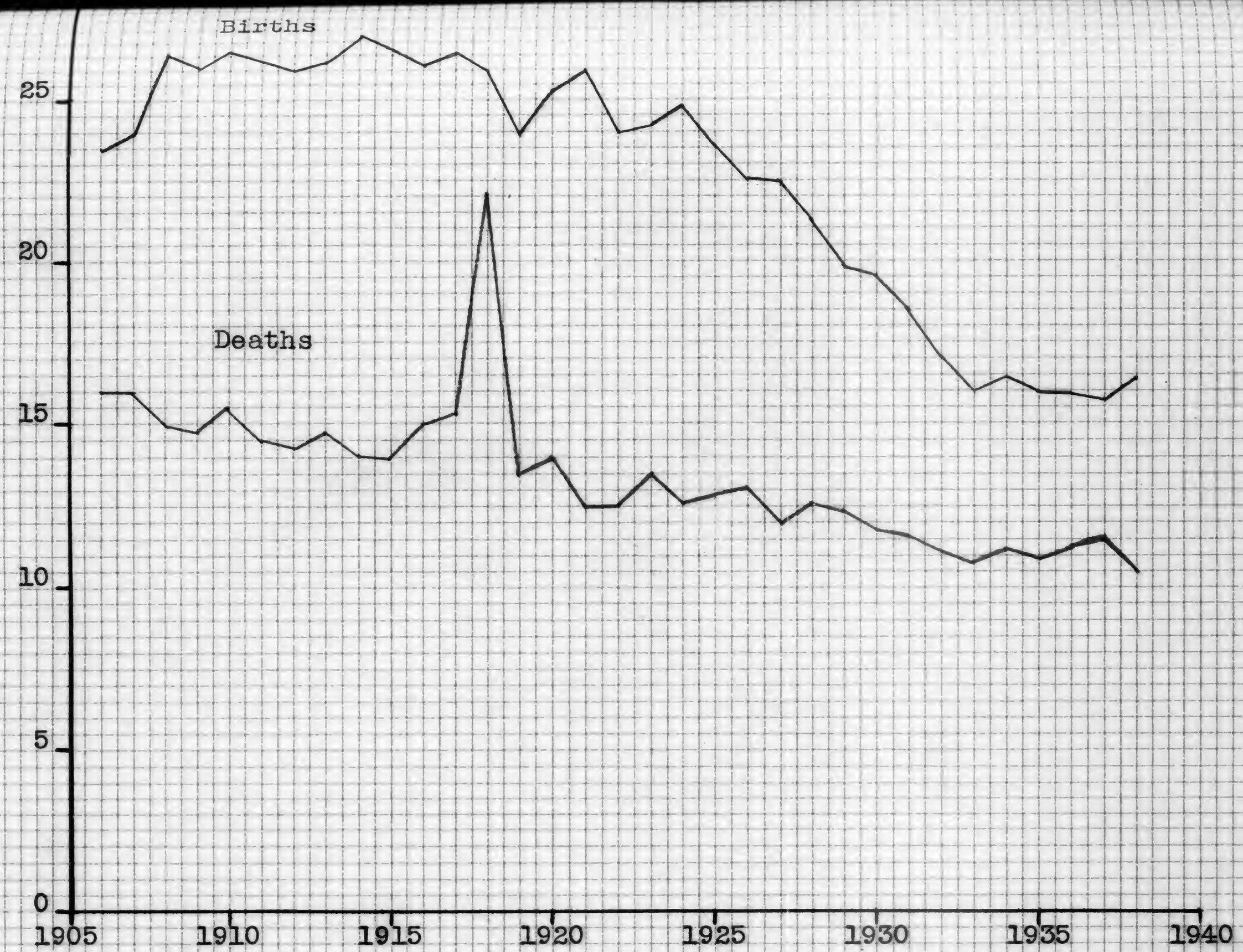

Figure 35. The Trend of Births and Deaths Per 1000 Persons in Pennsylvania, 1906 - 1938.

to be attaining some stability. And with increasing numbers just attaining marriageable age, it is likely to rise temporarily.

The death rate likewise has been undergoing a decline. Except for the war period when the curve shot way up, the trend has been gradually downward. Medical service, hospitalization, health education, state inspection and quarantine, and particularly the reduction of infant mortality have doubtless been helpful in this reduction of the rate from 16 to 11 deaths per 1,000 within the century.

Finally, Figure 36 shows the growth rates for Pennsylvania in comparison with the United States as a whole, from 1740 to the present time.[36] Since 1800 these two trends have been rather stable showing, in the main, only major population factors, such as peak loads of immigration and war. Both curves, however, show unmistakably the trend of a declining birth rate.

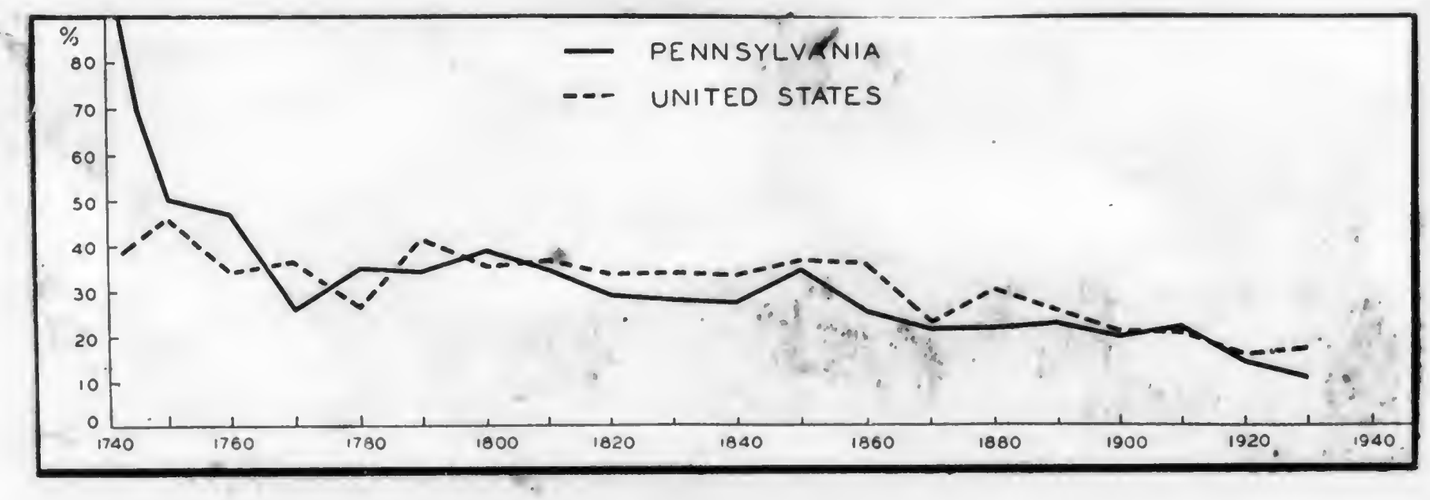

Figure 36. Growth Rates for Pennsylvania and the United States, 1740-1930.

At the present time this latter factor has caused the growth rate for the commonwealth to fall about eight per cent below the rate for the United States. Pennsylvania, like New England, is maturing faster than the rest of the nation. The growth of the state and the nation in numbers is still considerable, but with the rate of growth is declining.

36. Source: Pennsylvania State Planning Board, Harrisburg.

10. The Future

What are the prospects of Pennsylvania's population future? And what are the implications of these trends for social agencies in the state? A brief treatment of the next figures indicates where and from what population classes the future generations of Pennsylvanians are likely to come. Figure 37 shows the index of natural increase of the farm population.[37] The figure tells the story — highest in six Allegheny Plateau, next highest throughout the Alleghenies, and lowest in the fringes of the state, especially in urban dominated centers. The state average was 164 with a range of 119 to 212.

Figure 38 shows a very different picture for the rural-nonfarm population. Here it is seen that the center of high fecundity has moved westward about 100 miles. The soft coal counties now dominate, with the steel and hard coal counties coming in a close second. These are all high foreign born counties. The village populations of northeast and southeast Pennsylvania are relatively infertile. These are retired farmers and merchants and the villages here are largely trade centers — not industrial villages. Montour county is producing only 66 per cent enough children in this class to maintain the population. On the other hand, Indiana County is producing 124 per cent more children than are needed to maintain a stationary population.

Figure 39 shows the fertility index for the entire rural population. This map is substantially the same as the one immediately preceding. The

37. This index is derived by multiplying the number of children 0-4 per 1000 women 20 to 44 by .05 to allow for underenumeration in the 1930 census. Divide the product by the number of children of these ages necessary to replace the population and multiply by 100.

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Figure 57. Index of Natural Increase of the Farm Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties.

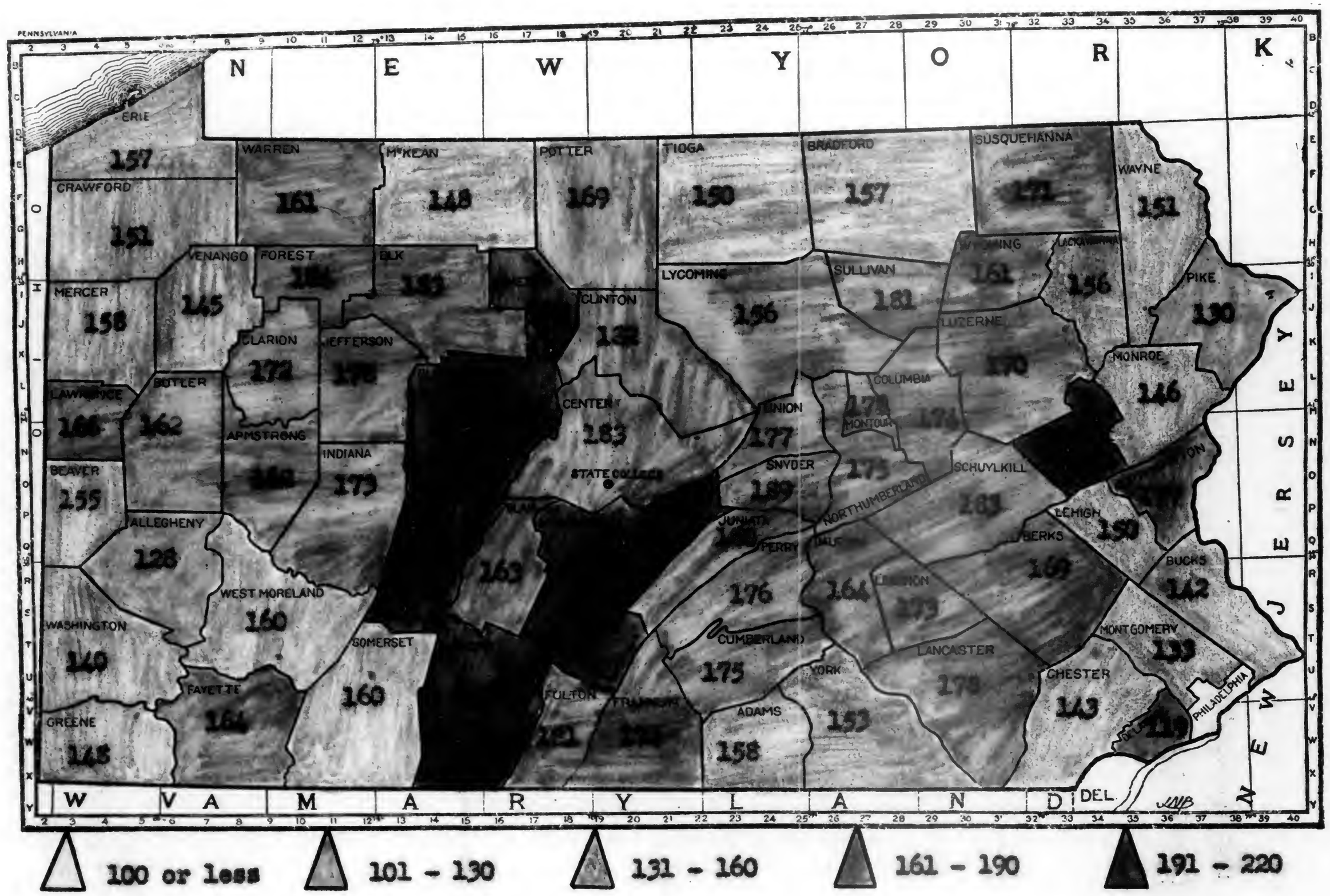

Figure 37. Index of Natural Increase of the Farm Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties.

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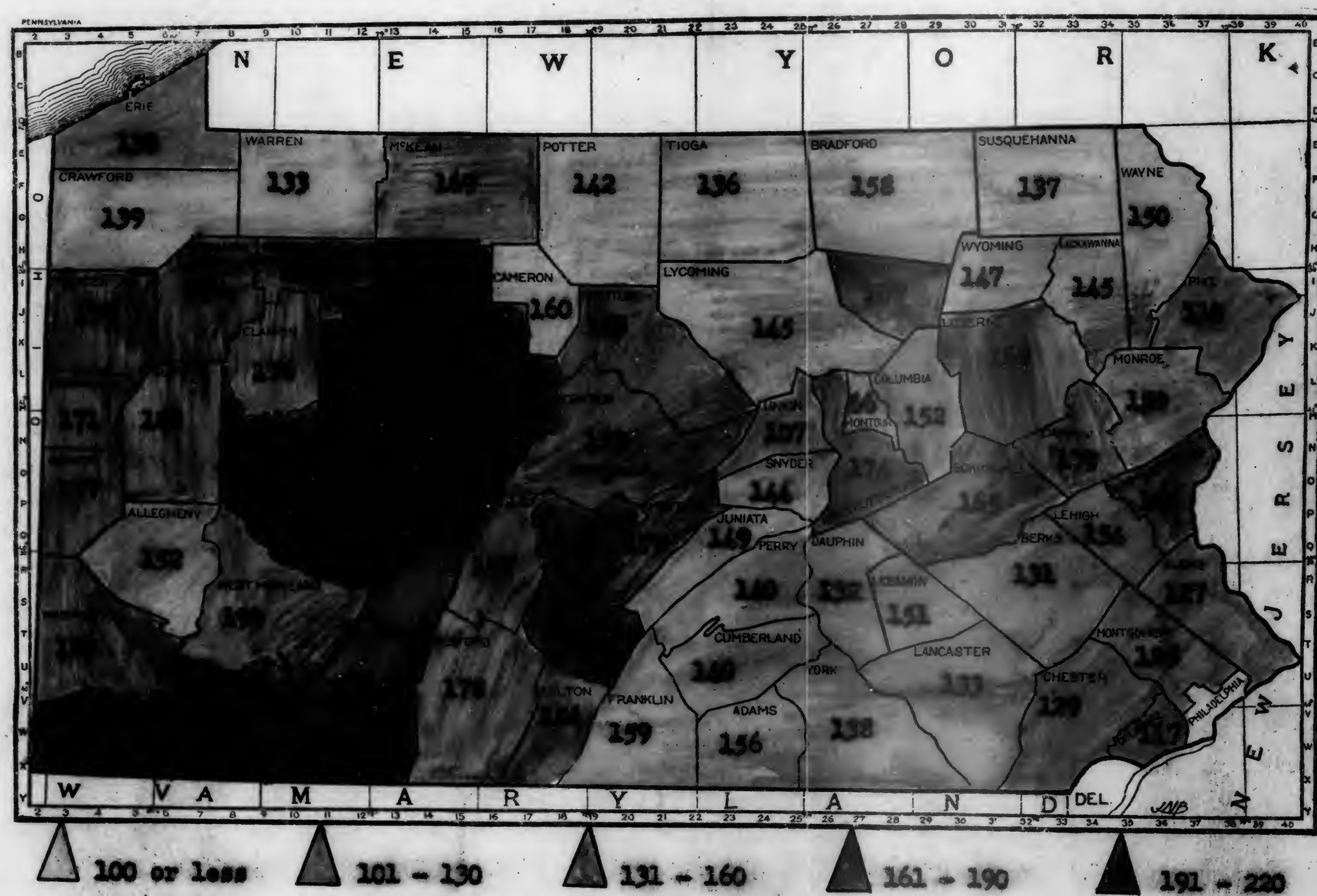

Figure 38. Index of Natural Increase of the Rural-Nonfarm Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties.

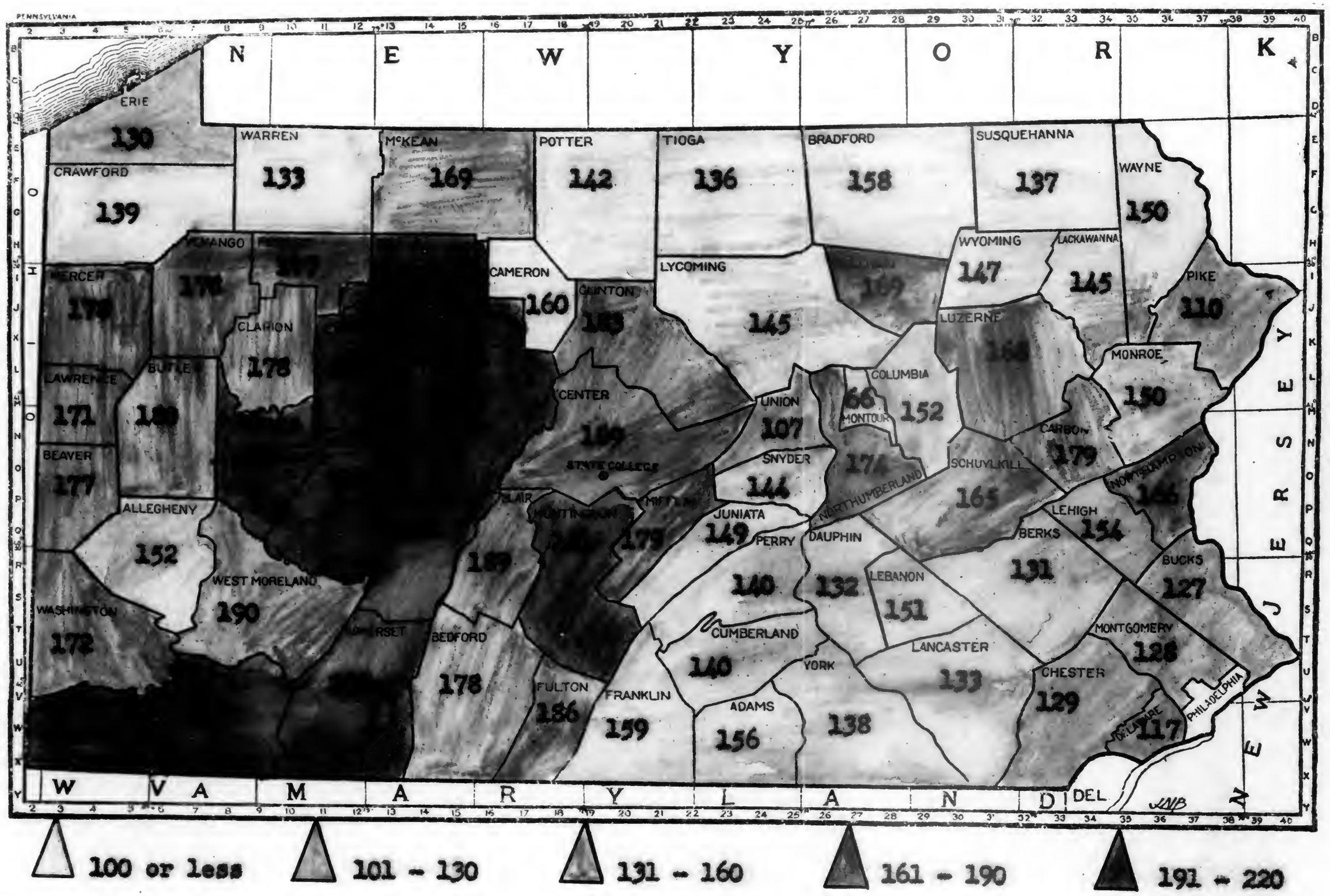

Figure 38. Index of Natural Increase of the Rural-Nonfarm Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties.

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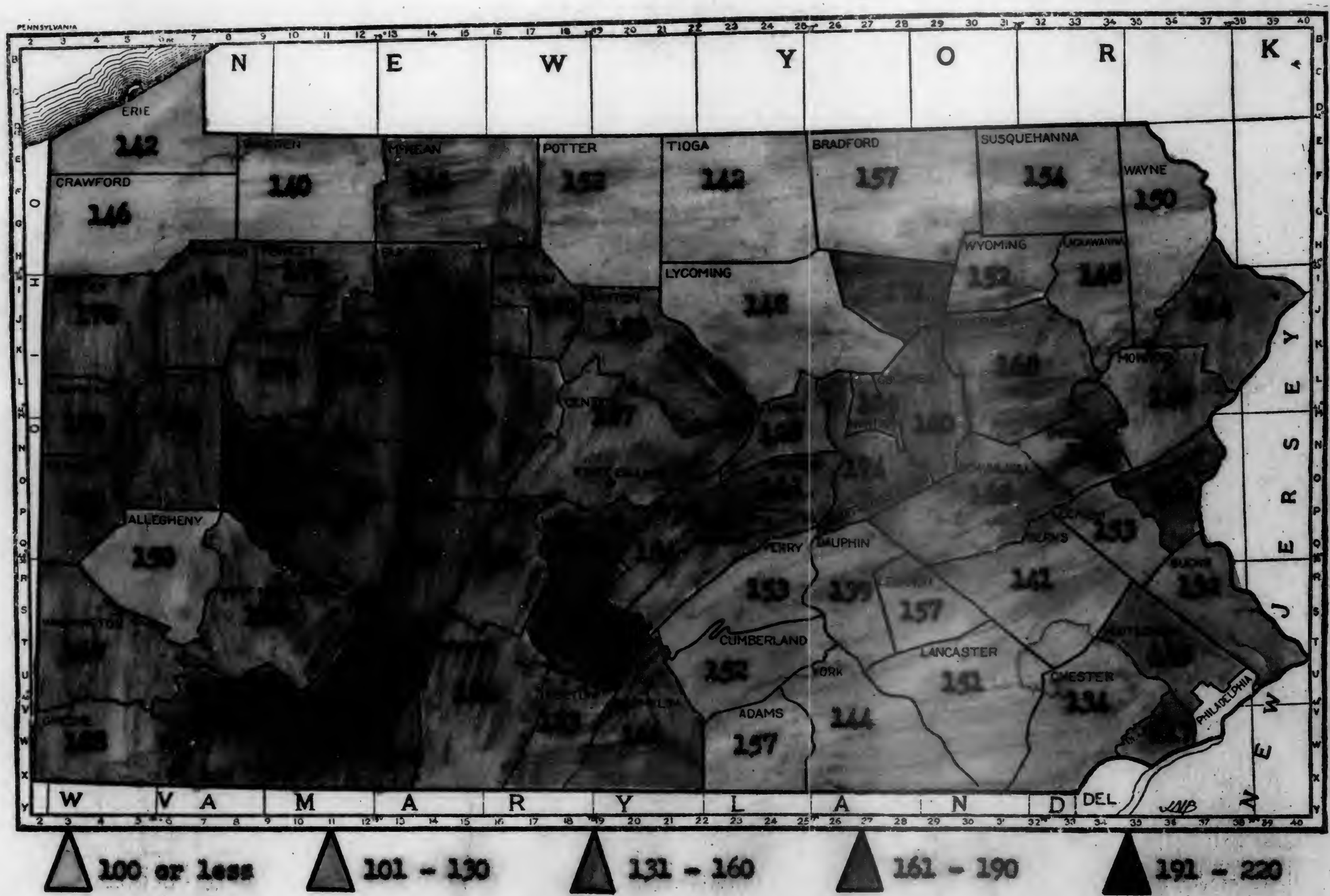

Figure 39. Index of the Natural Increase of the Rural Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties.

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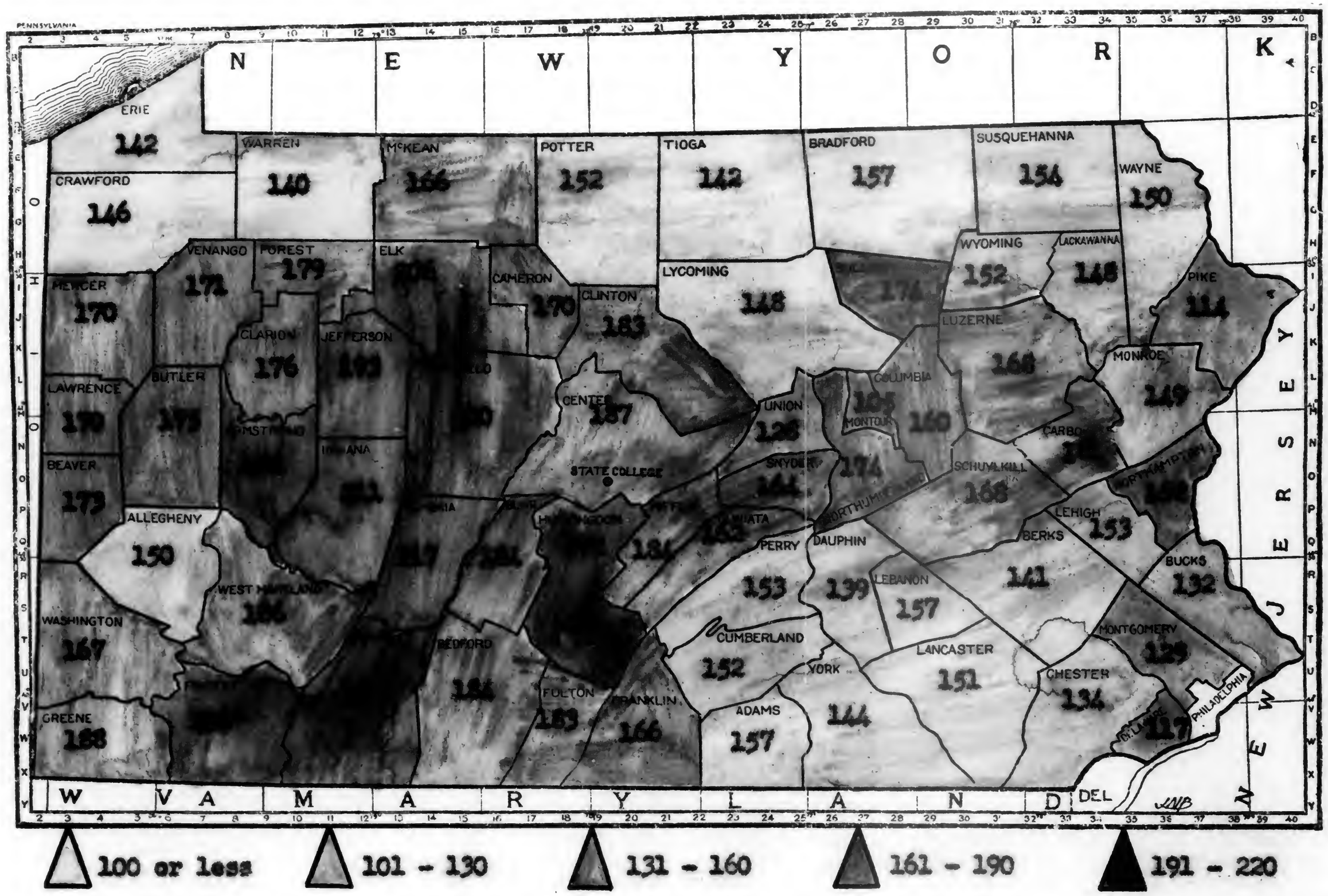

Figure 39. Index of the Natural Increase of the Rural Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

range was from 217 in Cambria to 105 in Montour County. The state average for each of the above indexes was exactly the same — 164.

A final map in this series indicates the situation for the entire state. (Figure 40). The addition of the urban population tends to smooth out the whole figure. There are still sharp county differences in fecundity in this map but not to the same degree. This figure has no blue area at all; for the highest index is 181 in Indiana County, or 81 per cent more than necessary to maintain the population at a stationary level. Urban Philadelphia has the lowest index, 84, or 16 per cent lower than a maintenance rate. The total state index was 118 or 18 per cent more than necessary for stability. Pennsylvania will have plenty of people.

But will they remain where they are produced? Or in the class in which they are produced? Probably not. As we have seen, migration will change these situations markedly. If migration is to be beneficial in the long run it means that people will move from areas where they have fared badly in the past to those areas where people have fared better. Let us turn now to the probable future changes.

Thompson and Whelpton, of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population,[38] have applied their growth curves to the State's population processes and have projected these trends for several decades. Migration was assumed to be the same as in 1920-1930. Their estimates indicate (Table 9) that the total population will increase about three per cent each decade until 1960. The bulk of this increase, however, will take place in the urban population which in 20 years will have 112 per cent of the

38. At Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

COLOR PLATE

Figure 40. Index of Natural Increase of the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

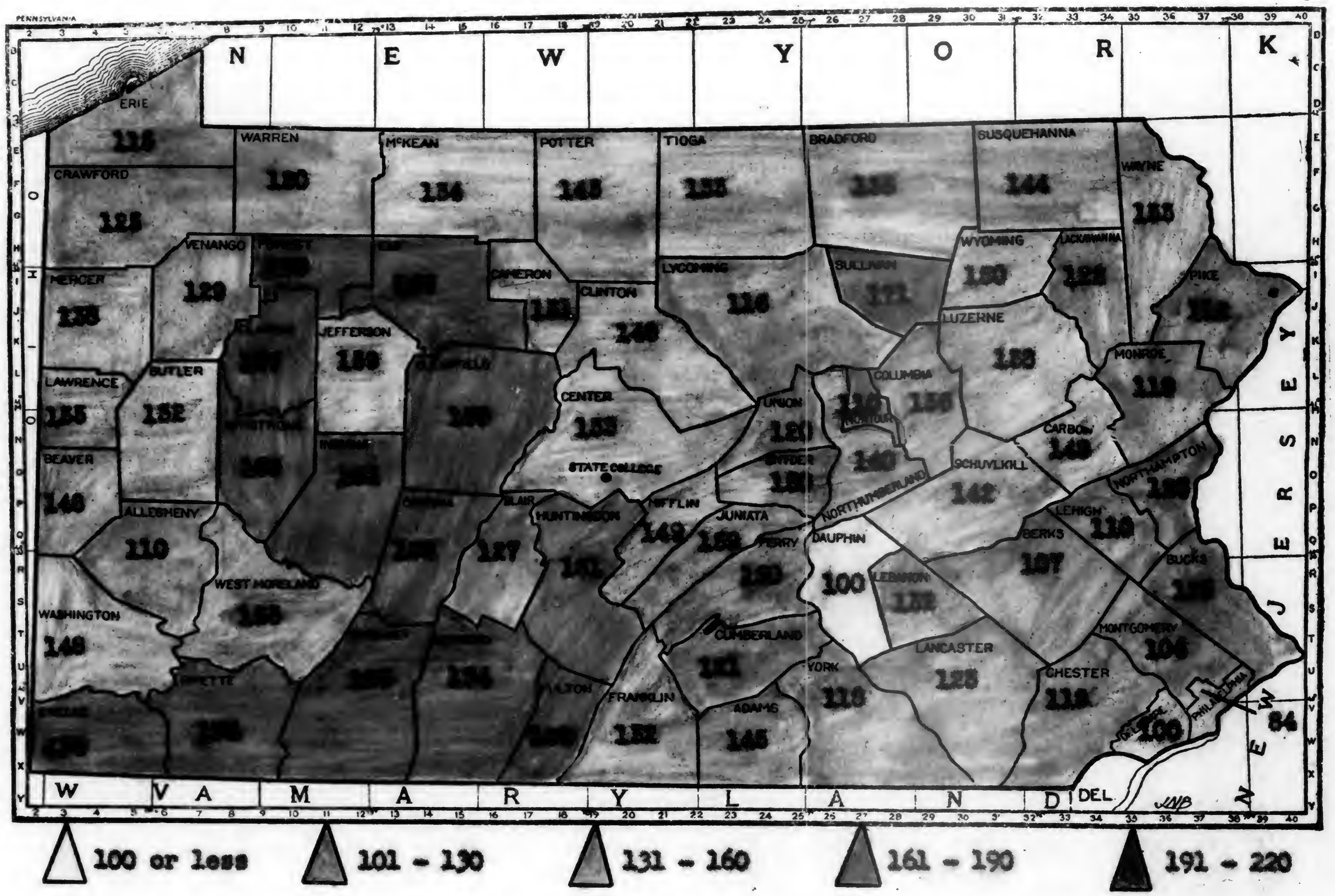

Figure 40. Index of Natural Increase of the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties.

Table 9. Percentage Estimates of the 1940, 1950, and 1960 Rural Farm, Rural-NonFarm, and Urban Population of Pennsylvania by Selected Age Classes.[39]

Class and Age	1940 Number in thousands	1950 Number in thousands	1960 Number in thousands
Rural farm			
0-4 years	68	63	52
5-14 "	157	126	114
15-39 "	322	313	270
40-64 "	206	176	211
65 yrs. and over	65	69	72
Total	798	747	719
Rural Non-farm			
0-4 years	215	214	184
5-14 "	445	402	390
15-39 "	955	977	918
40-64 "	547	588	695
65 yrs. and over	149	176	204
Total	2,309	2,357	2,389
Urban			
0-4 years	495	480	420
5-14 "	1,080	980	922
15-39 "	3,018	3,024	2,755
40-64 "	1,968	2,235	2,516
65 years and over	420	553	715
Total	6,979	7,272	7,328
Total			
0-4 years	776	757	656
5-14 "	1,662	1,508	1,426
15-39 "	4,293	4,314	3,943
40-64 "	2,721	2,999	3,420
65 yrs. and over	634	798	991
Grand Total	10,086	10,376	10,436

1930 urban population. The rural-nonfarm population will increase six per cent in 30 years while the farm population will decrease by 15 per cent.

39. Based on the 1930 Census.

Even more significant are the shifts between age classes. Whereas those over 65 years in the total population will almost double in the 50-year period, those below five years will decrease by 30 per cent. It is estimated that the number of children under five in the farm population will be but 63 per cent of the 1930 figure while the farm group between five and 14 years will be but 56 per cent of 1930. What will this mean for rural education, 4-H club work, the Sunday School? What is the probable future for these and other agencies? At the same time those over 65 years on the farm will increase 18 per cent. The implications of these predictions are too obvious to need elaboration.

The contrast between growth rates for different age classes is strikingly shown in Figure 41. Here, for example, we see brought into bold relief the prediction of a declining farm population and an increase in the number of non-agricultural persons. We see also the significant fact that the columns representing children and youth are dwarfed in all four classes of the population while in every case the columns representing advanced years are extended. Thus, we see the extreme case in the urban population in which the age class 65 years and over is expected to reach 224 per cent of the 1930 population. Because of the higher proportion of the state's population in urban territory with its accompanying low birth rate as compared with the United States population, it is expected that the maturation of Pennsylvania's inhabitants, with its temporarily stabilized population, will come somewhat earlier in the commonwealth than in the United States as a whole. What do these trends mean for the Pennsylvania milk producer? For the poultryman? What will it mean

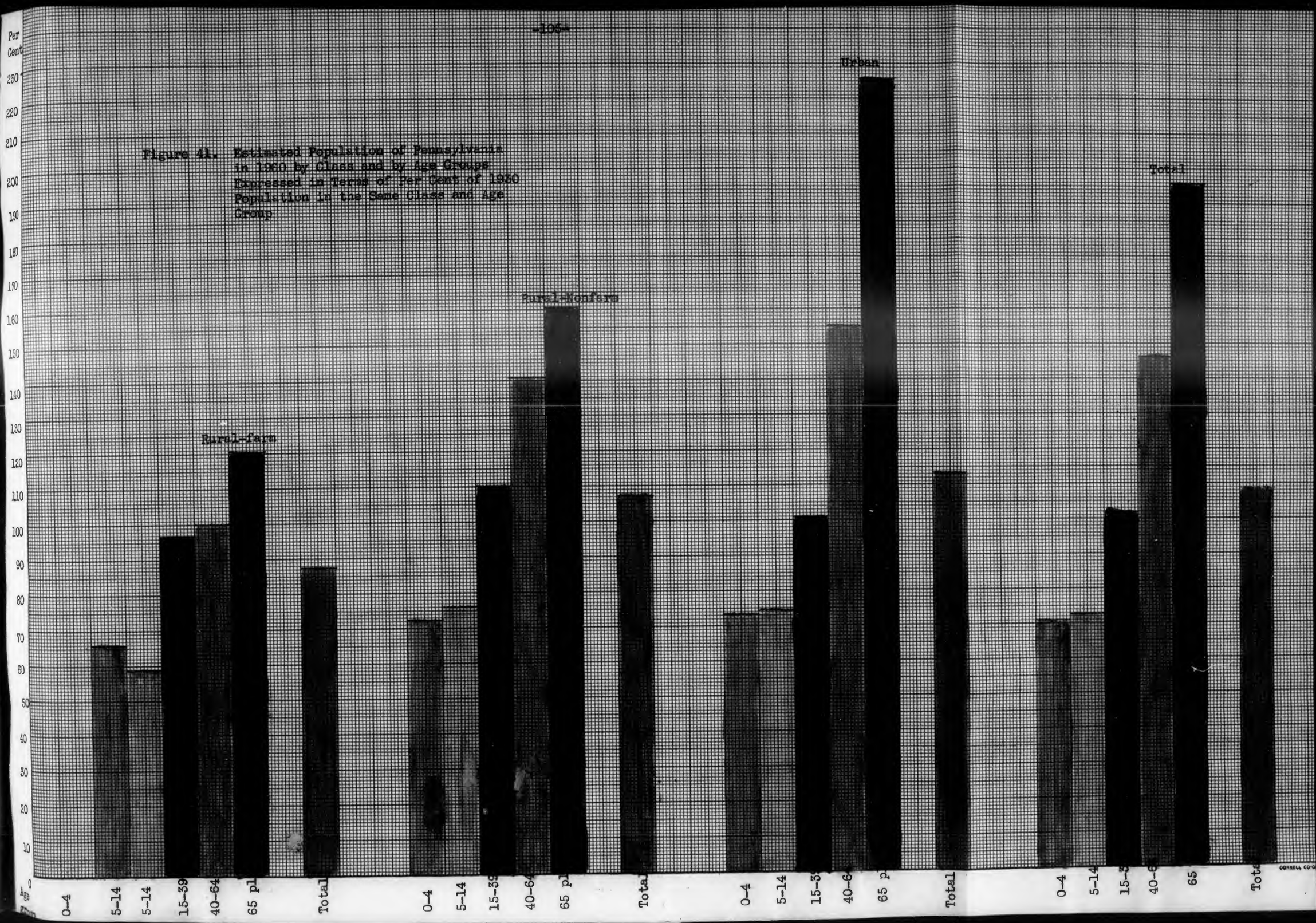

Figure 41. Estimated Population of Pennsylvania in 1960 by Class and by Age Groups Expressed in Terms of Per Cent of 1950 Population in the Same Class and Age Group

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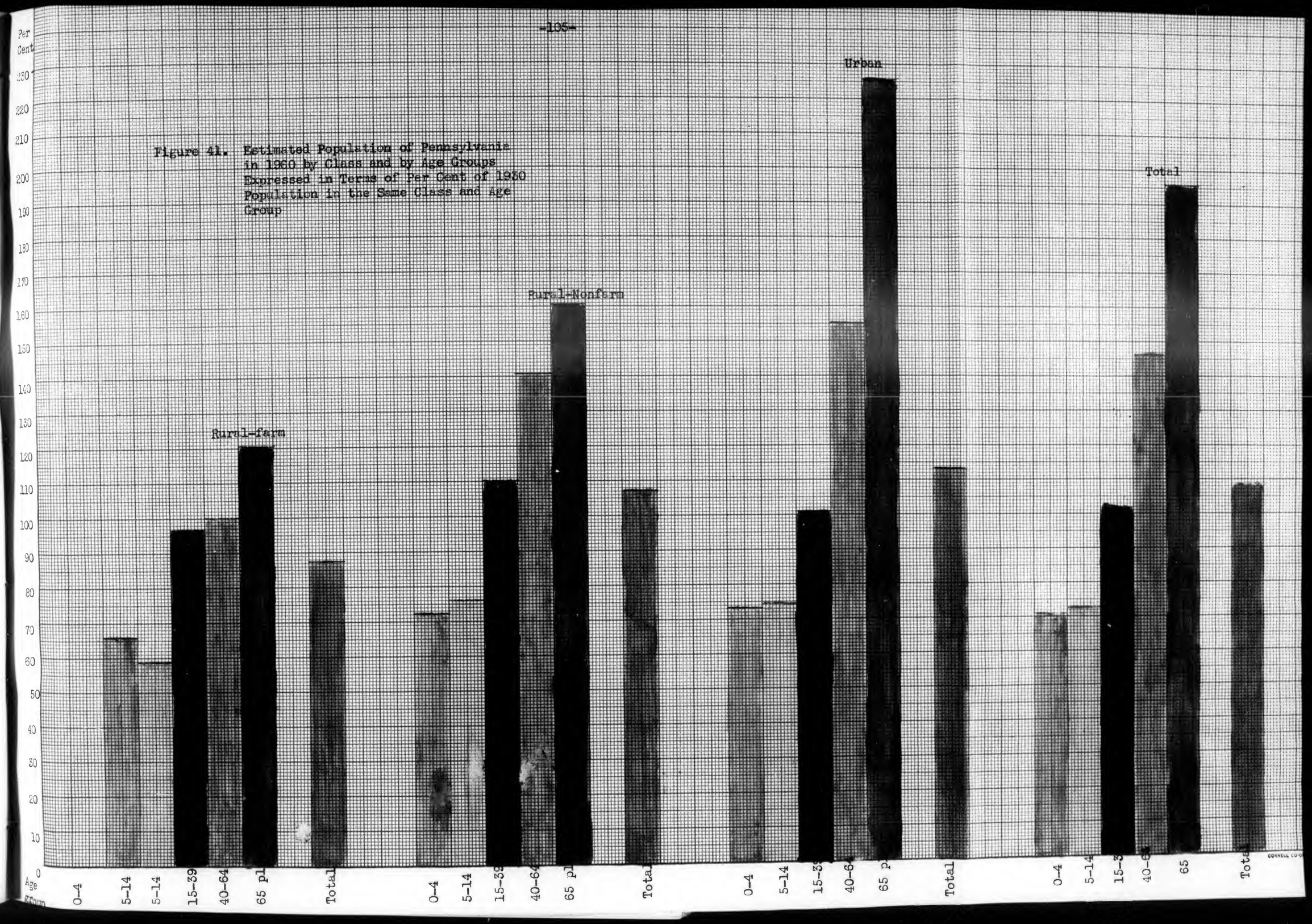

Figure 41. Estimated Population of Pennsylvania in 1960 by Class and by Age Groups Expressed in Terms of Per Cent of 1930 Population in the Same Class and Age Group

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in terms of housing? How will it affect scouting or the Townsend Club? Which special interest groups will it help? Hinder? These speculations could be drawn out at great length. Suffice it to say that the above trends will deeply affect every phase of human activity from politics to aesthetics. It is probable that in each of these departments of life, the phrase "Bigger and Better" will tend to give way to just "Better". Quantification of education, religion, health, and recreation, will change so as to place increasing emphasis on quality.

Already there is some evidence in the state indicating a decentralizing trend from the large cities to smaller suburban satellites. The meglapolitan center, condemned by Lewis Mumford, appears to be on the wane in the commonwealth.

A return glance at Figure 35, showing the birth and death curves, may be profitable. It is probable that the death rate will gradually move upward as increasing numbers of persons are found in the older age classes. We have just seen something of the size and moment of this maturation. A projection of these two curves would doubtless find them intersecting in the next 30 years as the death rate goes up and the birth rate drops still farther. After that time, the trend of Pennsylvania's population will be downward.

In this chapter we have seen that Pennsylvania's 10 million people are 67 per cent urban, 24 per cent rural-nonfarm, and 9 per cent farm. We have noted the scatteration of these people over the commonwealth in different intensities varying from metropolitan concentrations to

unpopulated forest areas. Considerable variation exists between classes and between areas in such characteristics as nationality, occupation, age, and marital status, all of which have deep rooted influences on social organization. Moreover, we note that migration has brought about violent fluctuations in the growth rates of various areas, not the least of which is the cityward movement of farm and village youth. Finally, we note that Pennsylvania is likely to continue to have plenty of people for decades to come. The important task is the utilization of these human resources in such ways that maximum well-being will result for both the individual and society. This aim dominates the analysis and ultimate improvement of social agencies and organizations in the commonwealth.

Chapter IV

PLANE OF LIVING

In Chapter I we presented the thesis that organizations and agencies are affected by the characteristics, types, and well being of the population. We saw in Chapter II the relationship between the land and its operators in terms of the type of farming that is carried on, the distribution of the incidence of tenancy, and the relative wealth of farmers in various parts of the state. In Chapter III we determined who the people in Pennsylvania are, where they are, what they do, which way they are moving, why they move, how rapidly they are reproducing themselves or declining, and what the future trends appear to be.

The present chapter attempts to deal with how well they live, where they are well off, and where the placements of population are particularly acute with respect to their planes of living. Besides its intrinsic value the answers to these questions should aid us also in intelligently delineating cultural areas. This use is made of these data in Chapter V. In addition, the materials on standard of living to follow give us important information regarding the acceptance and support of social agencies.

In this study "plane of living" and "standard of living" are used interchangeably. In general they both refer to socio-economic status which has been well defined by F. Stuart Chapin[1] as "the position that an individual or family occupies with respect to prevailing standards of

1. See his The Measurement of Social Status. University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis. 1933.

cultural possessions, effective income, material possessions, and participation in the group activities of the community." The present chapter attempts to analyze the data in these four categories.

Before proceeding with the analysis, however, it is well to point out some of the limitations of the data and methods used. First, the fundamental assumption that one can measure the plane of living of a people by enumerating the prevalence of physical facilities or the amount of certain consumption goods is open to question. The writer inclines to agree with Professor Sorokin[2] that merely because one subscribes to Time, Pictorial Review, and the New Yorker, lays out large amounts for commercial recreation and dress suits, and has comparable expenses in other areas of life, does not necessarily indicate that he has a higher plane of living than the Pennsylvania Dutchman who breathes the fresh air of the country free of charge, visits with his neighbor farmers for recreation, attends church regularly and enjoys it, goes to bed early and gets up early, eats three square meals a day, and gets along very well without electricity, automobiles, radios, sophisticated magazines, and bathtubs. The point to be emphasized here is the difference in values from area to area. As yet data representing real life values — many of them intangibly subjective — are too meagre to admit comparison on any large scale. Furthermore they do not readily lend themselves to measurements and counting.

On the other hand there are many kinds of data which are available and which must be included in any rounded attempt to measure the plane

2. Cf. Sorokin, Pitirim A. Social and Cultural Dynamics. American Book Company. New York. p. 225.

of life of an area. Such factors as health, social participation, church attendance, recreation, aesthetic developments, education and educational facilities, roads, and other civic improvements could all well be included in the present chapter. These, however, are analyzed in connection with those community agencies which form the basis of the present study.

Secondly, most rural social scientists have assumed that the basis for an adequate farm standard of living is a large gross cash farm income. In the main this is true but there are instances in the state where a considerable part of the income of the farm family comes from non-agricultural sources. For example, the farm standard of living in McKean County, high as it is, is due not to the agricultural resources extant in the area but due rather to the profitable part-time employment in which many of the farmers in the county engage. In other counties, these part-time sources of income are derived from lumbering, mining, quarrying, and manufacturing. Thus the important thing is income, regardless of its source.

A third point that should be mentioned in this connection is the effect of cities upon standard of living. Where urban areas have developed power lines, water lines, sewage disposal plants, and other such conveniences farm families living nearby can avail themselves of and use these facilities at a much lower cost than is possible for the isolated farm family which builds its own. Thus we will see that standard of living - even farm standard of living - appears to be a function of urbanization. This has not adequately been taken into account.

A further problem is the somewhat transitory character of economic well-being. A mere shift in freight rates may halt completely lumber operations which is a major source of income in many part-time farming areas; or, the oil supply may fail; or, taxes may force emigration of small textile and shoe factories which dot at least ½ of the state. The current wave, for example, just as it has jumped wheat prices 40¢ a bushel has had just the opposite effect on tobacco. Standard of living is not stable, and so should be restudied in a time series to determine the extent and direction of change.

Thus we see from previous chapters that standard of living is dependent upon soil, rainfall, minerals, population type, markets, and the like. And we see from the forgoing complications just listed that there is no unambiguous measure of plane of living in existence. Realizing these shortcomings we proceed with the analysis using such indices as seem clearly related to our purpose. We will discuss in turn the standard of living for the farm population, the rural-nonfarm population, the rural population, and the total population.

1. Standard of living of the Farm Population.

Rural social scientists have brought out many times the relation of plane of living to such factors as value of land, tenancy, mortgage indebtedness, and farm income. We take these up in turn.

The total value of land and buildings per family is a good measure of relative economic well-being, for this value in practically all cases is an indication of economic productiveness over a long period of time. The average value per farmstead in Pennsylvania in 1935 was $4505.[3]

3. U. S. Census of Agriculture, 1935.

This is somewhat lower than the average for the United States as a whole ($4825). But the range within Pennsylvania was wide, averaging from $1,474 in Cameron County to $68,617 in Philadelphia County. As will be noticed from Figure 42 the southeastern area of the state has the highest average value. This part of the state had all but one county above the median. Other areas having high valuation of holdings were parts of the hard coal section, the summer boarder counties, in which an acceptable home and home facilities is almost prerequisite to the tourist and summer boarder business, the steel section around Allegheny County, and fertile fruit-growing Erie County.

The lower section of the Allegheny Mountain area had a low valuation, as was also the case with the upper Allegheny Plateau. In general these areas of low valuation follow closely the map giving the per cent of land in farms, the maps on farm facilities, and farm income.

Farm tenancy and farm ownership, as presented in Chapter II do not tell the whole story with regard to real ownership. For of the farms owned, 53.9 per cent were mortgaged in 1930. The range is from 57.5 per cent in Bucks County to 14.2 per cent in Greene County.

In the previous figure it was shown that the greatest valuation per farmstead lay in the southeast. This is also true of Figure 43 which indicates the distribution of farm mortgage intensity. Almost the entire eastern half of the state is heavily mortgaged with an intensification in the southeastern section and in the northeastern dairy region.[4]

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4. Source: United States Census 1935.

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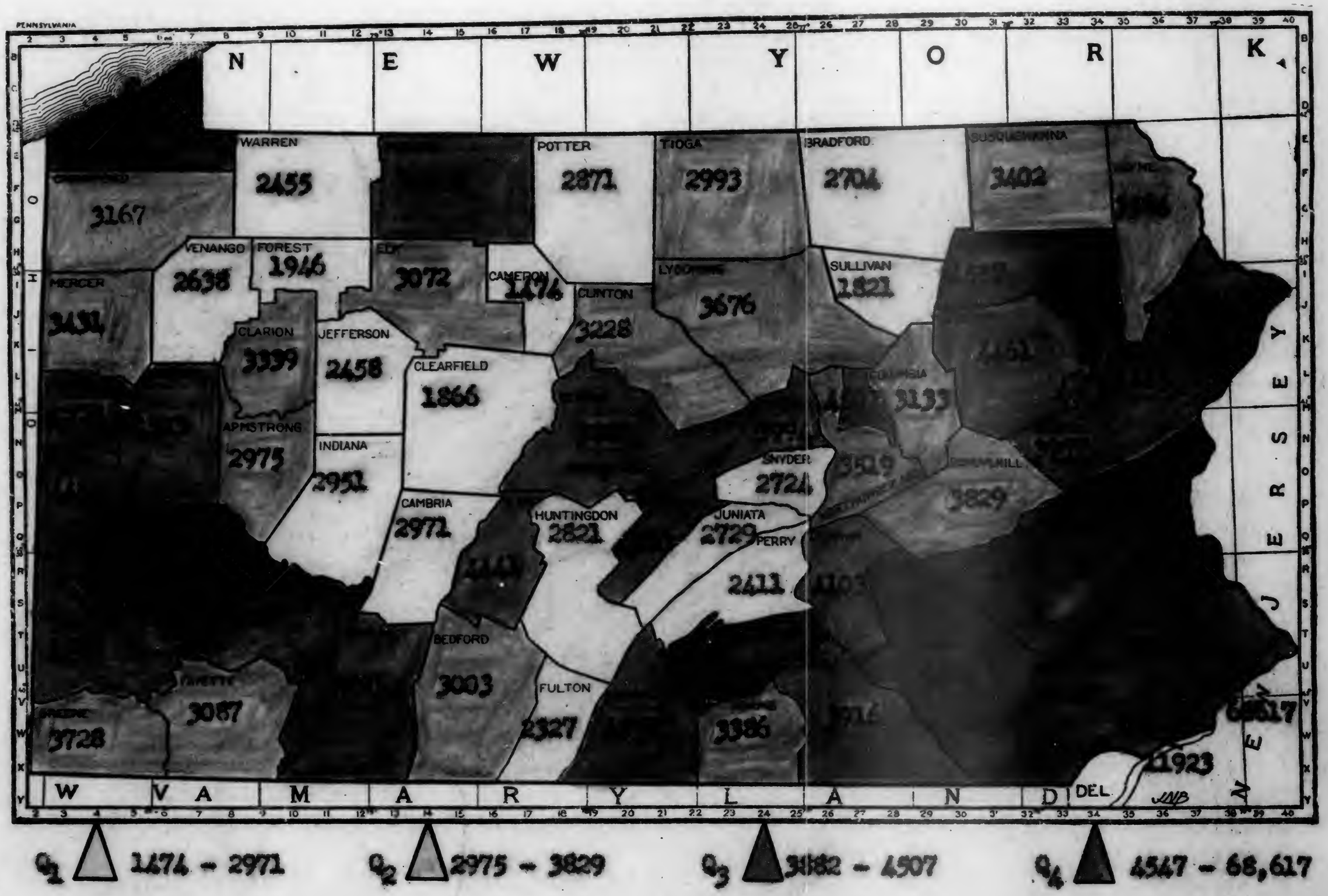
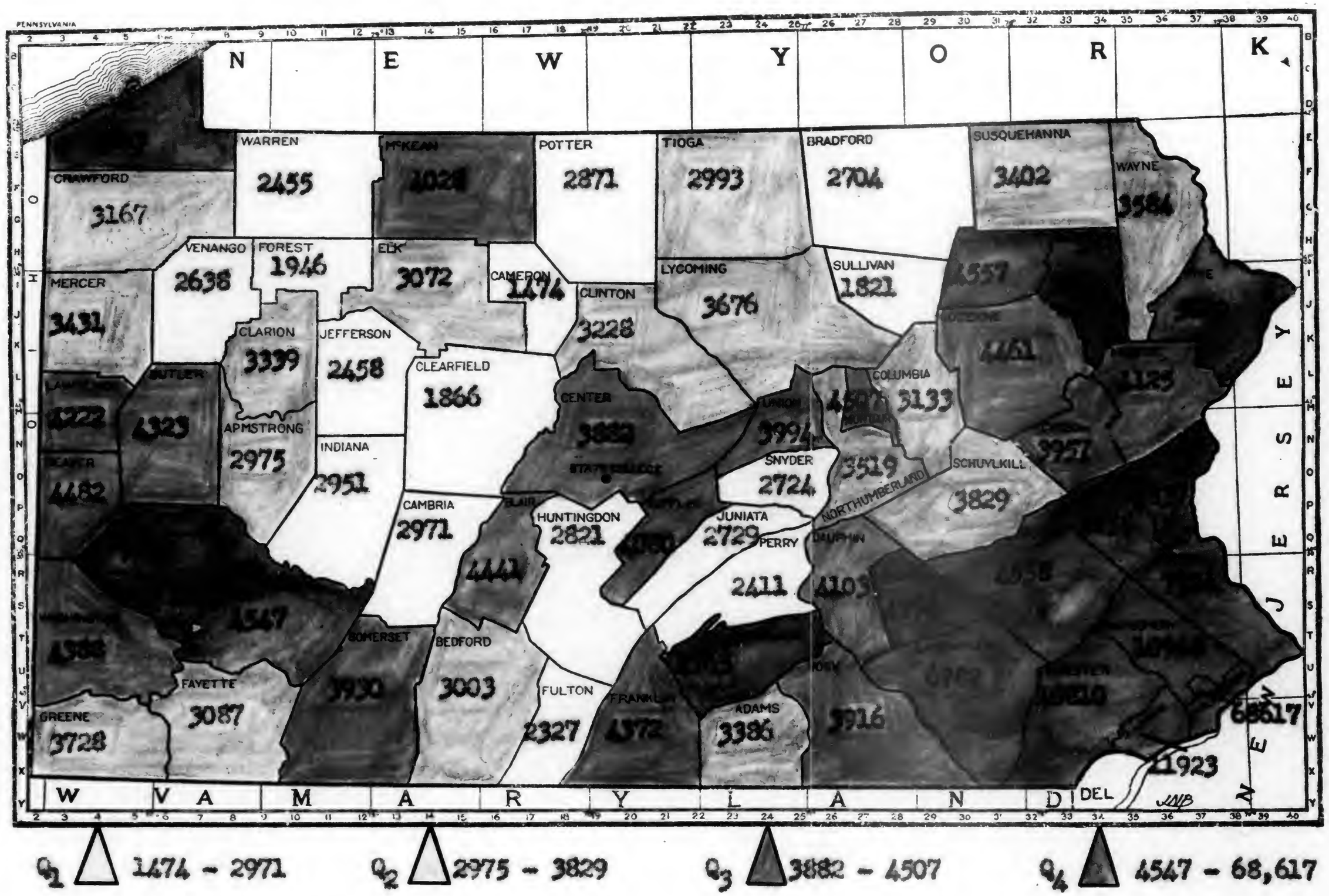


Figure 42. Total Value (Dollars) Per Farm, Including Buildings, in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.



Q_1 1474 - 2971 Q_2 2975 - 3829 Q_3 3882 - 4507 Q_4 4547 - 68,617

Figure 42. Total Value (Dollars) Per Farm, Including Buildings, in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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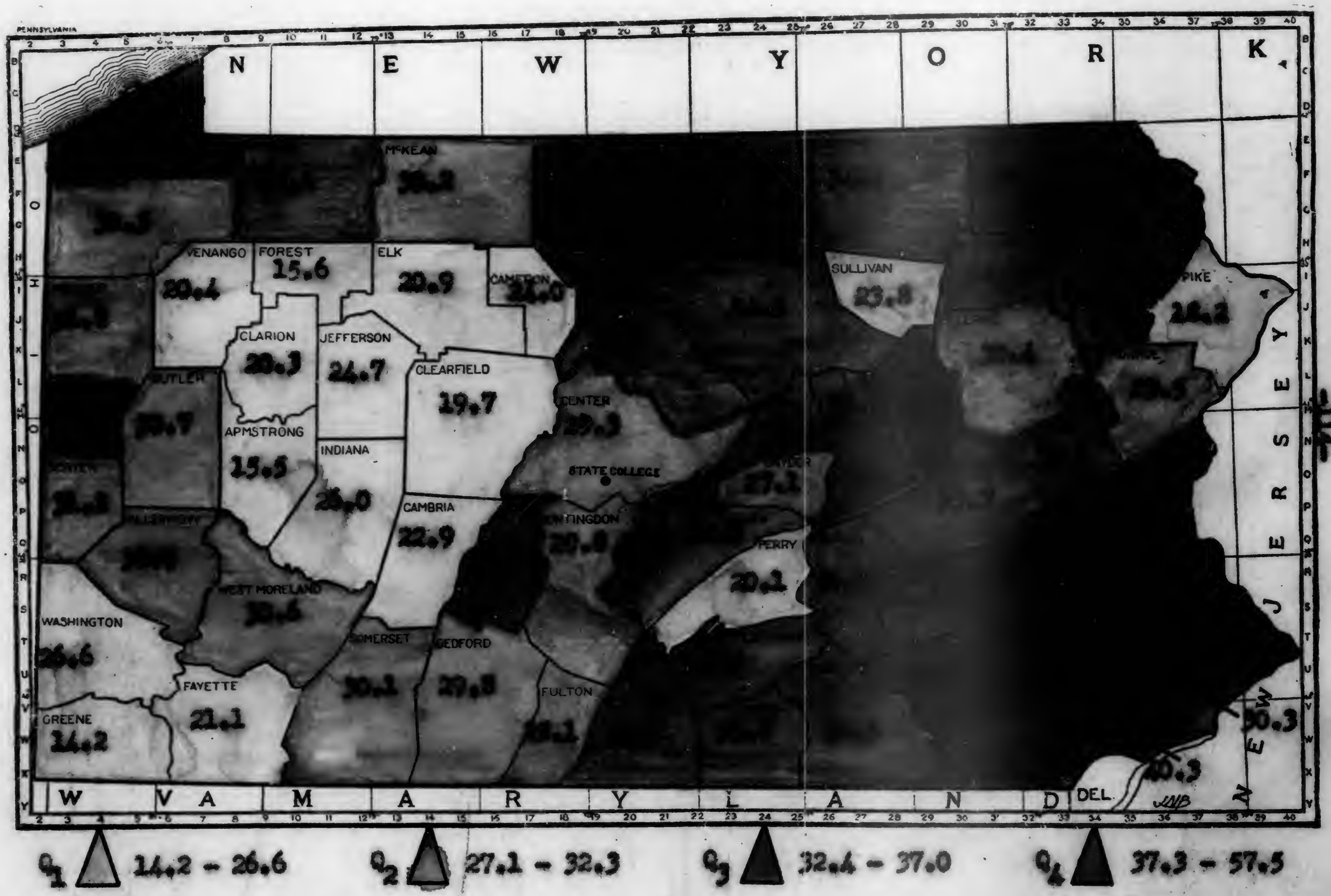

Q_1 14.2 - 26.6 Q_2 27.1 - 32.3 Q_3 32.4 - 37.0 Q_4 37.3 - 57.5

Figure 43. Per Cent Farms Mortgaged in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

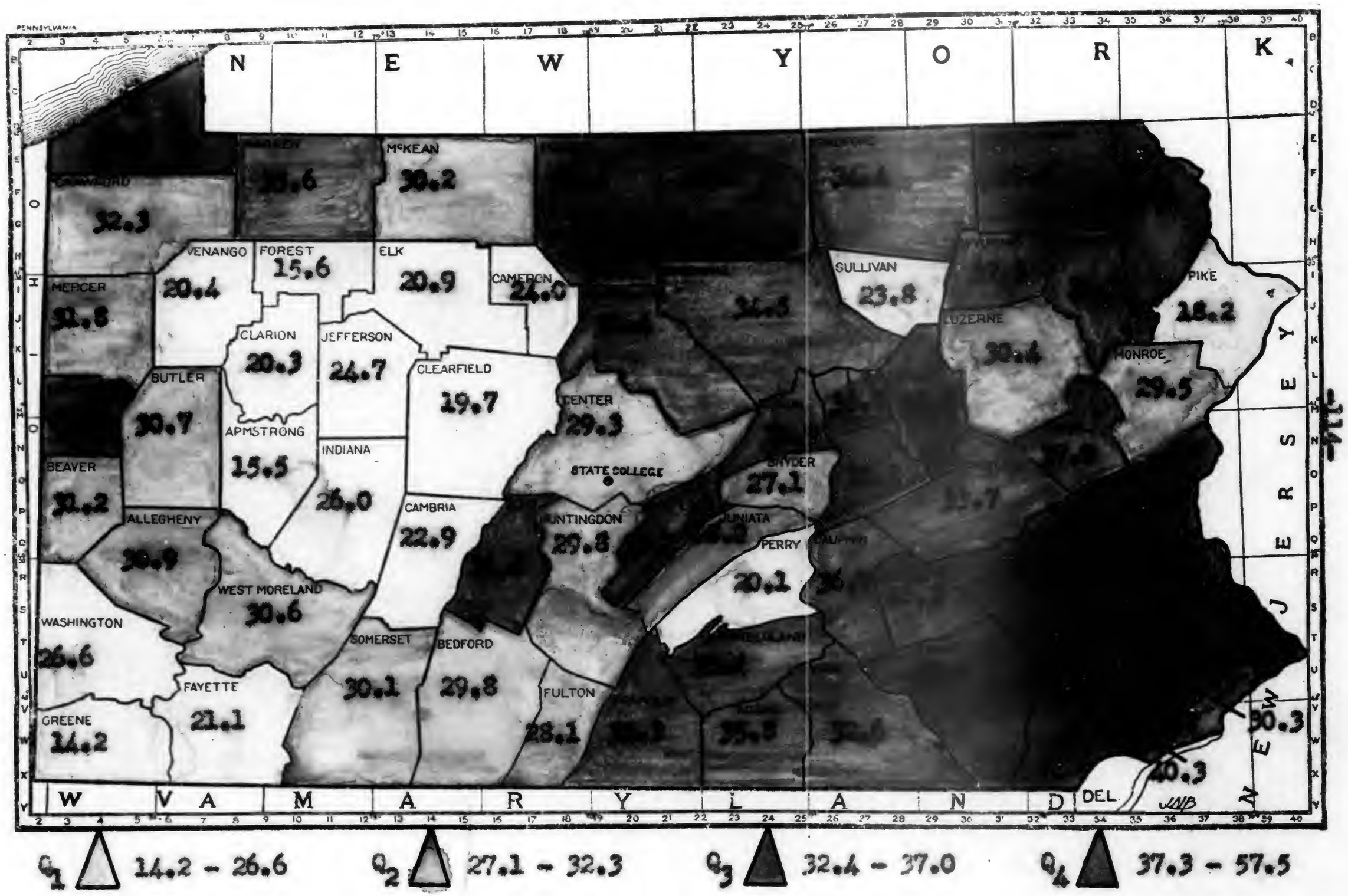

Figure 43. Per Cent Farms Mortgaged in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

Conversely, the lowest proportion of mortgaged farms are found in the western half of the state especially in the central part of the Allegheny Plateau. Here we find a cluster of ten contiguous counties all of which are in the lowest 25 per cent. In general it may be said that where properties are least valuable they are least mortgaged.

Another phase of this factor of farm ownership is the amount of equity in the holding. In Figure 44 we see the distribution of farm debt to farm value among Pennsylvania counties.[5] Again, as would be expected, western Pennsylvania has a low indebtedness in proportion to farm value, whereas eastern Pennsylvania, with a relatively large number of farms mortgaged, has a high ratio. In a few counties, for example, the equity in farms owned was less than 50 per cent. The greatest equity in farms owned, however, was in Philadelphia County with a ratio of 25.9. Heavy farm indebtedness is to be found throughout the Pennsylvania German section and through most of the Allegheny Mountain territory reaching as far north as Tioga and Bradford Counties in the northern tier.

The average equity in Pennsylvania farms amounts to three-fifths of their value. In other words, for the state as a whole, farms owned were mortgaged for 39.5 per cent of their total value.

How are the foregoing figures related to social agencies? It takes money to secure and maintain such agencies. And where farmers are best off, there is where we would expect to find the most satisfactory services.

In Chapter II we saw that the incidence of farm tenancy was high in central and southeastern Pennsylvania. Much the same situation obtains

5. Source: United States Census, 1930.

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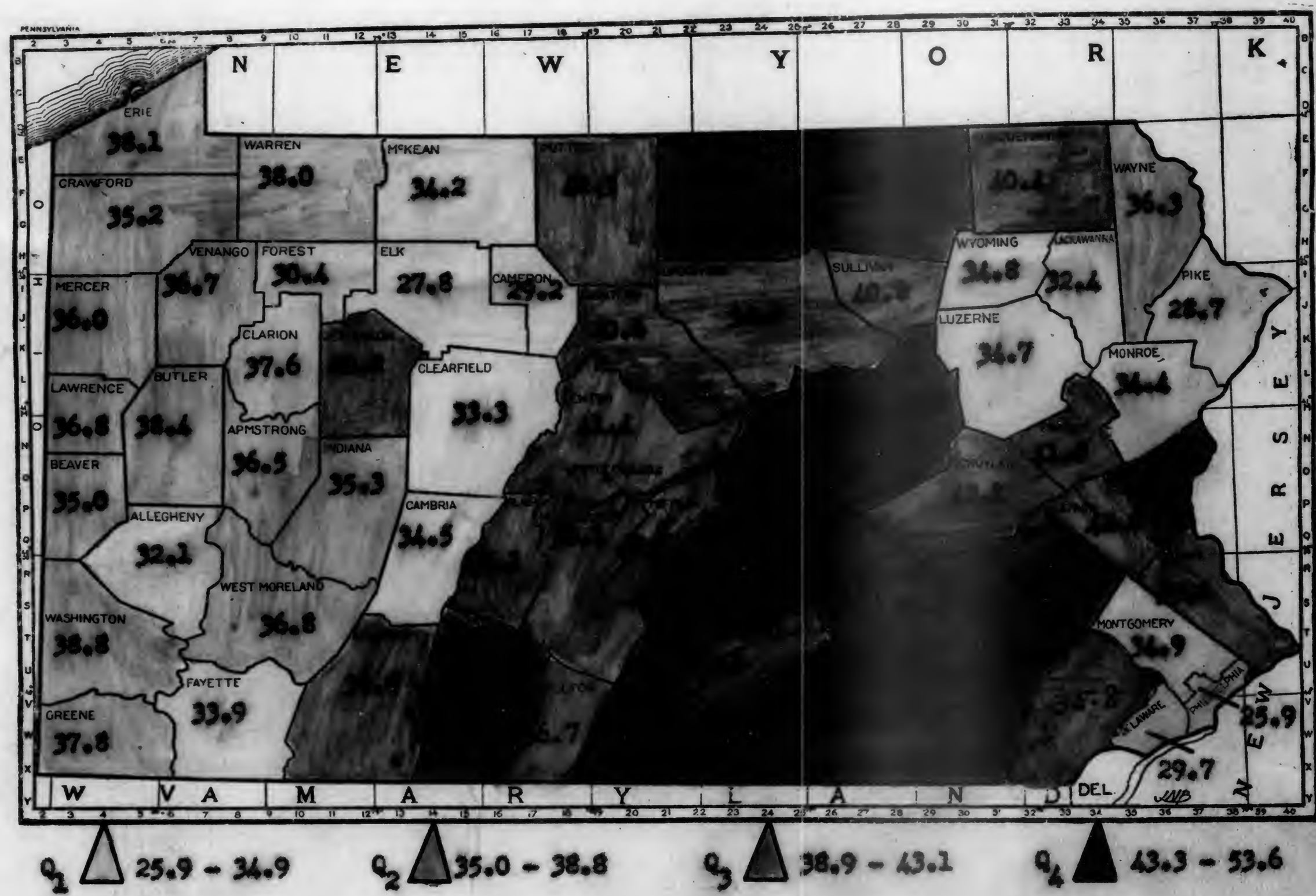

Figure 44. Ratio of Farm Debt to Farm Value in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1950.

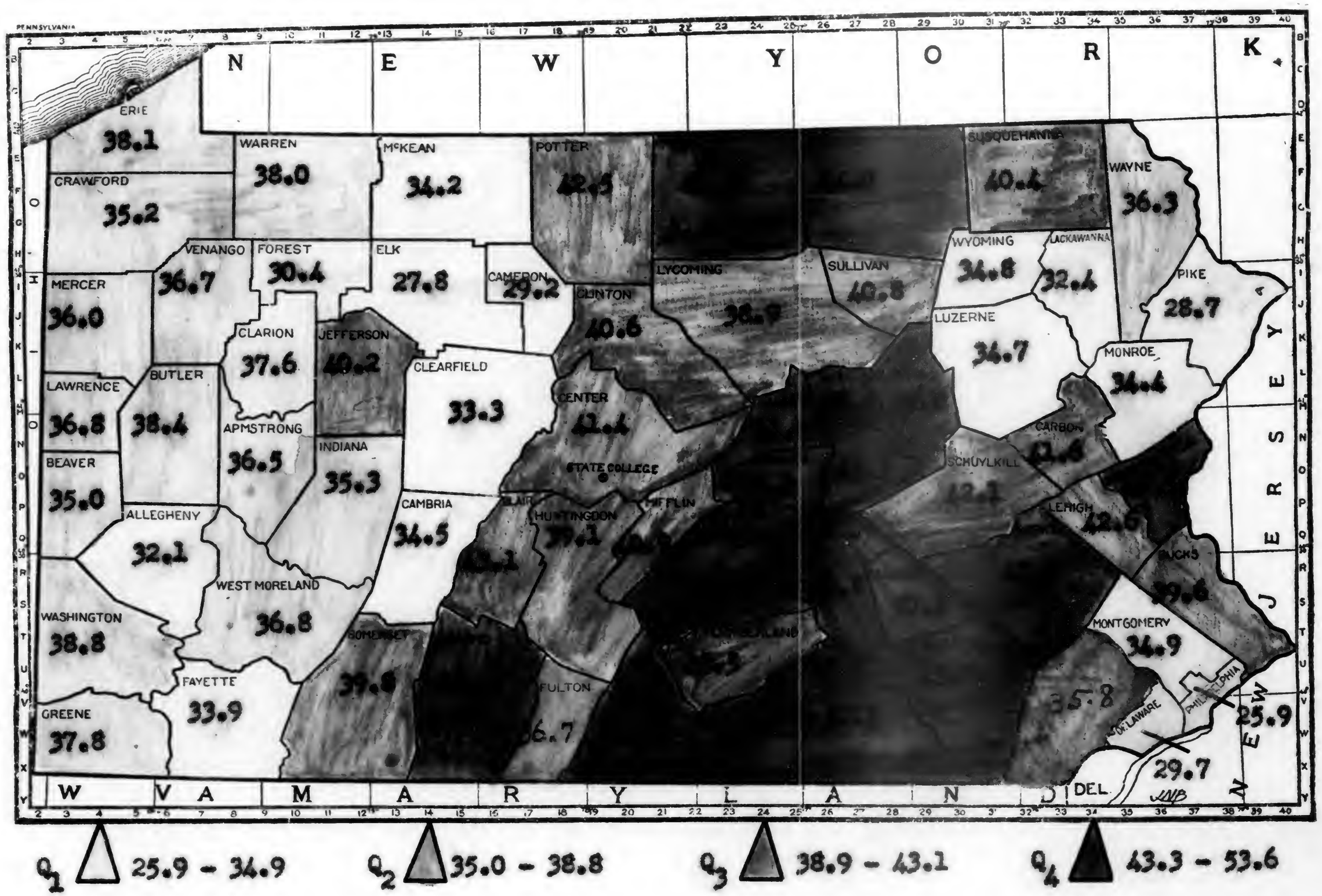

Figure 44. Ratio of Farm Debt to Farm Value in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

with respect to agricultural wage laborers. Figure 45 shows the per cent of agricultural workers who were farm wage workers in 1935.[6] In this distribution over the state we see that the more fertile southeastern section together with certain of the truck and dairy counties have a high proportion of farm laborers. In Philadelphia County, for example 75 per cent of all agricultural workers were farm wage workers.

On the other hand the part-time farms and the subsistence farms to be found in the Allegheny Plateau have a low proportion of farm wage workers. The lowest of these is Cameron County where but 13 per cent were so classed in 1935. It is to be expected that these small holdings with low valuations would employ less labor than the more intensified crop producing sections where land values are relatively high.

Other writers have found that tenants and farm wage workers tend to participate less actively in the church and farm organizations than owners and part owners. We would expect therefore that northern and western Pennsylvania farm families would be more active organizationally.

The incidence of part-time farming and its relation to standard of living and to farm organizations and institutions was observed in Chapter II.

Figure 46 shows the average gross cash income per farm in Pennsylvania counties for 1938.[7] Certain counties average ten times as much farm income as others. The eastern end of the state has high farm incomes. This is particularly true in the southeast where we find a cluster of 11 contiguous counties in the fourth quarter. These counties are

6. United States Census of Agriculture, 1935.
7. Source: Pennsylvania Crop Reporting Service, Harrisburg.

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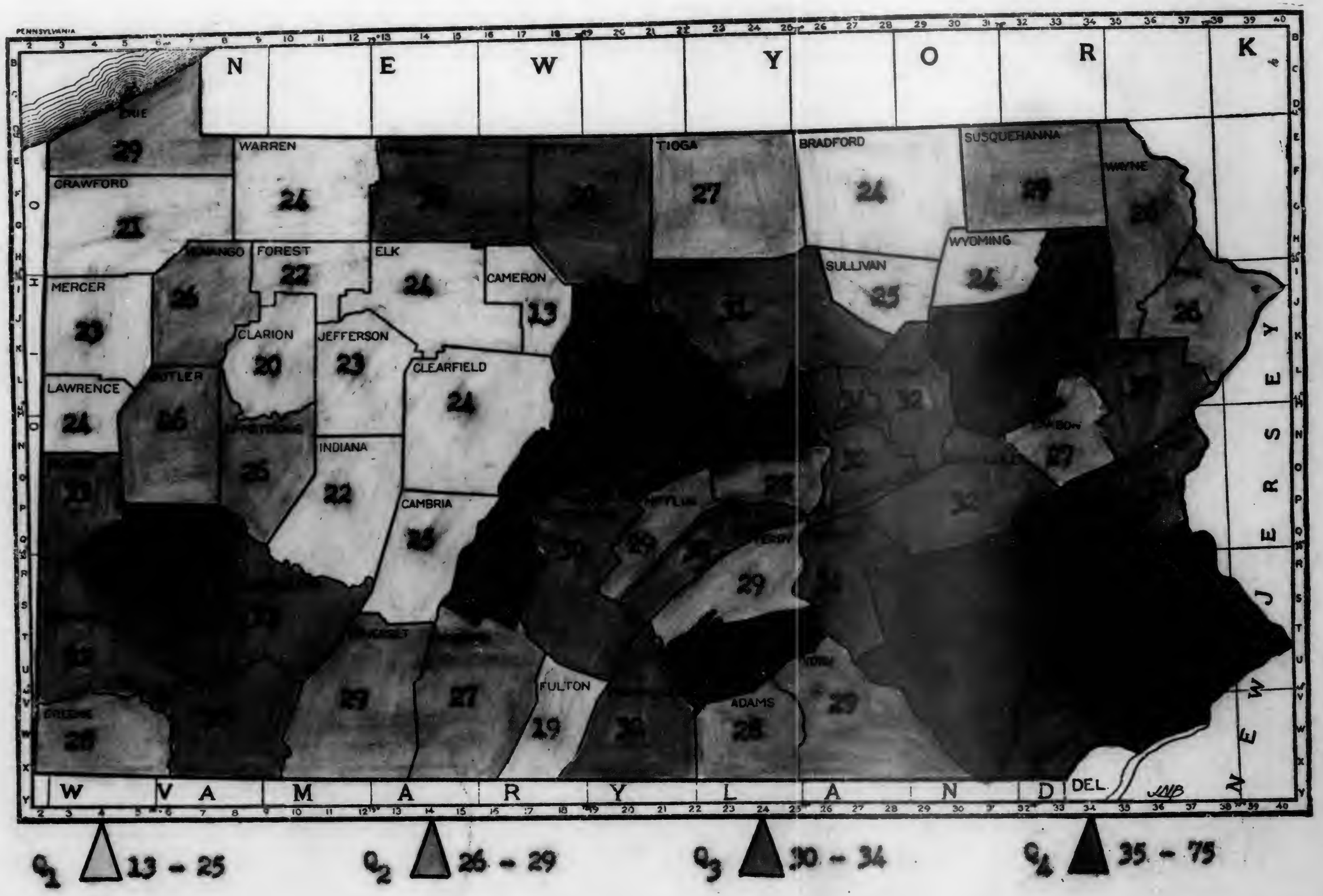

Figure 45. Per Cent of All Agricultural Workers That Were Farm Wage Workers in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.

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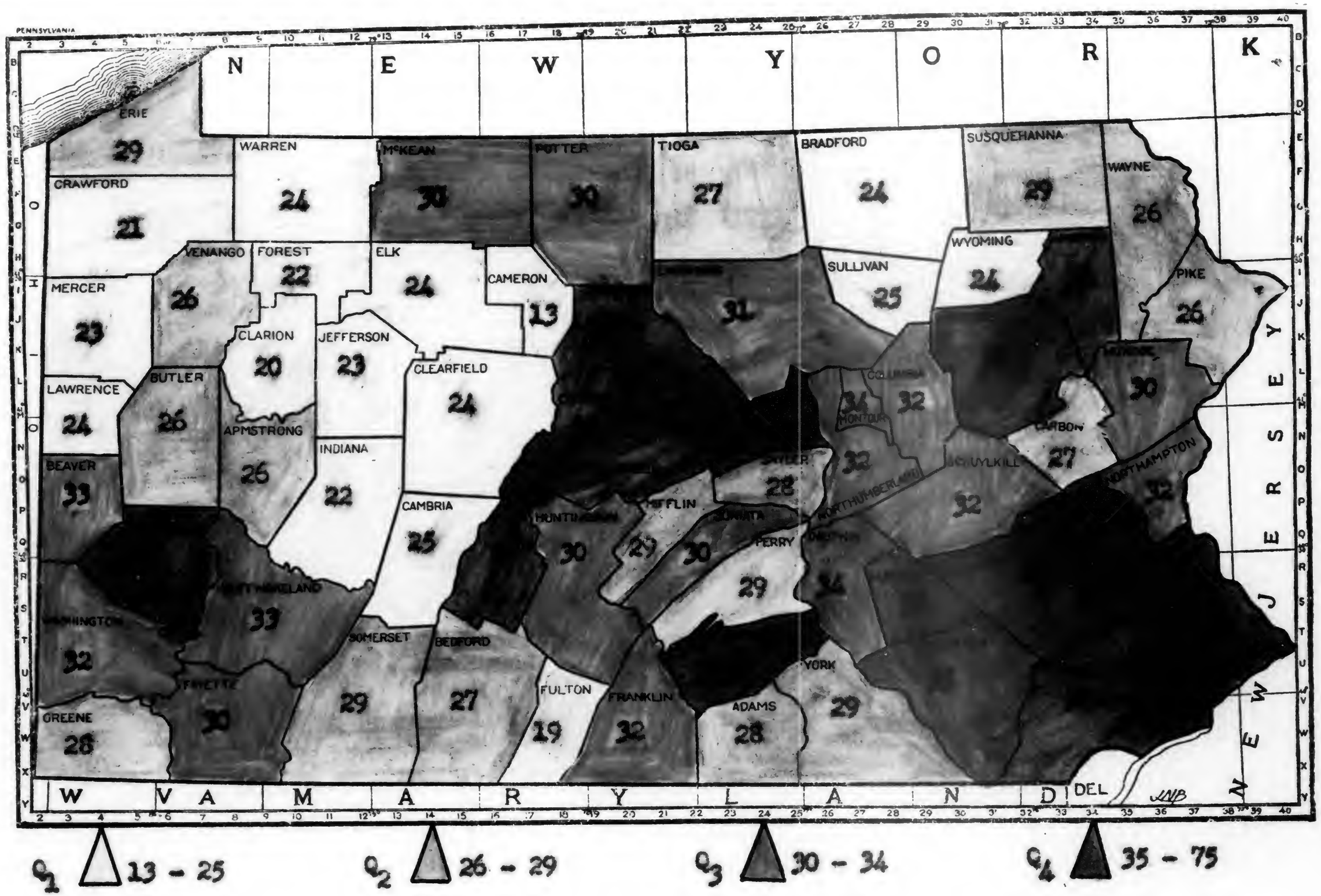
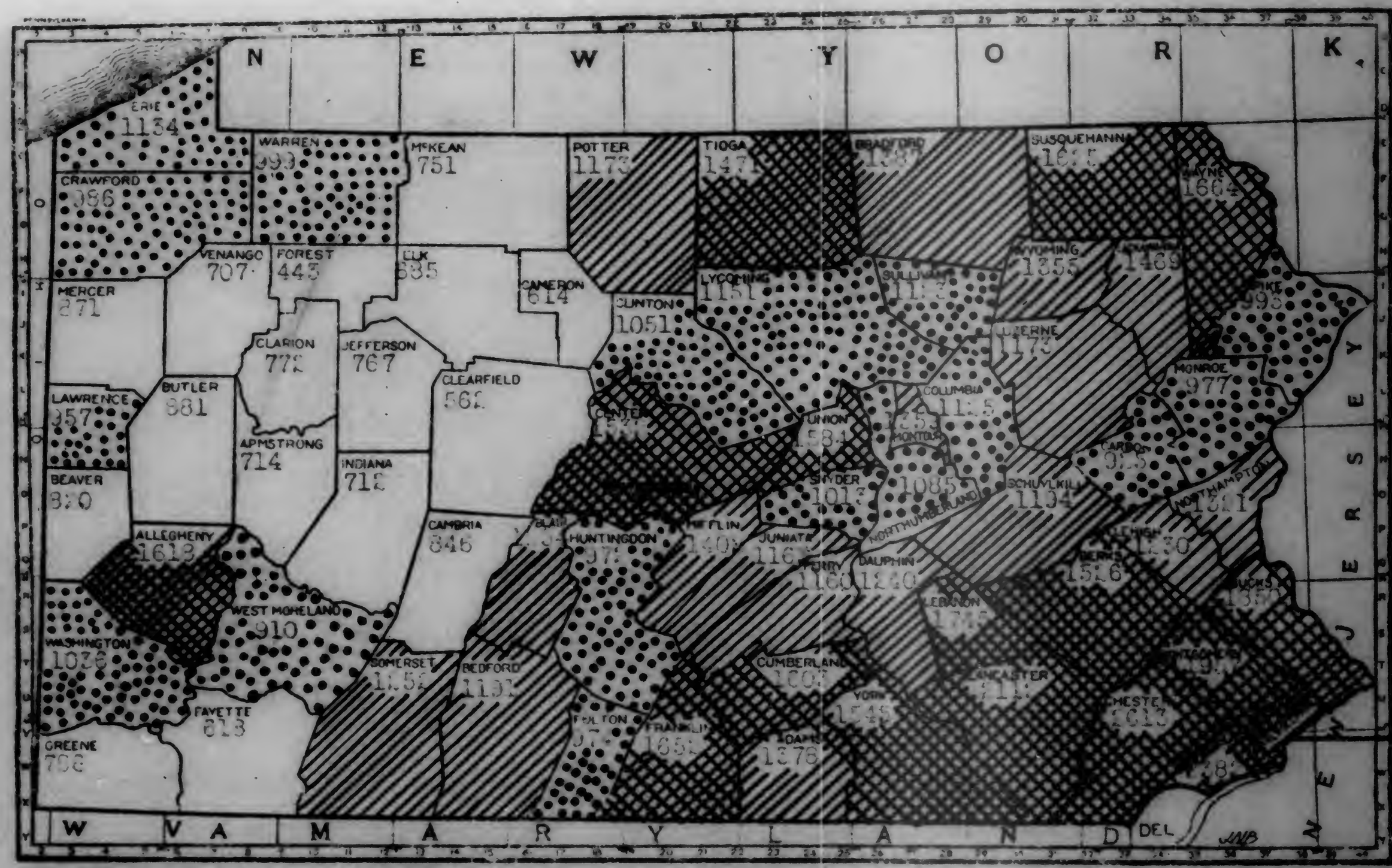


Figure 45. Per Cent of All Agricultural Workers That Were Farm Wage Workers in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.



443 - 881 Q_1

910 - 1151 Q_2

1160 - 1469 Q_3

1471 - 4527 Q_4

Figure 46 - Average Gross Cash Income (Dollars) Per Farm in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938

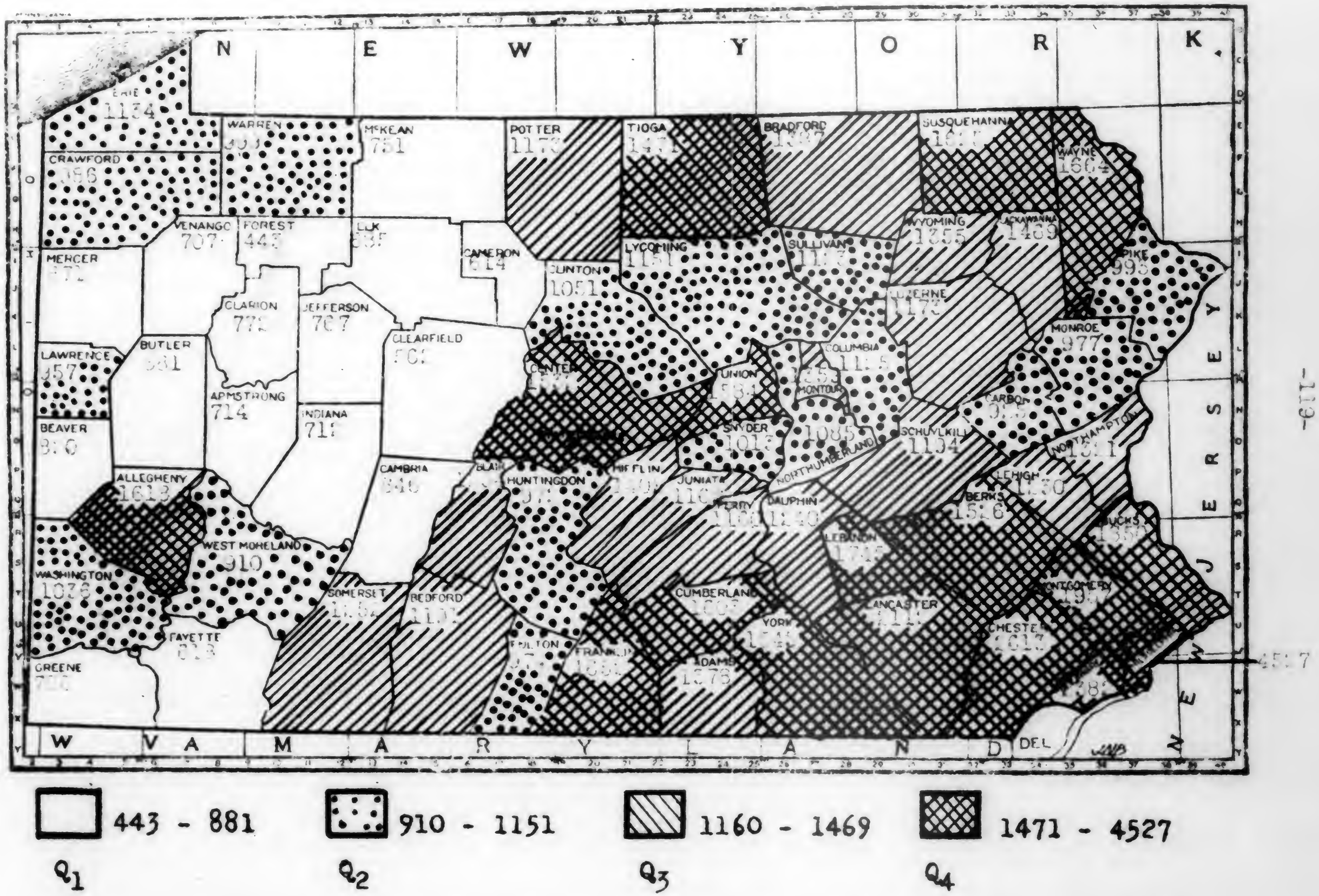


Figure 46 - Average Gross Cash Income (Dollars) Per Farm in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938

surrounded by counties in the next fourth which extend northward to the dairy region in the New York milk shed.

On the other hand the entire lowest quarter is an abutting area forming across the entire state from north to south in the Allegheny Plateau. A number of these counties received less than $500 gross cash income per farm in 1938, a year in which income for Pennsylvania farmers was higher than the average for the decade. The averages presented in this map do not include about three million dollars benefit payments to Pennsylvania farmers under provisions of the A. A. A.[8] However, this would constitute only about one per cent difference and the general picture would remain the same.

Some studies made by the Federal Bureau of Home Economics indicate that it takes about $40 a month for a family of 5 to live on a farm even at a low level. There is a certain minimum of clothing, sugar, flour, interest and taxes, or rent to be paid. It is little wonder, therefore, that increasing numbers of farmers in this low income area should take to part-time farming as we have seen in the previous map. This trend has its effect on organizations and institutions tending to produce maladjustment. For these crystallized forms of association, especially the physical facilities which house them, tend to remain long after the people are gone.

In viewing Figure 46 and the two which follow it should be remembered that gross farm income is not the whole story. Just because the gross income in a county is high does not necessarily mean that the farm

8. Source: Pennsylvania A. A. A. Office, Harrisburg

people live well. It may be that farmers actually are losing money. Not infrequently farms having high gross incomes have high net losses because of undue cost of overhead and production expenses. The crucial figure is net spendable income. This, together with the amount of home grown produce used is a more satisfactory base on which to build a discussion of standard of living.

As we shall point out later, it may be said that within a community or a homogeneous county the farm plane of living is closely related to gross cash farm income. But between such areas factors other than gross cash income operate to reduce the correlation.

Figure 47 shows farm income distributed over the individual members of the farm family.[9] As would be expected the same area of low gross cash income produces a comparable situation figured on a per capita basis. However, insofar as the area of low income corresponds with the area of high population fertility the situation is intensified. Similarly, the southeast and the northeastern dairy region have a relatively high per capita income level. The average for the state is $237 while the range in per capita income is from $88 in Forest County to $719 in Philadelphia County, or in other words eight times as much.

This map is for 1935 whereas the preceding one is for 1938. However, the differences in the general distribution of counties would be slight inasmuch as the gross state income in 1935 was $251,000,000 and in 1938 $244,000,000, a gross difference of only five per cent.[10]

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9. Source: Consumer Market Data Handbook, 1939.
10. Source: Pennsylvania Crop Reporting Service - Harrisburg.

Figure 47. Average Gross Cash Farm Income (Dollars) Per Capita Farm Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1955.

COLOR PLATE

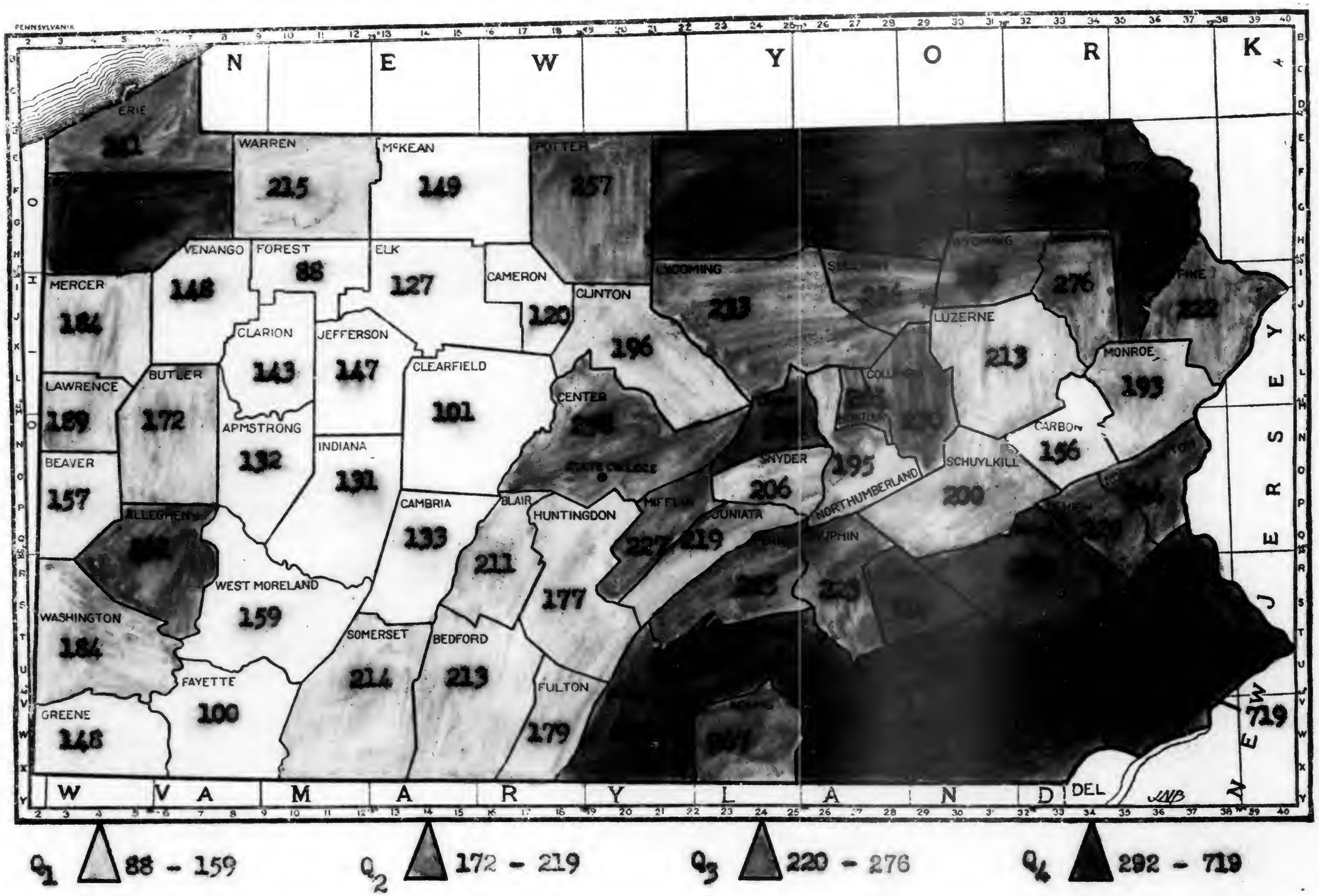

Figure 47. Average Gross Cash Farm Income (Dollars) Per Capita Farm Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

The present map and the foregoing one are related closely to the soil types map presented in Chapter II. Thus the Dekalb series is the area of lowest income, Westmoreland next, and so on until we find that the Hagerstown series of southeastern Pennsylvania produces the best income and living for farm people.

Another way of viewing this factor of cash income is by indicating the per cent of farms which are receiving low incomes (Below $600). Figure 48 shows these areas and thus indicates the places where we would tend to find poor support for churches, a proportionately large number of one-room schools, unenterprising granges and other such organizational phenomena. The entire western half of the state is found to have the lowest incomes.[11] Conversely, nearly the entire eastern half is found to be above the average. Only those counties where the proportion of part-time and subsistence farms is high are exceptions. Clearfield County with 49 per cent of its farms receiving less than $600 per year has six times as many in this low income class as Philadelphia County where but eight per cent of its farms are so classed. This figure gives an indication of the burden placed upon the farm population of the different areas for the maintenance of social agencies and organizations.

Fortunately, however, the areas where income is low correspond to those areas where a higher proportion of farm products are consumed by the families producing them. We thus see in Figure 49 that most of the Allegheny Plateau is above the average in food produced and consumed on the farm, while the southeastern and the northeastern counties market most of the produce,[12] that they raise. The range is from 7.2 per cent in

11. Source: United States Census, 1930.
12. Source: United States Census, 1930.

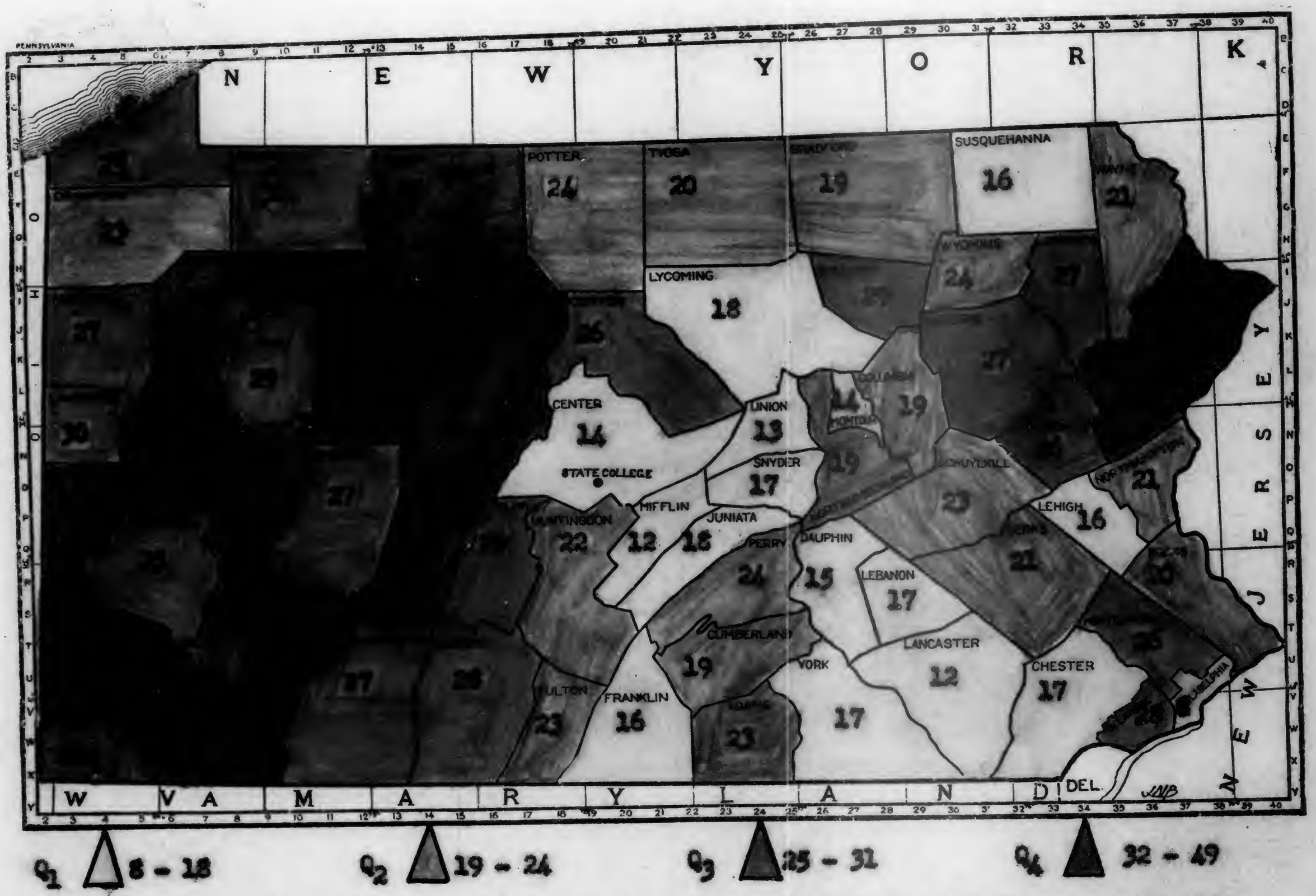

Figure 48. Per Cent of Farms in Pennsylvania Receiving a Gross Cash Income in 1929 of Less Than $600, by Counties.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

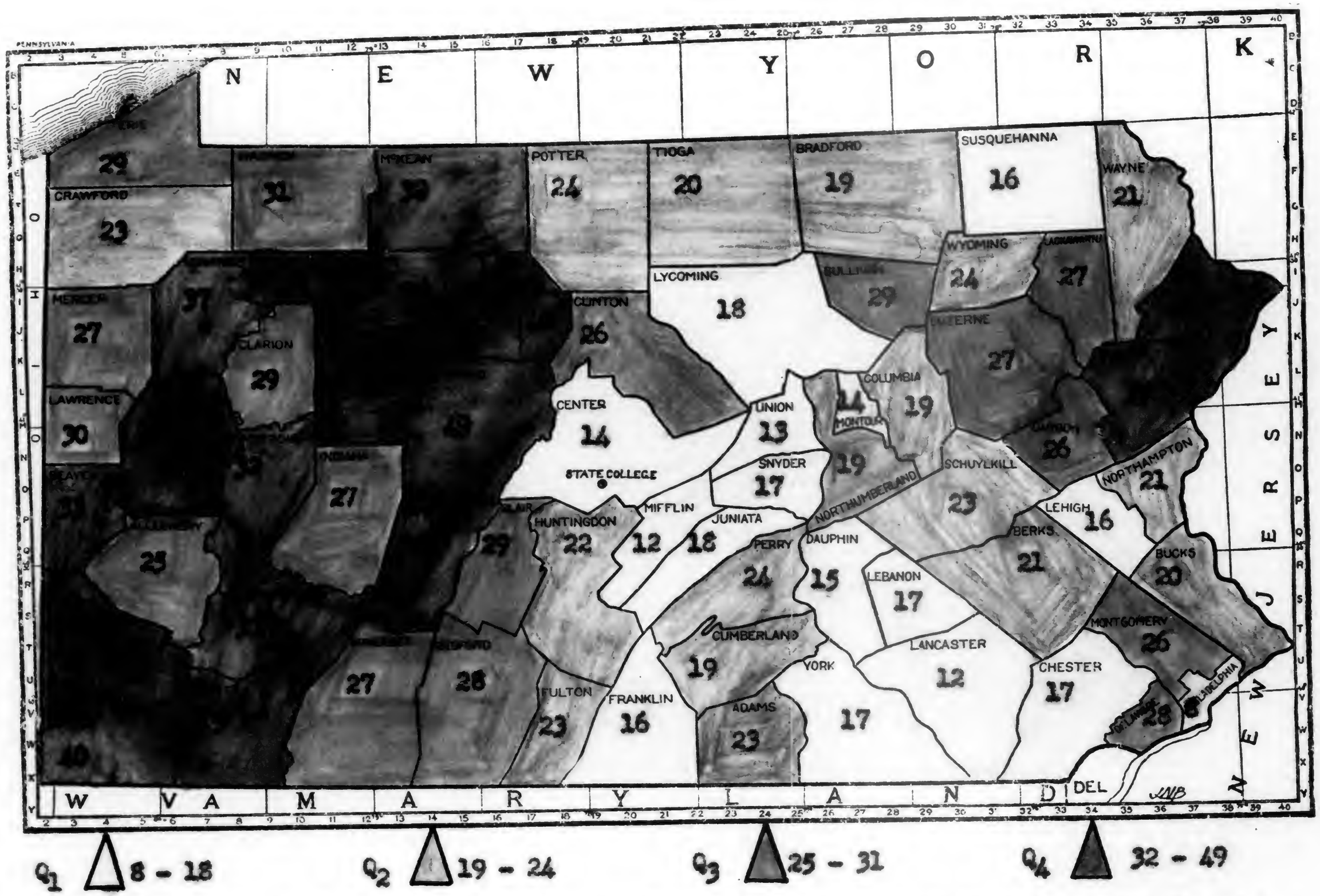

Figure 48. Per Cent of Farms in Pennsylvania Receiving a Gross Cash Income in 1929 of Less Than $600, by Counties.

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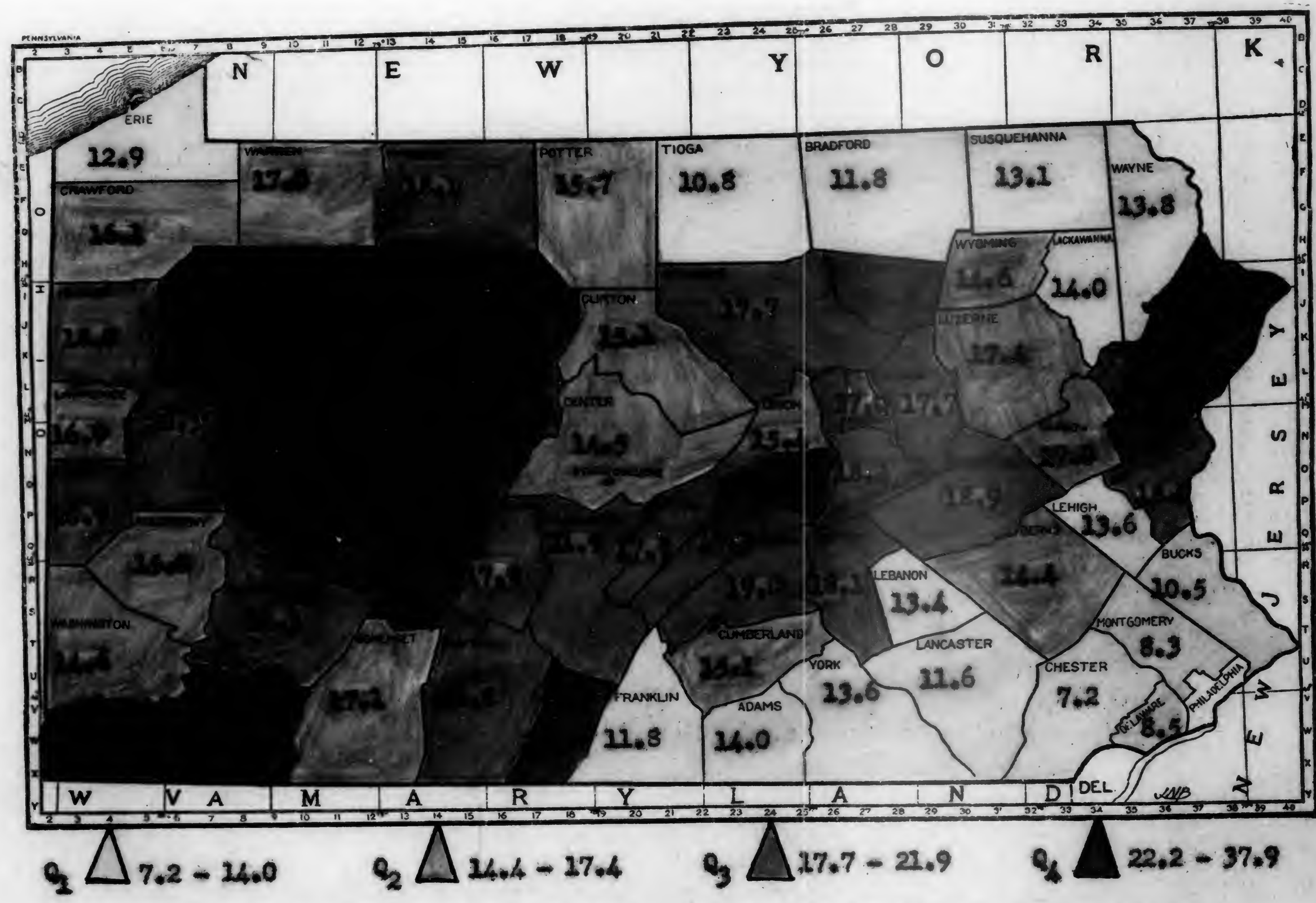

Figure 49. Per Cent of Value of Farm Products Consumed by the Family in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1929.

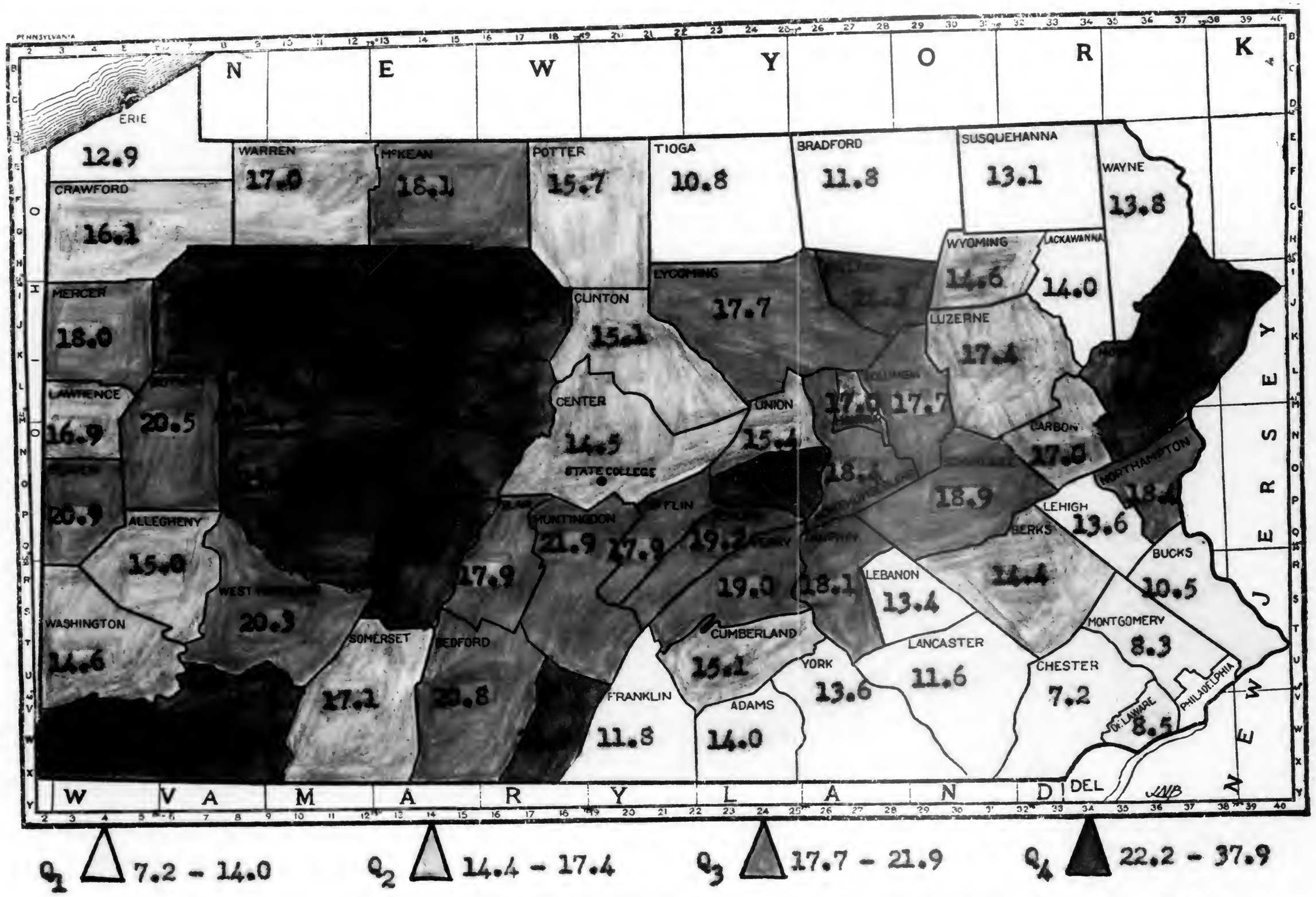

Figure 49. Per Cent of Value of Farm Products Consumed by the Family in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1929.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

Chester County where the sale of fluid milk accounts for a large share of the cash income to 57.9 per cent consumed in Forest County where income from other than farm sources is the rule rather than the exception. Surrounding Forest County there is a block of nine other counties in the Plateau which are similarly situated. This area is removed from any metropolitan centers, or, for that matter, any large cities. Until trucking made the area accessible transportation facilities were at a premium and no outlet was afforded for perishable produce. This area is largely on a part-time and subsistence basis. Much of the land appears to be better suited to forestry and recreational uses than to farming. And the present trend of use points in that direction.

From the economic bases for farm standards of living we now turn to the facilities for living of the farm home. These are the ones most commonly used as indices of socio-economic status. They include the incidence of such factors as electricity, running water, bath tubs, central heating system, and value of dwelling. Further, such facilities as automobiles, radios and telephones could well be included here. But these are agencies of communication and transportation affecting social organizations, and therefore more properly belong under Chapter VI of that title. However, they also aid one in getting a picture of how well people live in the various areas of the state. And so they are rightly a part of any plane of living analysis. They are included in the final map in this section, a composite index of six of these individual physical facilities.

We now turn to a consideration of the separate facilities in the farm home. We see in Figure 50 the per cent of farms having electricity

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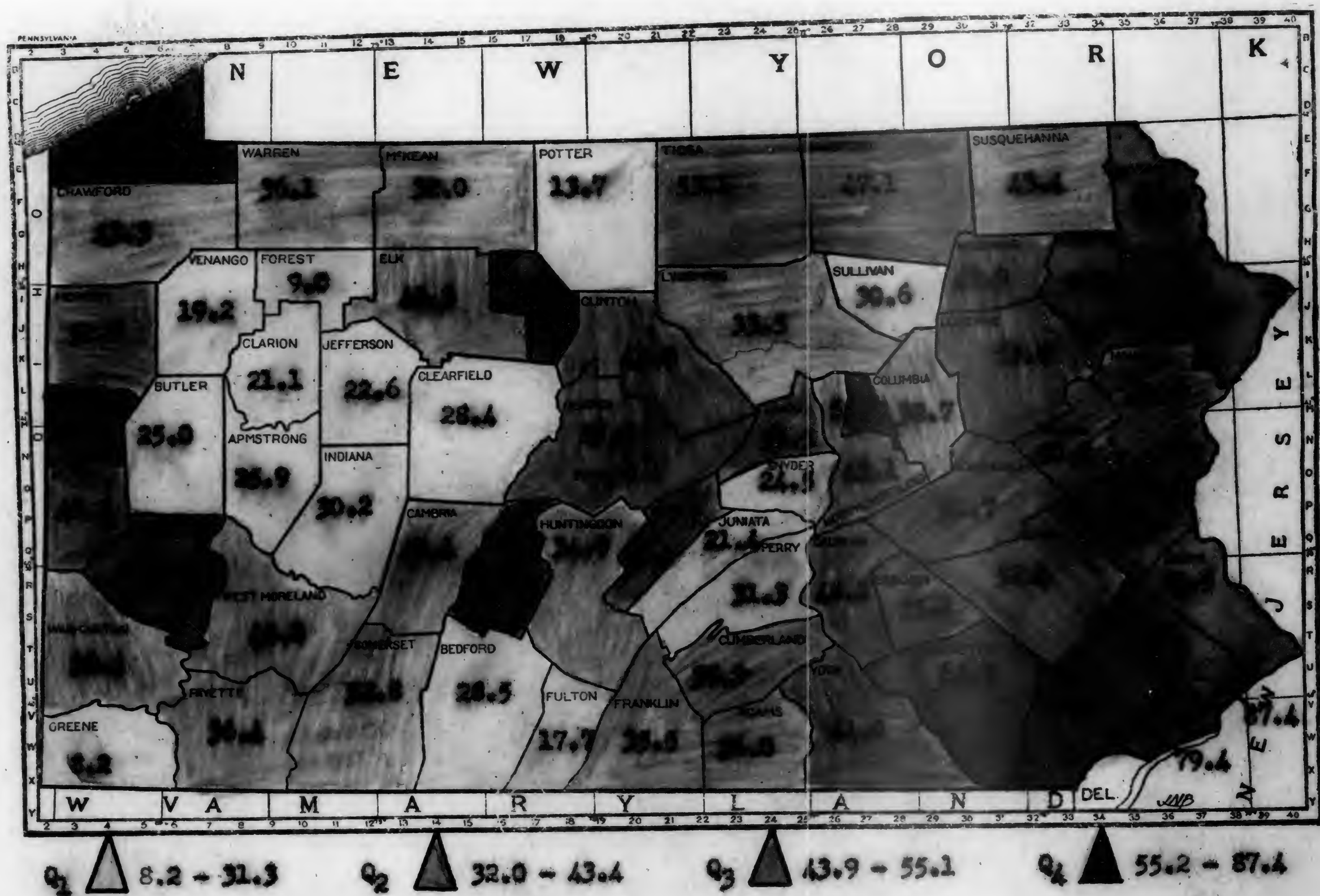

Figure 50. Per Cent of Farms Having Electricity in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1959.

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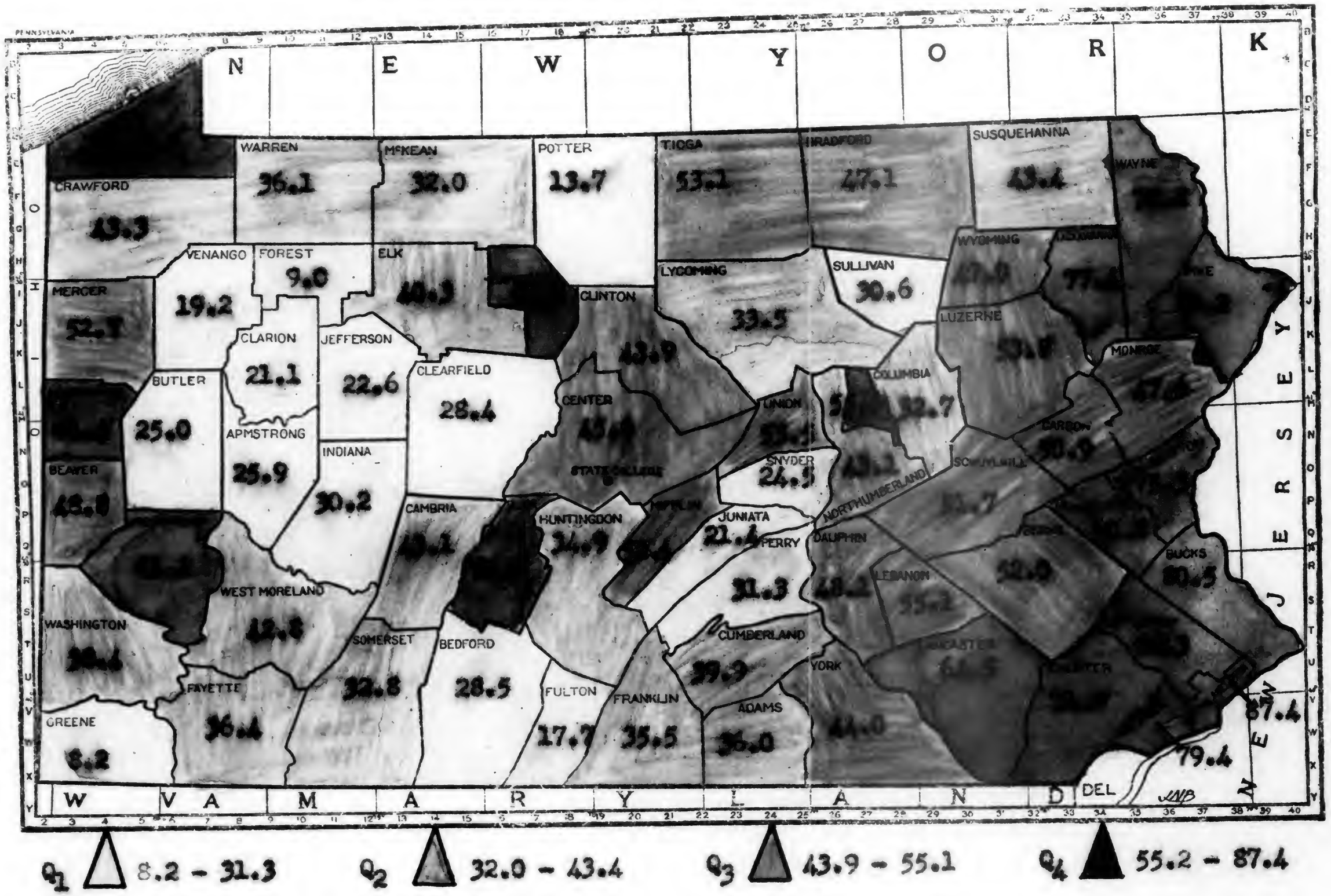

Figure 50. Per Cent of Farms Having Electricity in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1959.

in 1939.[13] The counties having most available current are located in the eastern end of the state, especially the southeast. The effect of special efforts of electric companies in northeastern Pike and Wayne counties to make current available to farmers is seen here also. The Appalachian Plateau again is at a distinct disadvantage. In the center of this Plateau is a cluster of eight counties which comprise one-half of the counties in the lowest quarter. The range in this facility is from 8.2 per cent in Greene County to 87.4 per cent in Philadelphia County. The average for the state as a whole was 46.3 per cent.[14]

In this map the effect of cities is noticed. A comparison of this figure with Figure 9 indicates that the counties in which large cities or groups of cities are to be found have a high proportion of the farms with electric service. It is cheaper for them. This in turn affects the prevalence of radios which more and more have come to be dependent upon electrical service. Thus, we might say that farm standard of living as measured by physical facilities is in a very real sense a function of urbanization. Therefore to see clearly the relation of farm income to farm standard of living the population figure showing the index of rurality needs to be interposed. In general, there is an inverse correspondence between rurality and standard of living.

Unlike electricity, running water is more likely to be found in hilly or mountainous areas where the natural fall of a spring may be

13. Source: Consumer Market Data Handbook, 1939.
14. According to the Edison Electric Institute Bulletin of March, 1936, 47,584 farms in Pennsylvania were served by electricity. This is 27.6 per cent of the total. Vol. IV, No. 3, p. 89.

used at a low cost in providing freely flowing water in the home. Another important factor is the ability to pay for having water systems installed with pumping equipment. In the Allegheny Plateau more than one-third of the farm homes have running water because of the mountainous condition (Figure 51).[15] The northern tier with the exception of one county is particularly high in the percentage of homes with running water since six counties in this area are to be found in the highest one-fourth. Pike County with 70 per cent of the farms having running water leads the entire state. The second factor operates especially in the six counties comprising the southeastern tip of the state. This area is relatively flat but the farmers with the high incomes (as indicated by foregoing maps) are able to pay the cost of such facilities. The area having the least number of farms with running water is found in the south central section of Pennsylvania. Cumberland County has but 17.1 per cent of its farms piped for water. Thirteen of the 16 counties in the lowest quarter form a contiguous block in this area. The average for the state was 37.2 in 1939.

We would expect to find the proportion of farm homes having bathrooms to correspond very closely with the availability of running water. However, such is not the case, for whereas the upper central Allegheny Plateau has much running water in homes, bathrooms in this area are relatively infrequent (Figure 52).[16] Thus Clarion County which has 44.5 per cent of its farms with running water has but 10.8 per cent of its farm homes with bathrooms.

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15. Source: Consumer Market Data Handbook, 1939.
16. Source: Ibidem.

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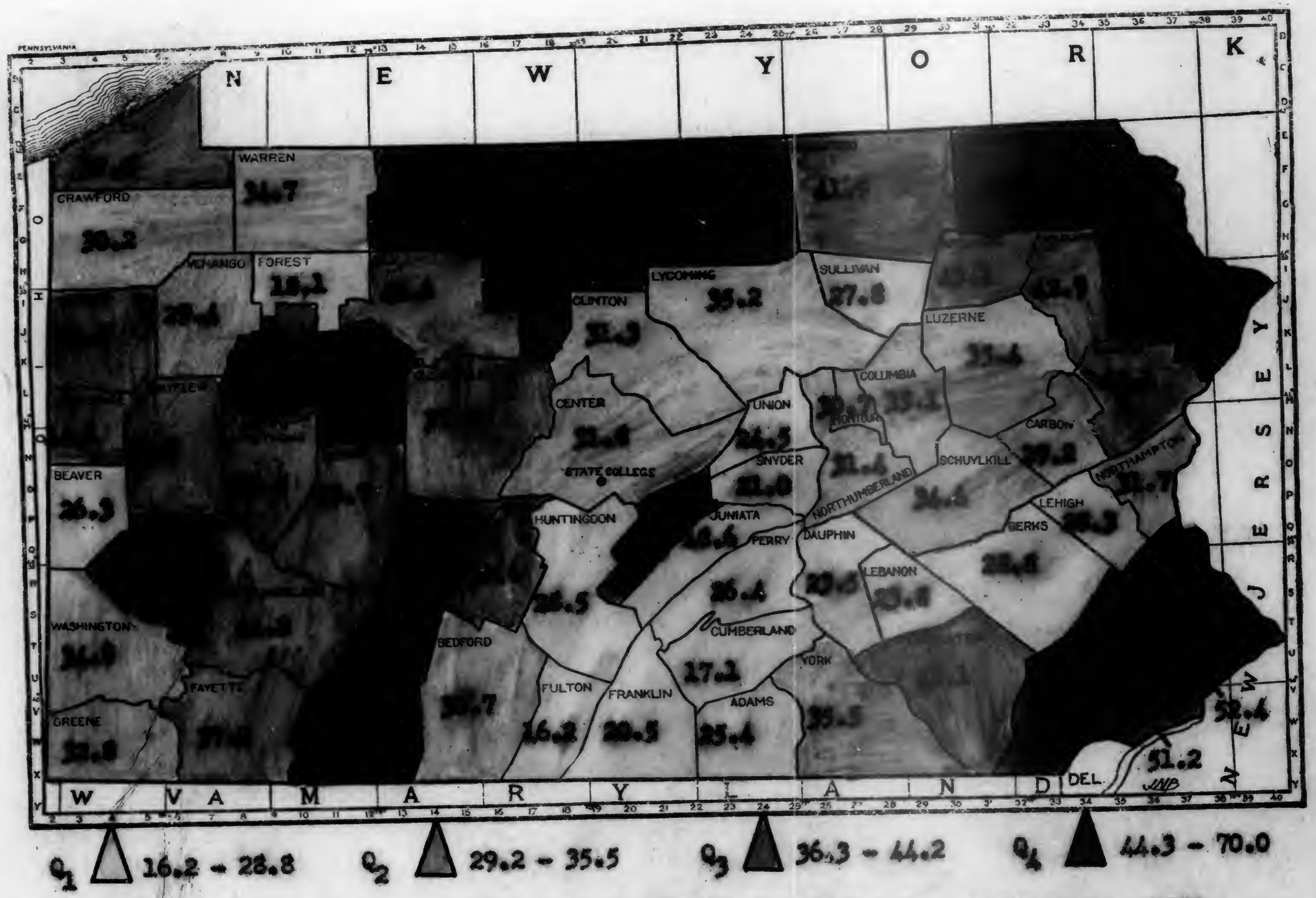

Figure 51. Per Cent of Farms Having Running Water in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

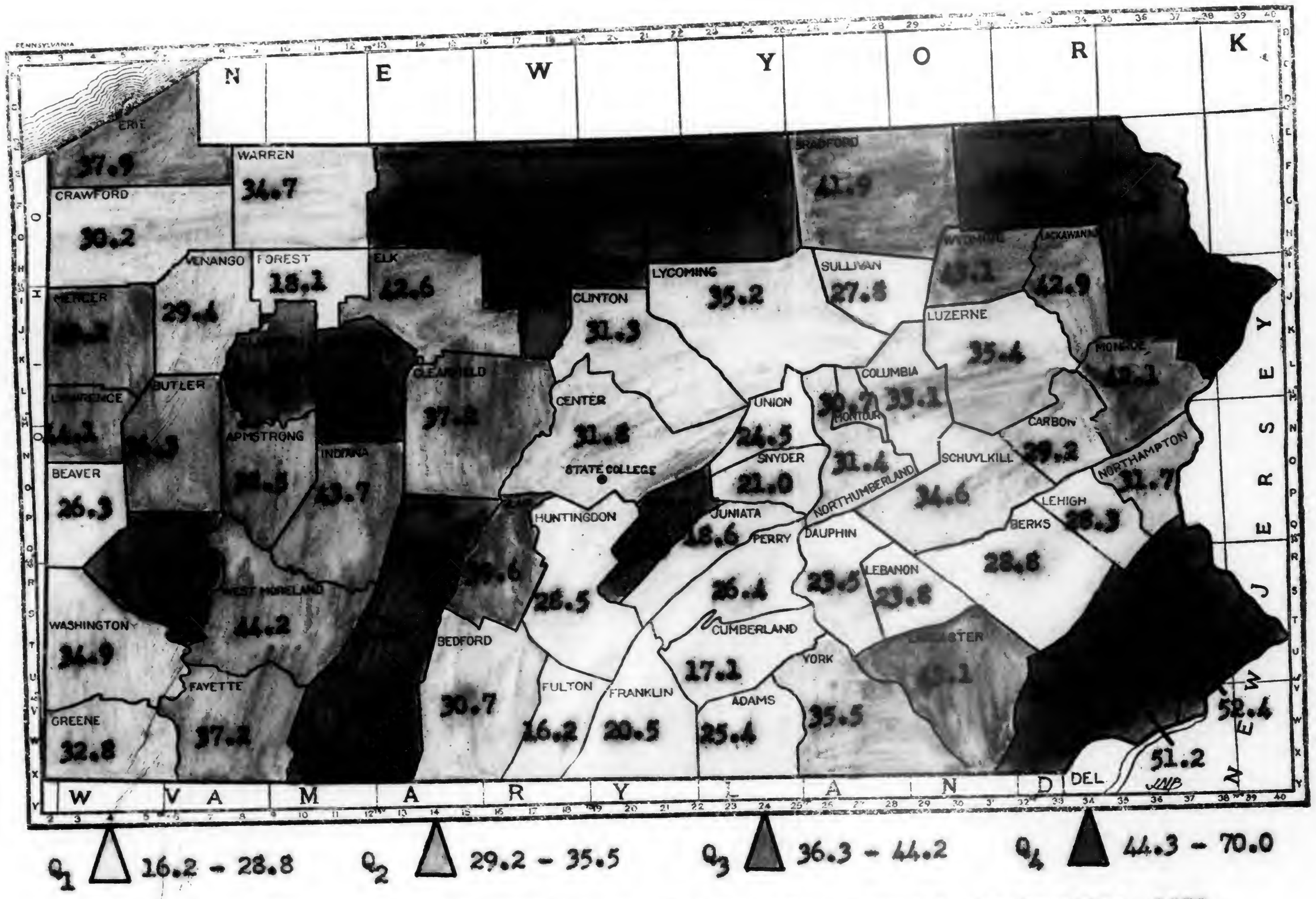

Figure 51. Per Cent of Farms Having Running Water in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

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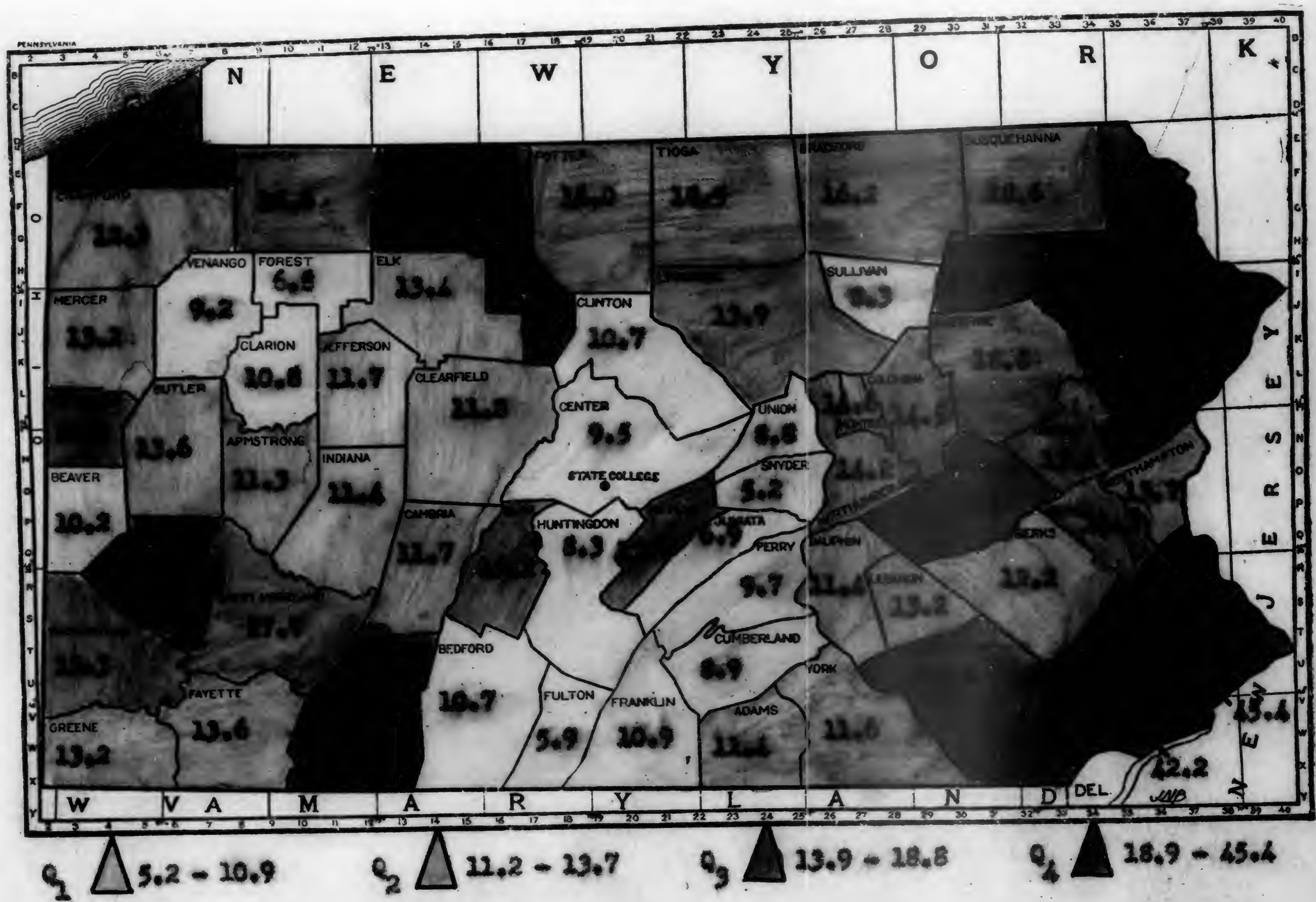

Figure 52. Per Cent of Farm Homes Having Bath Rooms in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

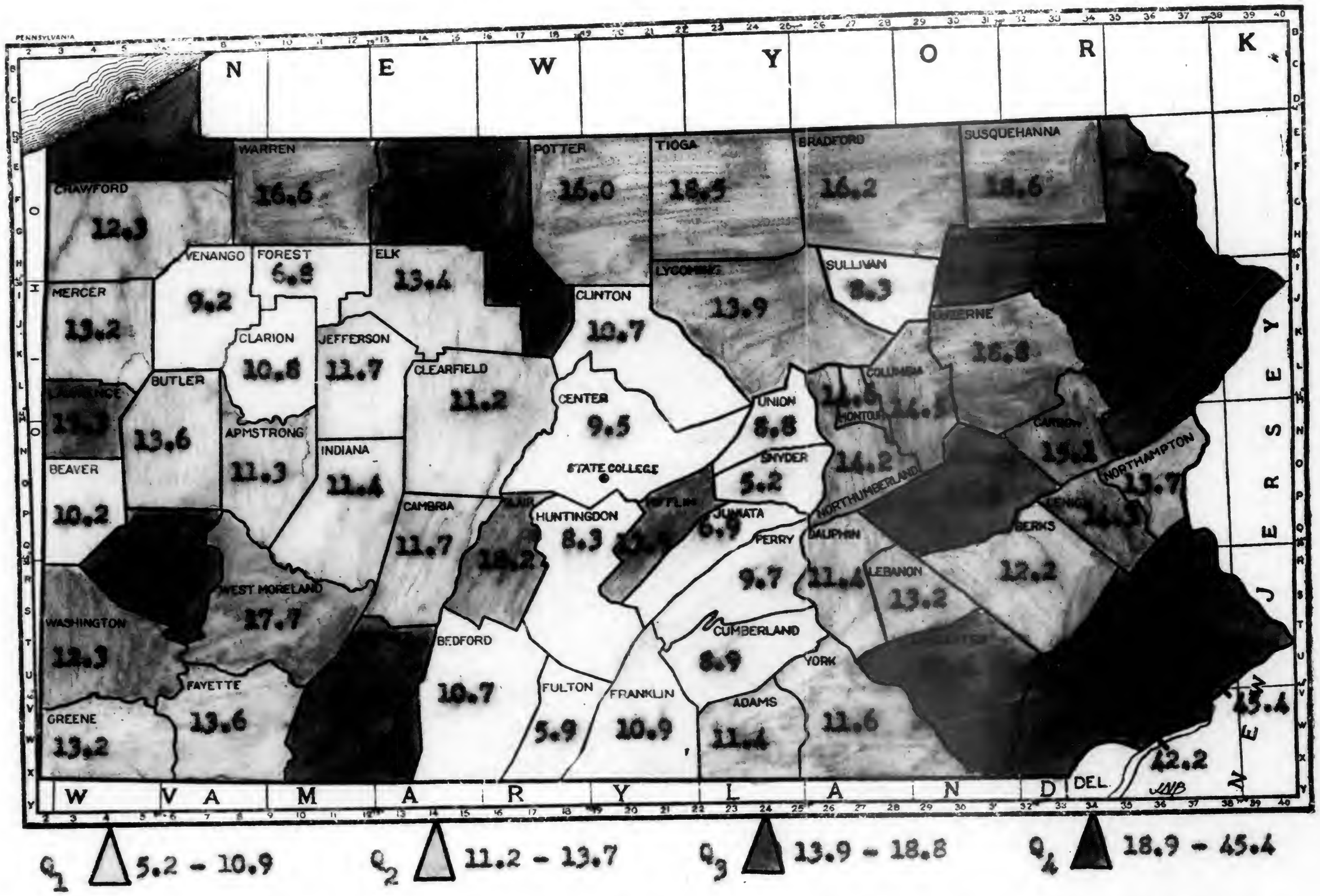

Figure 52. Per Cent of Farm Homes Having Bath Rooms in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

COLOR PLATE

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

Much of the northeast, on the other hand, especially the hard coal section has a disproportionately large number of its farm homes having bathrooms in relation to available running water. The southeast, however, leads the state in the availability of this facility. Philadelphia, for example, has 45.4 per cent of its farm homes with bathroom facilities. This is to be contrasted with Snyder County where but 5.2 per cent of the farm homes have bathrooms. The average for the entire state is 16.5 per cent.

It likely has been noticed that most of the foregoing figures presented have a range in which the highest county is approximately eight or ten times that of the lowest county. This emphasizes the wide diversity of this factor, within the commonwealth.

Figure 53 shows the distribution of the proportion of farm homes having central heating systems in 1939.[17] Eastern Pennsylvania and southeastern Pennsylvania are relatively well off; while the entire central part of the state, especially the upper Allegheny Plateau, occupies an inferior status. Again this facility follows the cash income map to a rather high degree. It is to be expected that the hard and soft coal counties would tend to have an increased proportion of farm homes with central heating systems whereas the rougher, forested counties doubtless depend more on wood stoves for heating purposes. As with other facilities southeastern Pennsylvania is the best situated because of their ability to pay. Philadelphia County, for example, has 82.9 per cent of its farm homes with central heating systems. This may be contrasted with Forest

17. Source: Ibidem.

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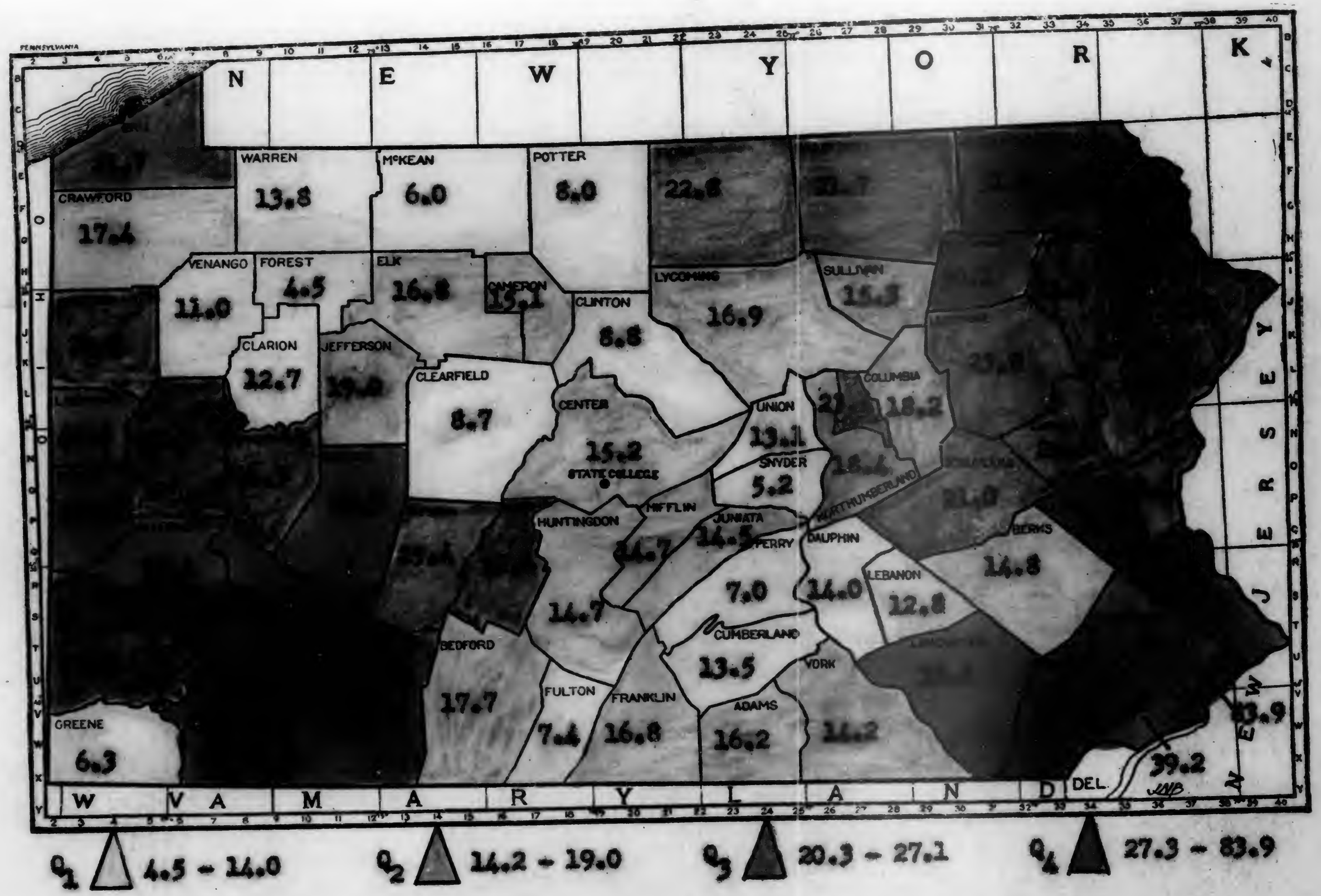

Figure 53. Per Cent of Farm Homes Having Central Heating Systems in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

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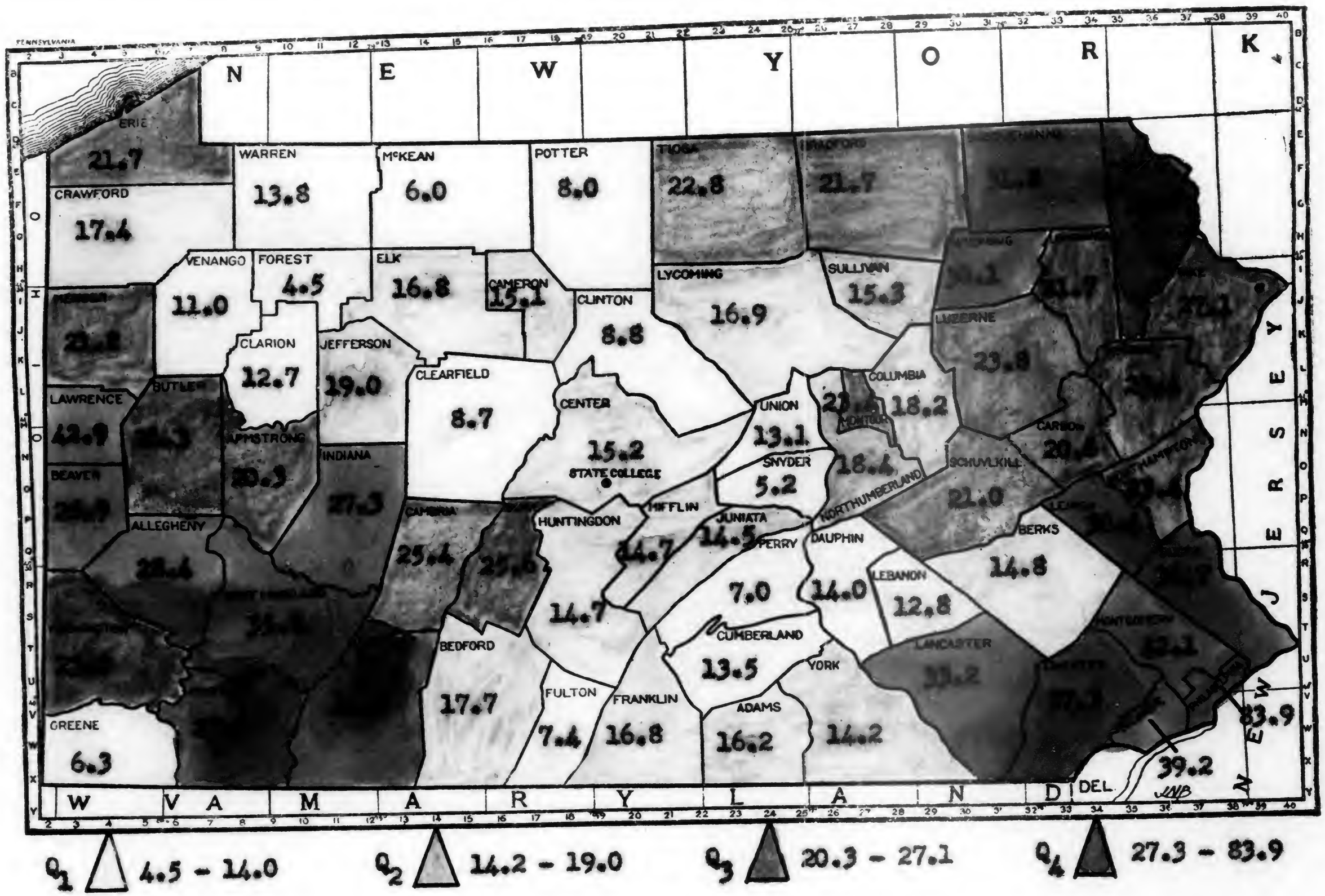

Figure 53. Per Cent of Farm Homes Having Central Heating Systems in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

County where but 4.5 per cent of the farm homes have central heating plants. The average for the state is 22.7 per cent.

Perhaps the most important single factor in the development of the plane of living index for farm homes is the valuation of the farm dwelling (Figure 54).[18] The counties in the entire east end of Pennsylvania are to be found in the upper two quarters. The same can be said for the extreme end of western Pennsylvania except Crawford County. In other words, these counties in the main have an average value per farm dwelling in excess of $1,900.

On the other hand central Pennsylvania has poorer farm homes. Practically all of the counties falling below the median are to be found in the Allegheny Plateau and the Allegheny Mountains. Sullivan County with an average valuation of $1,100 per farm home is at one end of the scale, while Delaware with $7,150 per farm home is at the other end. The average for the entire state was $2,150.

A comparison of this figure with Figure 42, indicating the total value per farm including barn and other buildings, shows a fairly high correspondence. But Figure 54 shows an inverse relation with such maps as those giving the per cent of farm products consumed at home and the per cent of farm operators working off the farm for pay.

A final map in this section, Figure 55, shows the distribution of the rural farm plane of living index throughout the various counties of the state.[19] This index is composed of the six factors indicated at the

18. Source: United States Census 1930.
19. The writer wishes to acknowledge the help of Dr. Walter C. McKain, Jr. Area IV Office of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., Dr. Howard B. Myers, and Dr. Ellen Winston of the Research Staff, Federal W.P.A. for their aid in making available certain bodies of census and research data used in many places throughout the thesis.

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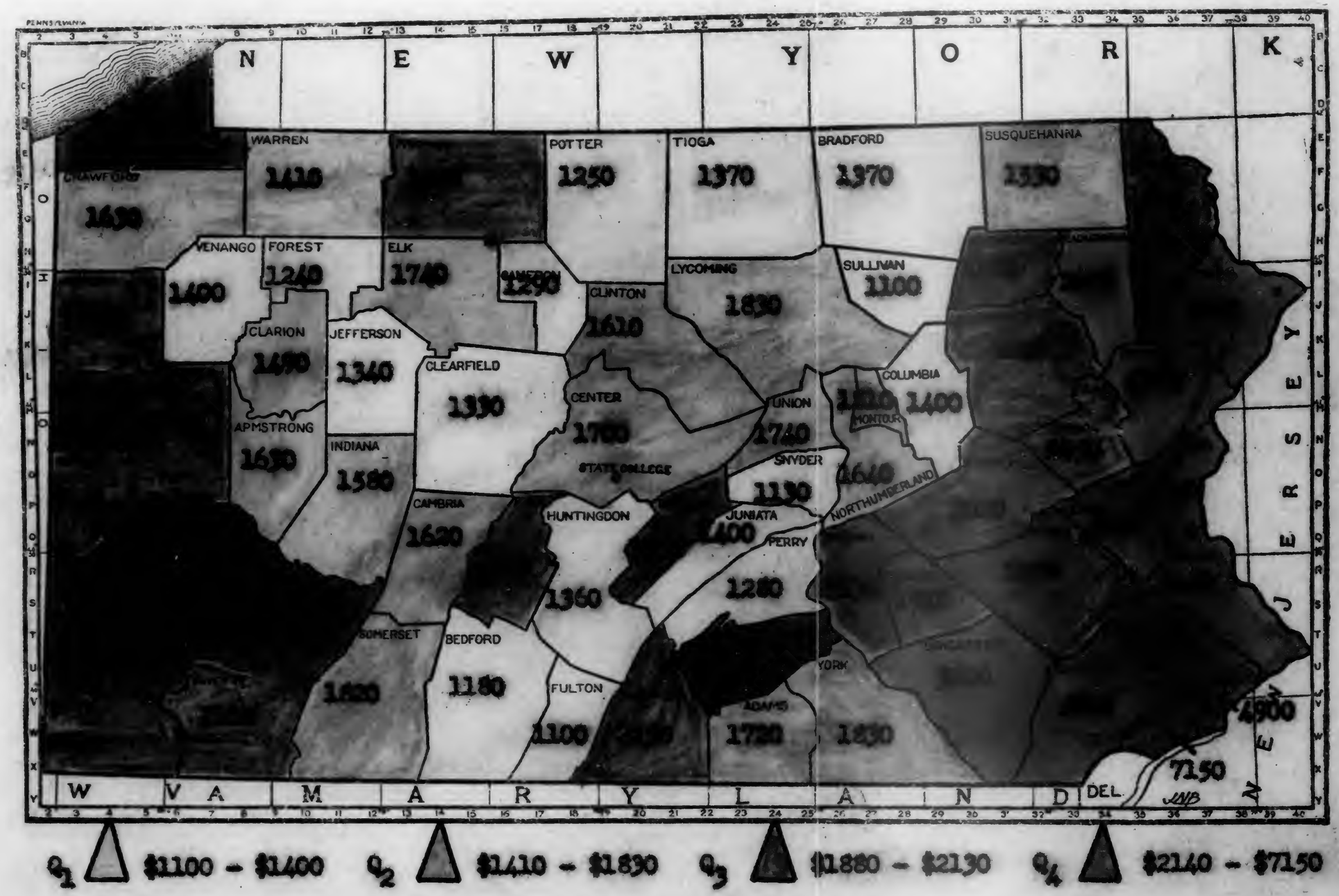

Figure 54. Average Value of Farm Dwelling in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

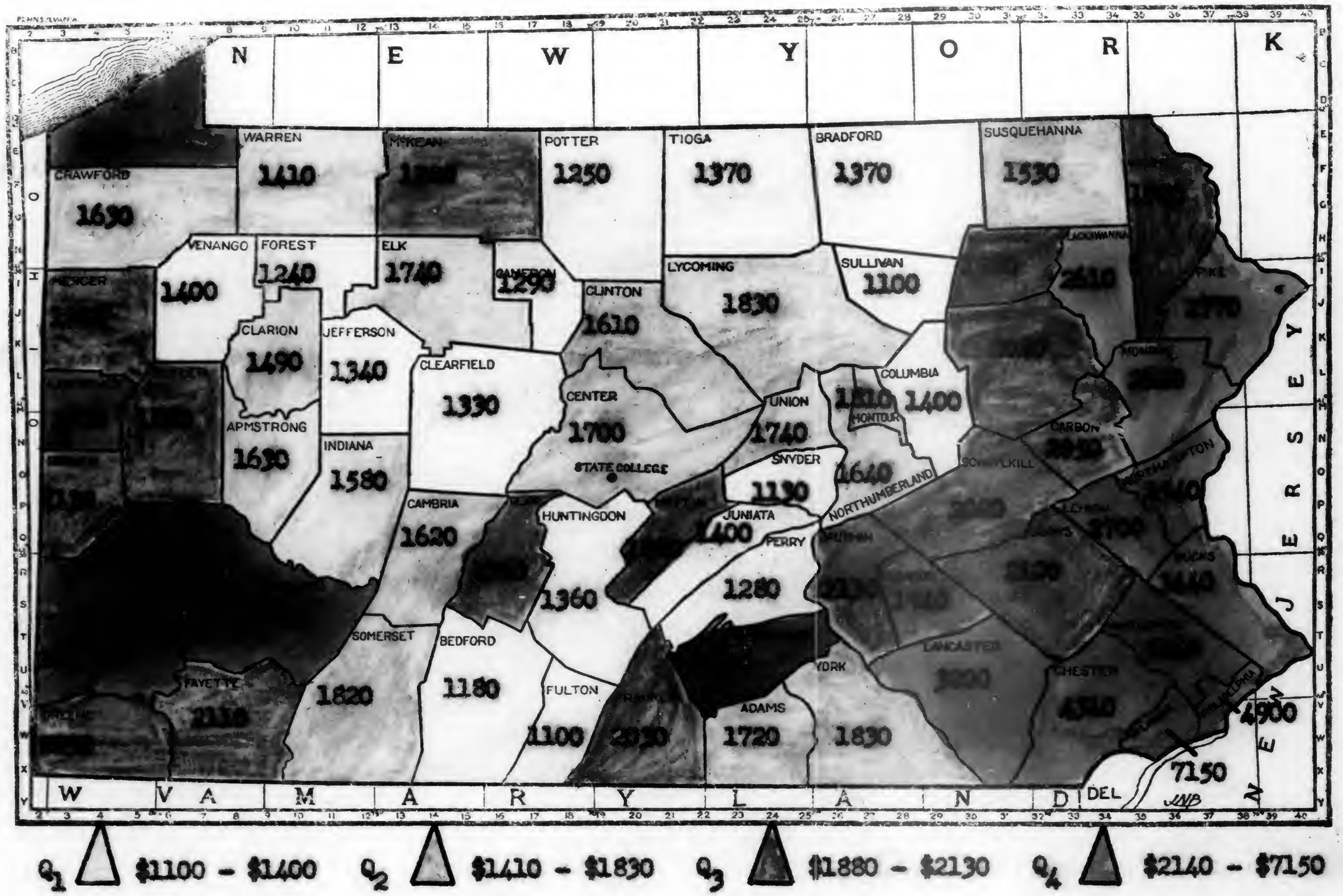

Figure 54. Average Value of Farm Dwelling in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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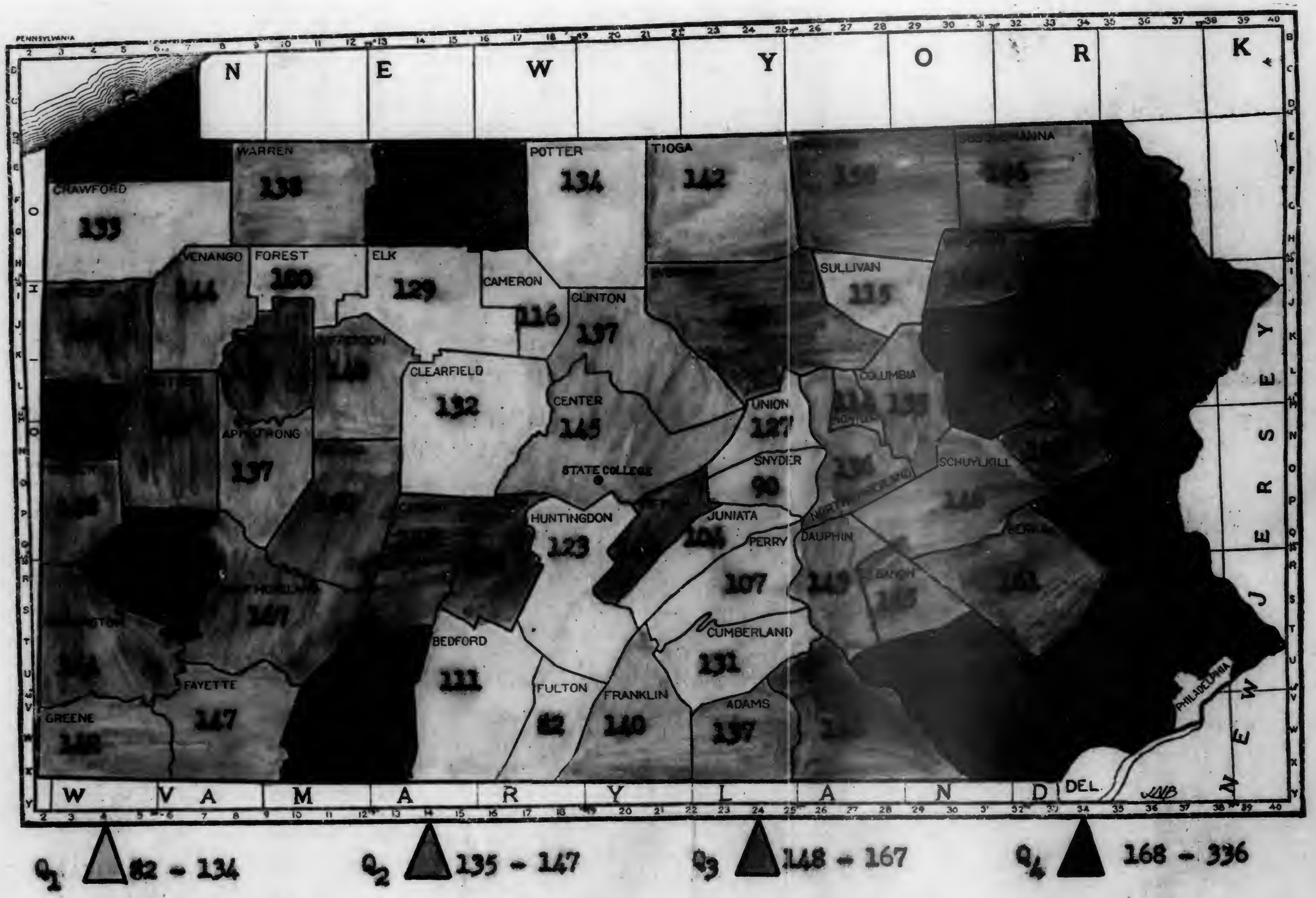

Figure 55. Rural-Farm Plane of Living Index in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

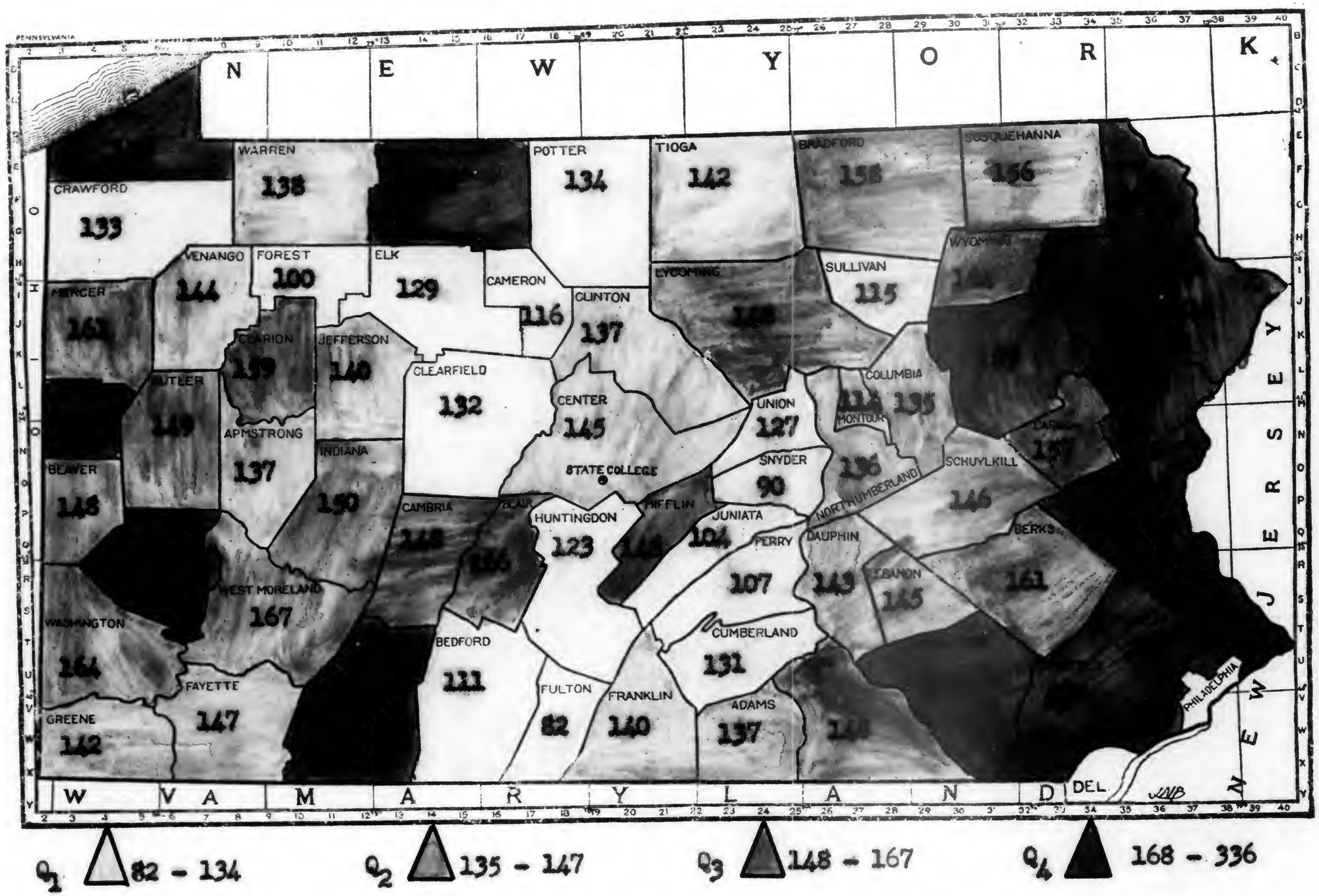

Figure 55. Rural-Farm Plane of Living Index in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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beginning of this section. These were combined giving each an equal weight. Further they are adjusted to the average for the country as a whole which was set at 100. Thus we see that practically the entire state has a plane of living index higher than the average for the country. Only two counties of the 67 were below 100. It is seen that the entire eastern end of the state falls in the highest fourth forming a solid block extending from Wayne County around to Lancaster. Then a block of counties surrounding Allegheny are relatively well off in terms of standard of living. Two counties which are isolated, Mc Kean and Erie, are also in the fourth quarter - Erie because of profitable agriculture and the influence of the city of Erie, and McKean County, primarily because of her oil resources which supplement farm income. Central Pennsylvania is low, especially in the south central part where the Allegheny Mountains enter the state. A part of the northern Allegheny Plateau is also relatively low.

The range for this index begins at 82 for Fulton County and extends to 336 for Delaware County, the latter being one of the highest counties for the entire country. It will be seen that practically all counties containing large cities fall in the group above the median.

A comparison of the standard of living map with the type of farming and soil maps of Chapter II shows a high correspondence between these geological or physical factors and the levels of living of the people. Thus the limestone of the southeast provides a different base for adequate living from the Morrison soils of Schuylkill County only 35 miles away. As a matter of fact, township data within Lancaster County itself show that certain factors affecting the level of living is almost twice as

high in the limestone section as in the sandy soil district to the south.[20] Here again appear the dangers inherent in analyzing such data on a county wide basis. By so doing one is forced to "average in" in Lancaster county white trash with frugal Irishmen. This tends to cover up rather than elucidate the important elements in many situations. This same criticism is applicable to most other counties of the state and to most other factors being dealt with.[21]

2. Plane of Living of the Rural-nonfarm Population.

Without going into the detailed analysis which was made of the farm standard of living, in which many individual items were presented, it may suffice in this section merely to call attention to Figure 56 which is a composite index of the rural-nonfarm plane of living by counties.[22] The index is based upon the average value of rural-nonfarm dwellings and the percentage of such homes having radios, and is therefore not as inclusive as the farm plane of living index.

It is evident in this figure that the eastern end of the state is relatively well off. A contiguous block of 14 high counties extends from Wayne on the northeast corner around to York in the southern tier. In the main these counties are industrial, including only one important coal county, Lackawanna. The hard coal counties of Northumberland, Schuylkill, Carbon, and Luzerne fall in the third quarter. Likewise, on the northwest a block of ten contiguous counties are above the median.

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20. Source: United States Census, 1930
21. Cf. Walter C. McKain, Jr. "The Concept of Plane of Living and the Construction of a Plane of Living Index" Rural Sociology. Vol. IV No. 3 pp. 337-343.
22. Source: Division of Social Research, W.P.A. Washington, D. C.

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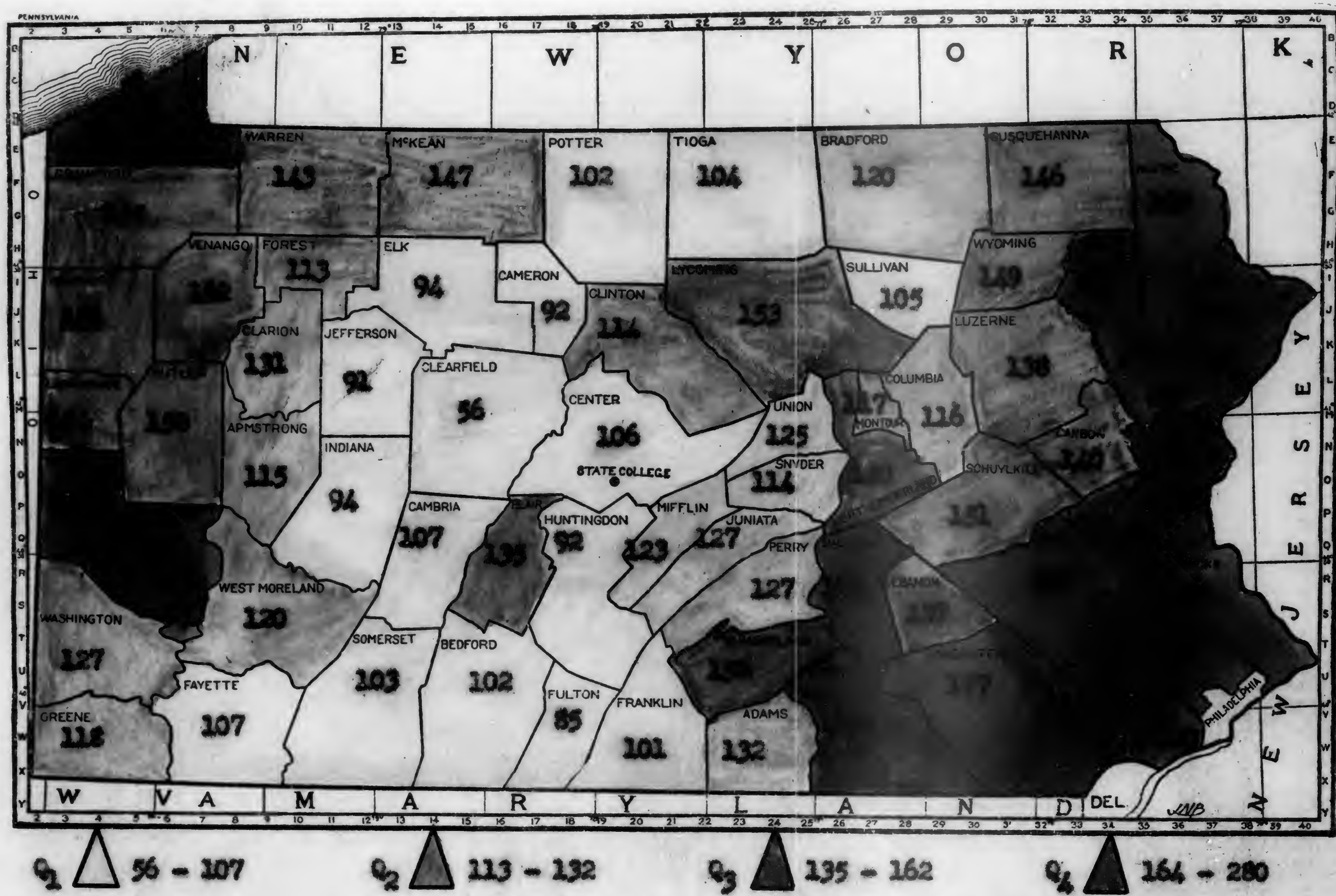

Figure 56. Rural-Nonfarm Plane of Living Index in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1950.

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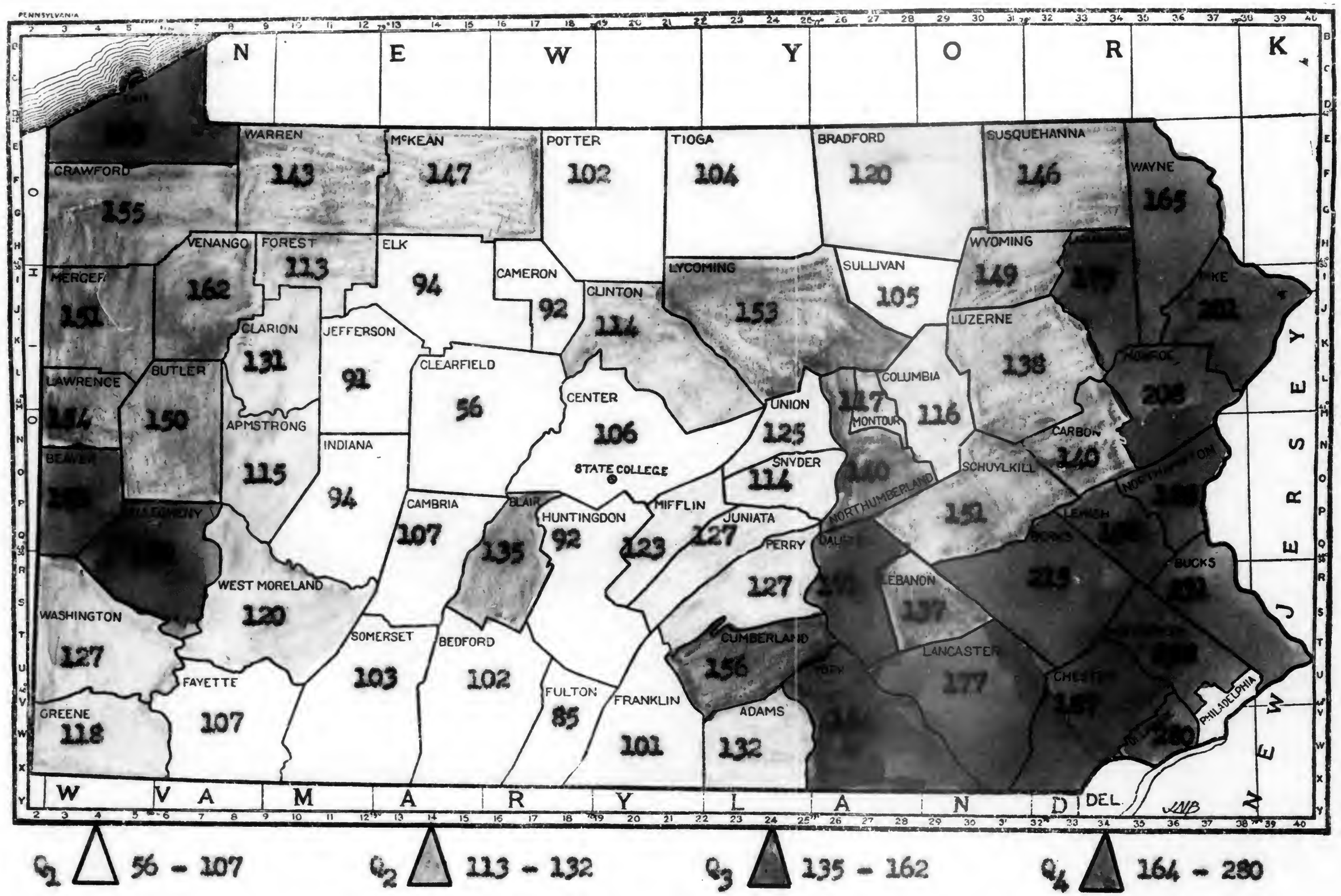


Figure 56. Rural-Nonfarm Plane of Living Index in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

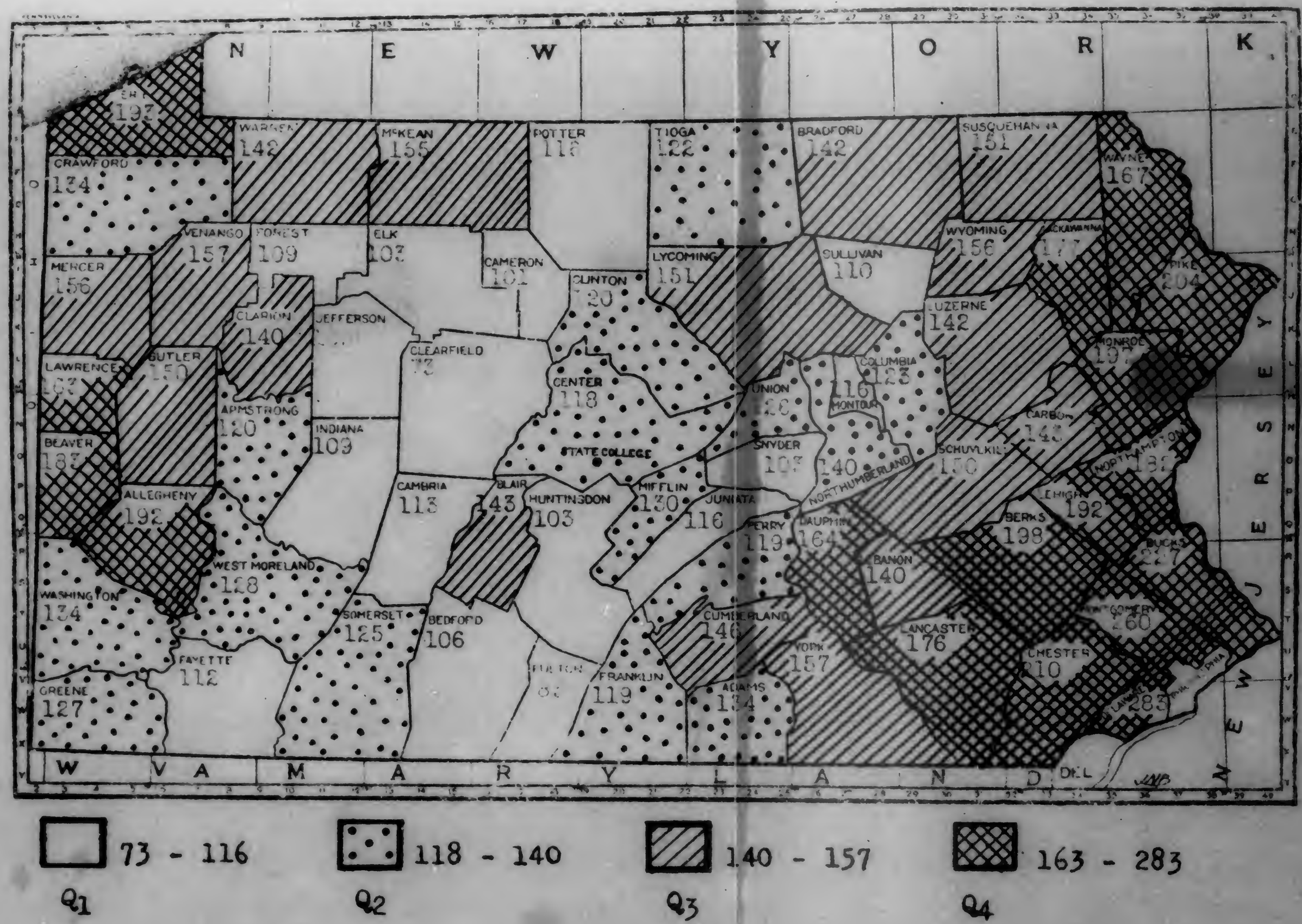
Between these two areas lie practically all of the counties in the lowest 50 per cent. The poorest rural-nonfarm living is to be found in a belt extending the entire distance across central Pennsylvania from north to south. With the exception of one county it is a conterminous grouping. The next lowest one-fourth tends to form itself at the sides of this poorest area, separating it from the counties in the higher quartiles.

But seven counties fall below the national index of 100. The lowest is Clearfield with an index of 56. Clearfield and some of the counties adjacent to it have undergone repeated industrial disappointments in the last 20 years. Lumbering, mining, and manufacturing have all been on the decline. These movements have affected farm standard of living as we have seen in the figure just previous. But the group that has been affected most seriously by these reverses has been the village populations. At the other end of the scale is Delaware County with an index of 280.

5. Plane of Living of the Rural Population.

By combining Figures 55 and 56 showing the standard of living for farm and for rural-nonfarm populations we obtain Figure 57 as a composite index for the rural population. Since the distribution of the rural-non-farm plane of living corresponds closely to that of the farm population the patterning of the composite set of indexes would be much the same as that previously presented. From Figure 57 we see that 13 counties on the eastern end of the state fall in the highest quarter; that is, above 163.[23] These counties are buffered by a group of third quarter counties

23. Source: Ibidem.



73 - 116 Q1

118 - 140 Q2

140 - 157 Q3

163 - 283 Q4

Figure 57 - Rural Plane of Living Index in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930

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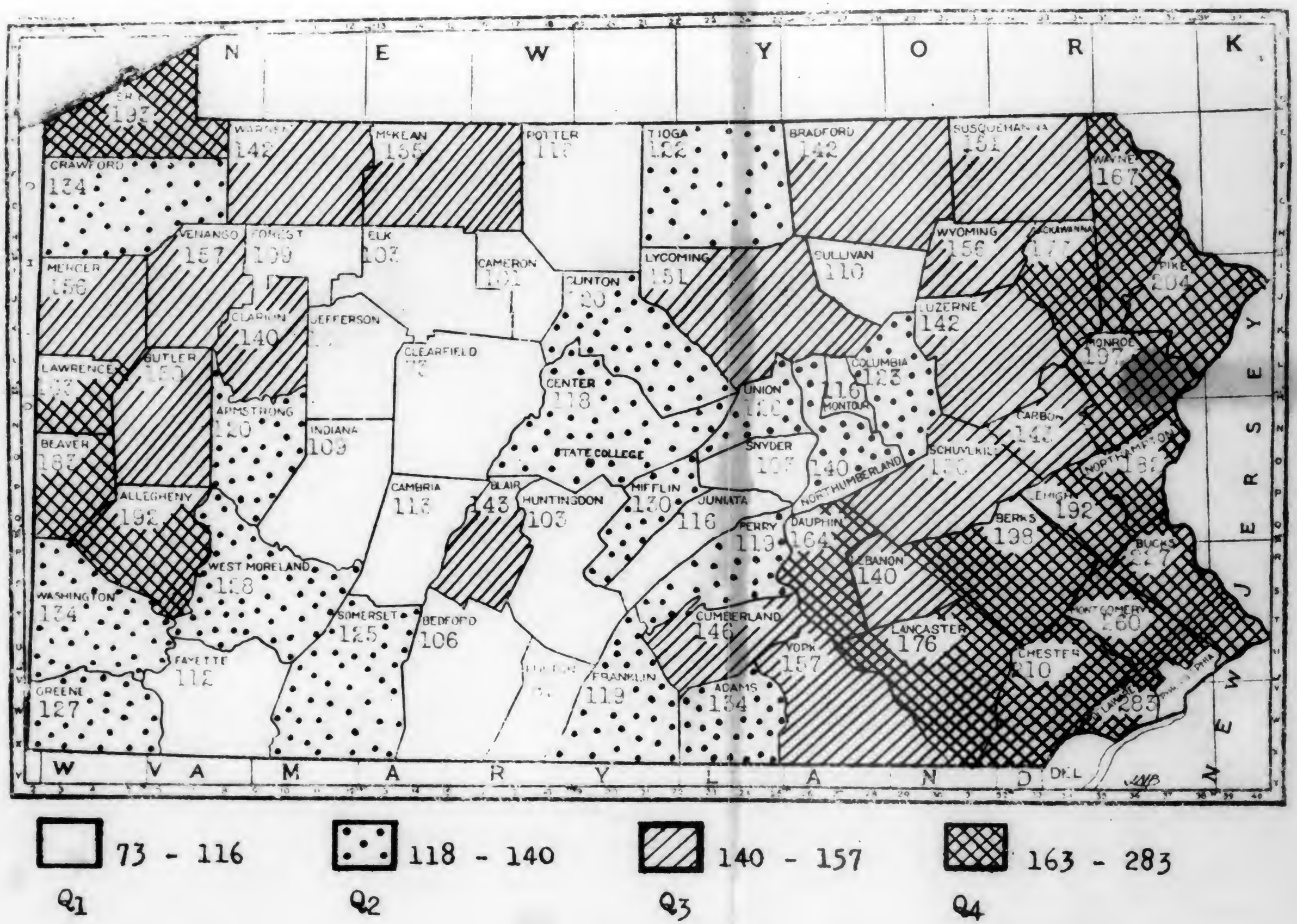

Figure 57 - Rural Plane of Living Index in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930

and these in turn join a group of second quarter counties. This brings us over to the central part of the state in which we find the lowest rural plane of living. This is especially true for the southern Alleghany Mountains and for the upper Alleghany Plateau. Again, Clearfield has the lowest rural plane of living with an index of 73 on the basis of a United States average of 100. Only one other county, Fulton, was below 100. Allegheny County and two other steel counties to the north, Beaver and Lawrence, fell within the fourth quarter as did Erie. Thus we see that well-being, measured in terms of rural plane of living, is varying widely in different sections of the state. Delaware County, for example, had an index of 283, nearly four times that of the poorest county.

The rural plane of living, as we have suggested earlier, is a function of urbanization. The correlation between this index and the index of rurality is -.41. In other words, the higher the "ruralness" the lower the standard of living.

4. Plane of Living of the Total Population.

There is coming to be general agreement that the welfare of the farmer and the city dweller are interdependent. If either is to have a good standard of living, both must have it.

Considerable data are available that are helpful in the determination of the standard of living of the total population, if physical factors are used as a measure. Of the material which can be secured on a county basis only a few of the most important items have been selected. Figure 58, for example, indicates the true valuation of property per capita in Pennsylvania, by counties.[24] These data are for 1938. It

24. Source: Department of Internal Revenue, Harrisburg.

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Figure 58. True Valuation Per Capita in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938

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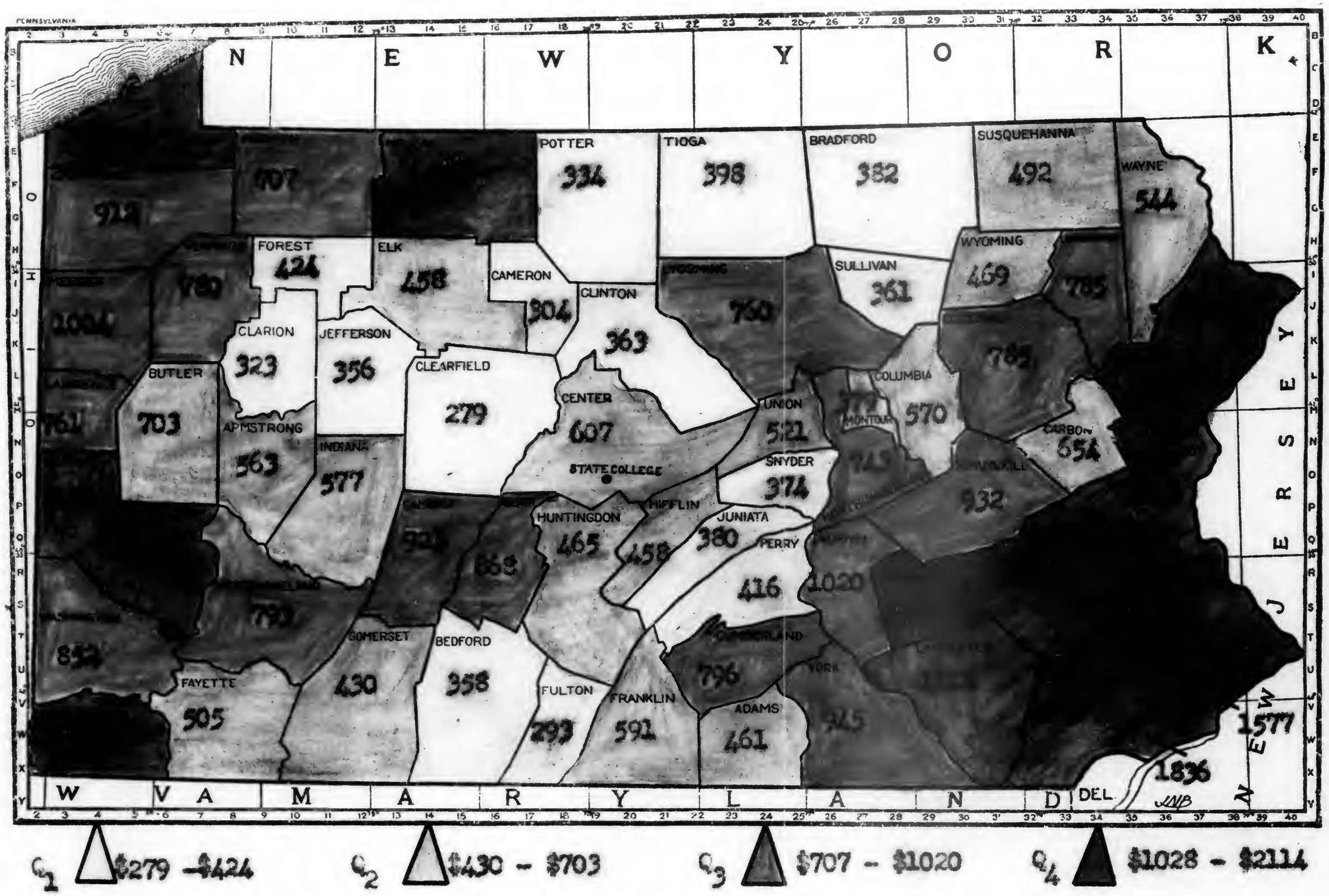

Figure 58. True Valuation Per Capita in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938

will be seen that the extreme eastern and western ends of the state have the highest standards. In fact, most of the counties in the highest quarter are to be found in one cluster in the southeastern tip. Conversely, the counties with low valuations per capita are to be found in central Pennsylvania, especially the lower Allegheny Mountains and the upper Allegheny Plateau. The average for the state is $1,155. Montgomery County, with an average ($2,114) almost twice that of the state, rates highest. At the other extreme is Clearfield County with a true valuation of but $279 per capita. Twenty-two counties had a per capita valuation of less than $500. It will be seen, in spite of the fact that this map is based on per capita valuation, that it corresponds closely with the map on population density. This suggests that in the natural adjustment of people to wealth lies the most significant cause of practically all population movements. Further, it will be noted that this figure shows high similarity to the four maps just preceding. This indicates that economic and social well-being tend to follow in certain areal patterns, and cut across any rural, farm, nonfarm, or urban classifications that can be set up.

Another index of wealth and well-being is the ratio of income tax returns to the population. Figure 59 gives the number of returns per thousand persons in Pennsylvania, by counties in 1935.[25] Without going into detail, it may be said that southeast and western Pennsylvania have the highest ratios while south central Pennsylvania is in the lowest position. The range is from 75 returns per thousand in Montgomery County to two per thousand in Fulton County. The average for the state

25. Source: Bureau of Internal Revenue, Department of Interior, Washington

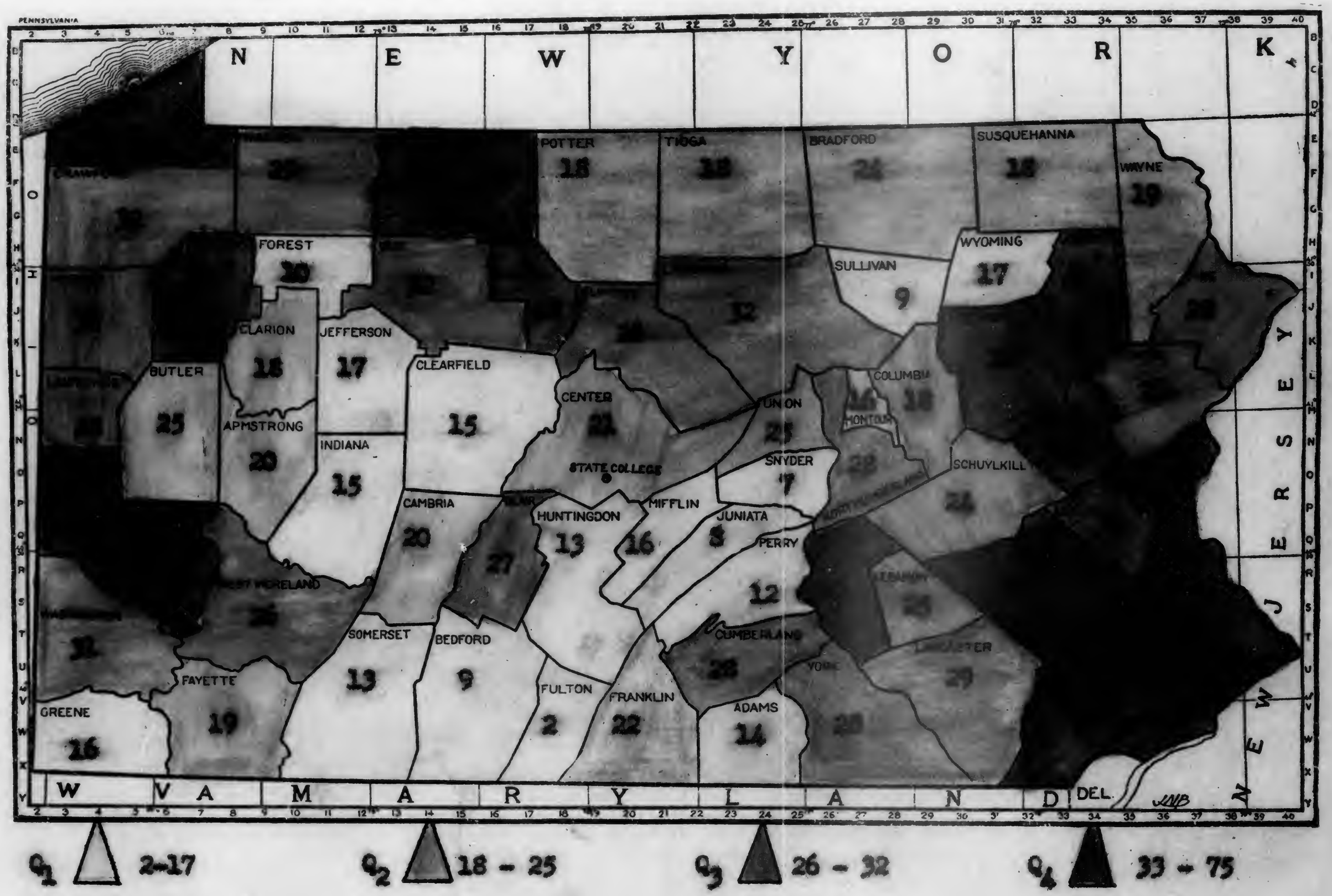

Figure 59. Income Tax Returns Per 1000 Persons in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1955.

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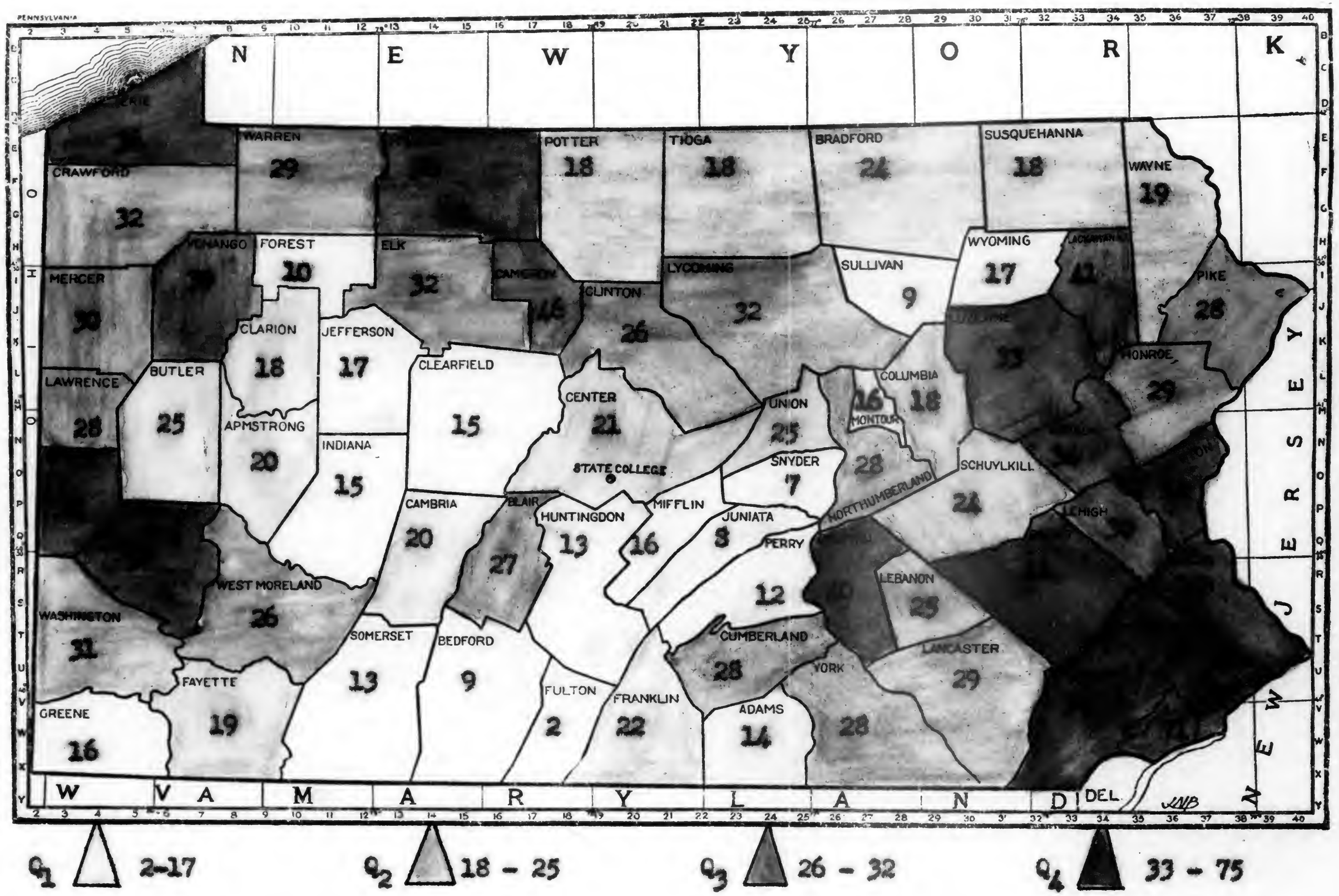

Figure 59. Income Tax Returns Per 1000 Persons in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.

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Figure 59. Income Tax Returns Per 1000 Persons in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.

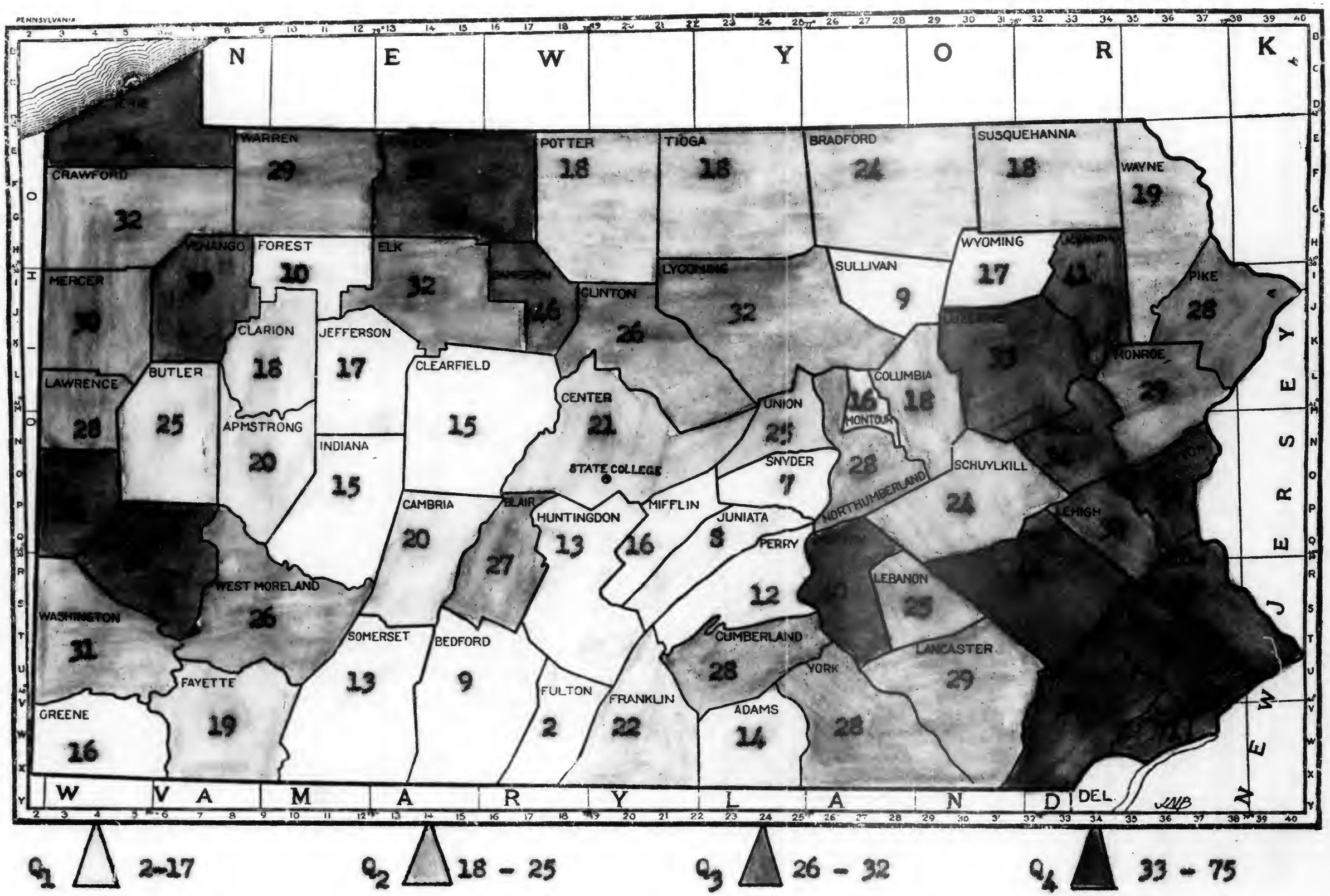

Figure 59. Income Tax Returns Per 1000 Persons in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1955.

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as a whole was 41 per thousand, just three above the United States average. It will be seen that all counties having high returns per capita are urban and industrial. A few counties where industry is important such as Fayette and Butler in the soft coal region and Schuylkill in the hard coal region are not included in the upper brackets because the centers of operation for the mines to be found in these counties are located outside the county. The allocation of returns for income tax by counties is governed by the location of the post office address given by the tax payer on the return. The population statistics are for 1930.

Figure 60 shows the distribution of mean annual wage of employed workers in Pennsylvania in 1937.[26] It is apparent that the steel and soft coal industrial counties of western Pennsylvania are in the most favorable position. Whether this is due to higher wages or to a greater number of work days cannot be said; nor is this as important as the fact that practically the entire fourth quarter is to be found in the two western tier of counties.

The average wage for the state as a whole was $1,330 in 1937. The range was from $1,832 in Beaver County to $531 in Juniata County. Generally speaking the entire area of central Pennsylvania was low in this factor. All counties in the quarter where workers received least annual wages were non-industrial counties.

Wages of employed workers is important in this study not only in terms of income to rural industrial workers but also because of the

26. Source: Pennsylvania State Planning Board, Harrisburg.

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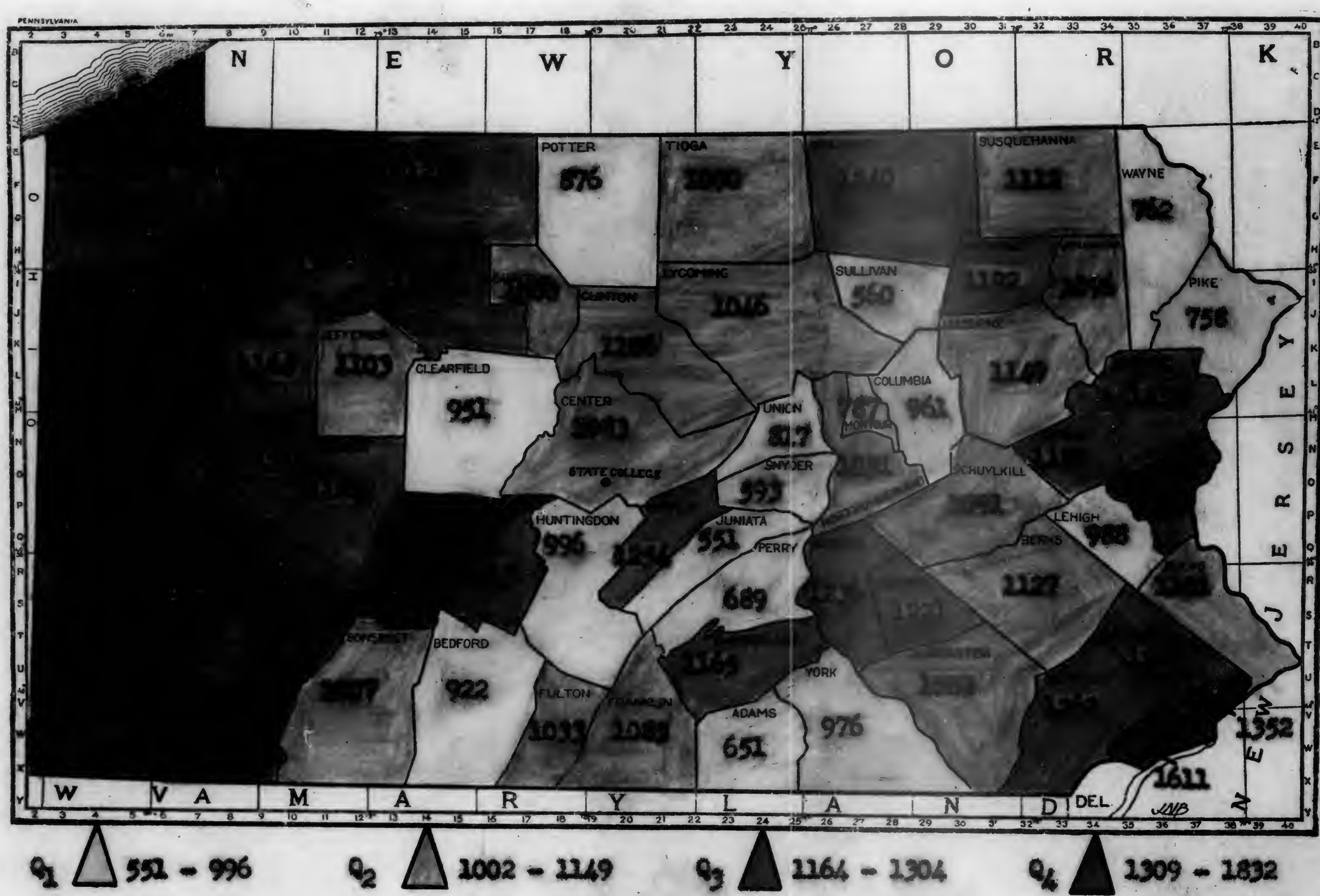

Figure 60. Mean Annual Wage of Employed Workers in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1937.

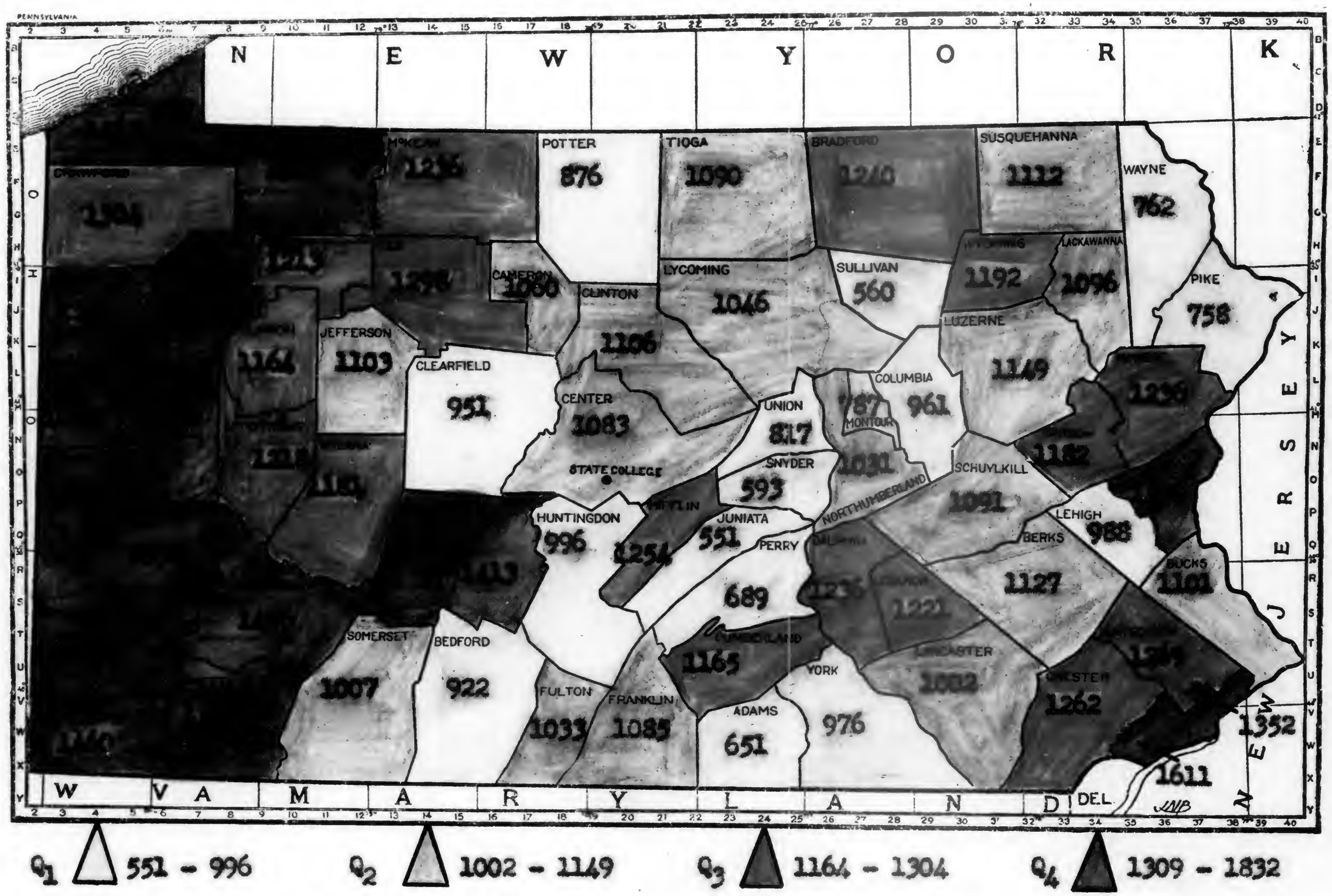

Figure 60. Mean Annual Wage of Employed Workers in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1937.

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70,000 part-time farmers, as well as the 120,000 full time farmers, whose economic well-being ebbs and flows with Pennsylvania industry.

Because of the nature of Pennsylvania industries, the commonwealth has been hit by the depression about as heavily as any other state. Therefore unemployment in Pennsylvania is relatively high when compared with other states or with the country as a whole. The hard coal region, in particular, has suffered unusual reverses (Figure 61).[27] At one time half of all of the heads of families in this area were unemployed. At the time of these data, however, (1937), the highest county in the state was Lackawanna with 421 persons unemployed per thousand families. At the other corner of the state in the soft coal belt and the steel industry unemployment was also high. The agricultural counties of the southeast were relatively well off as was true also of the central northern tier counties. One of these, McKean, was lowest in the state with but 105 unemployed persons per thousand families. This is doubtless due to the combination of part-time farming and working in the oil fields. The average for the state was 254 unemployed persons per thousand families. This figure takes some of the edge off the foregoing map for it is observed here that, in general, those areas having high annual wages have a large number of unemployed persons.

The per cent of families owning their own homes, for the total population, is given in Figure 62.[28] The outstanding characteristic

27. Source: United States Census of Partial Employment, Unemployment, and Occupation, 1937.
28. Source: Consumer Market Data Handbook, 1939.

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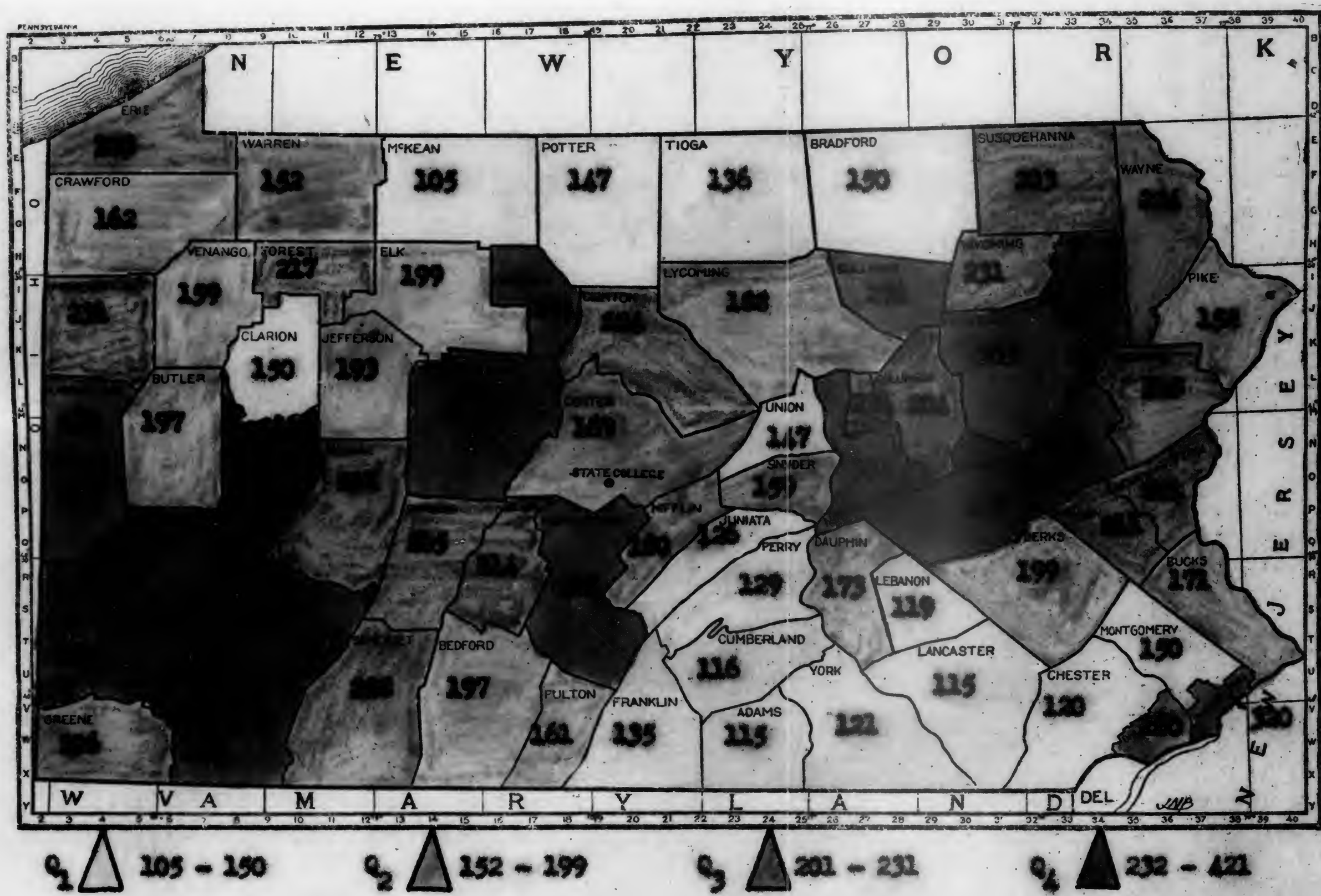

Figure 61. Number of Unemployed Persons in 1937 Per 1000 Families (1930) in Pennsylvania by Counties.

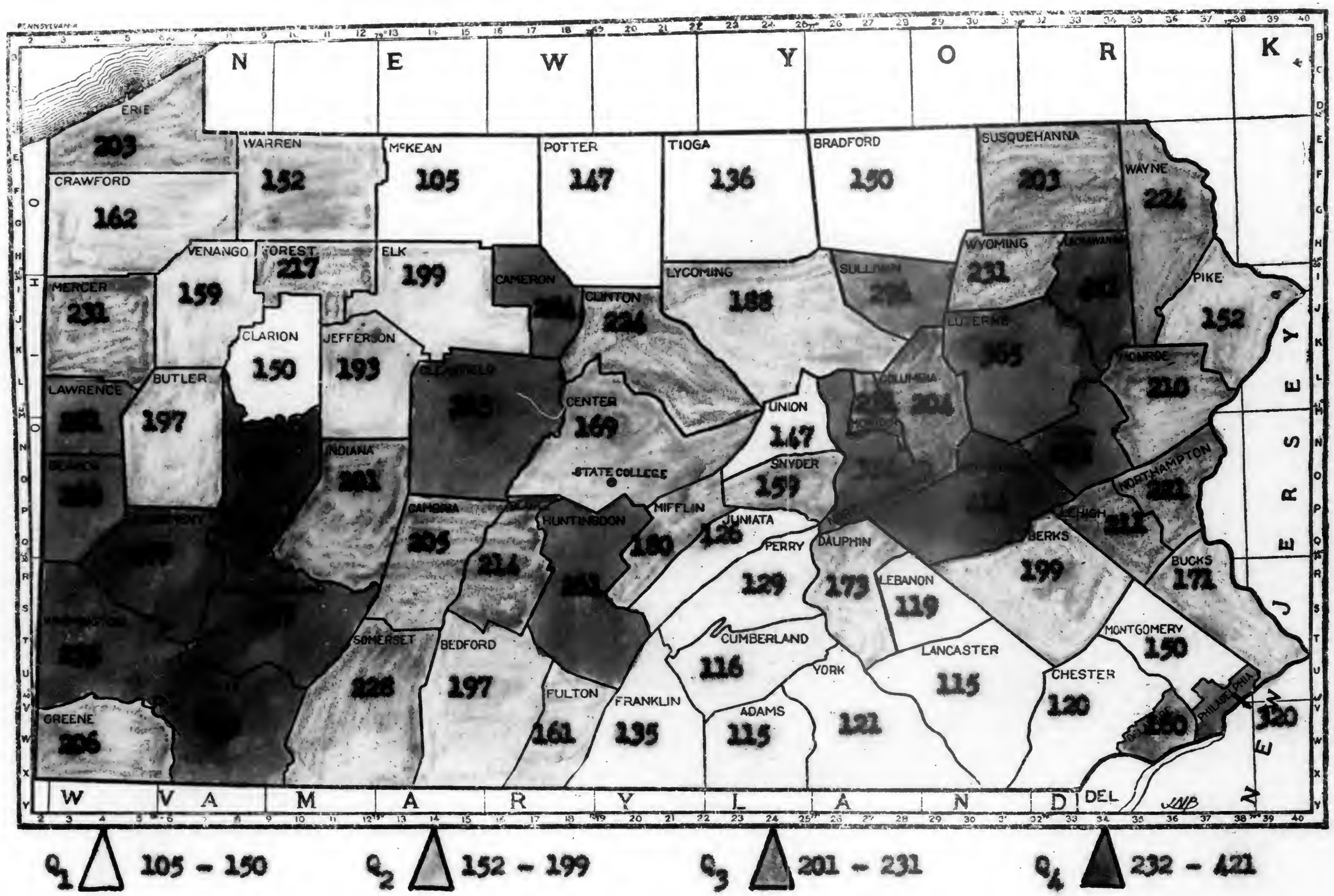

Figure 61. Number of Unemployed Persons in 1937 Per 1000 Families (1930) in Pennsylvania by Counties.

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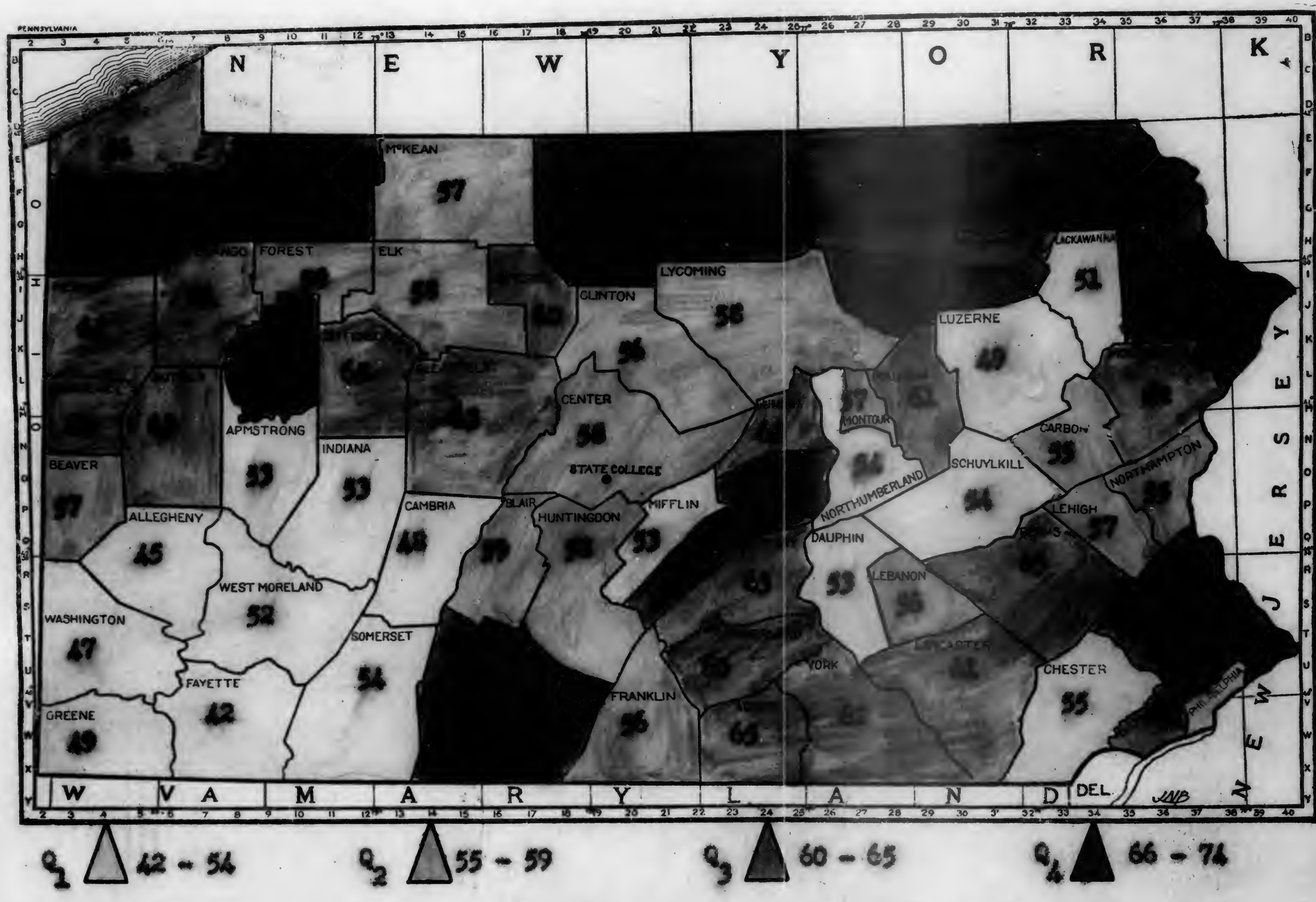

Figure 62. Per Cent of Families Owning Homes in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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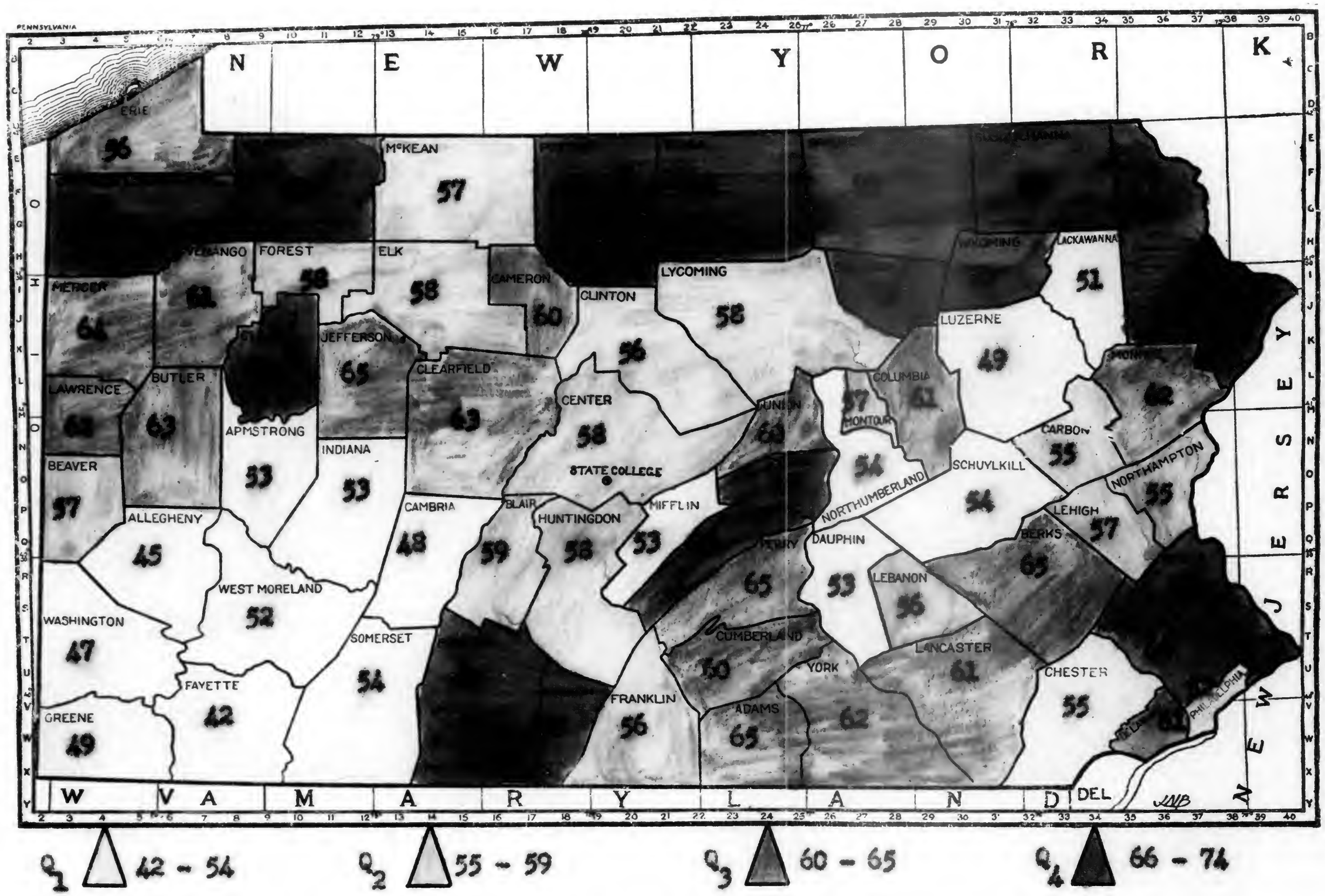

Figure 62. Per Cent of Families Owning Homes in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

seen is that the soft coal section in southwestern Pennsylvania and the hard coal section in east central Pennsylvania are unusually low in this respect. This is because of the existence of company houses in which the families are something less than tenants. This same situation obtains with respect to Chester County wherein are great numbers of steel workers' houses and in Mifflin county where synthetic textiles is a major industry. In the counties where the index of rurality is high (See Figure 11) there is a high percentage of families who own their own homes. The lower Allegheny Mountains, for example, a section which rates well down the ladder in most facilities, in this particular factor is among the highest. In the main, the three major dairy regions have a high proportion of ownership, especially in the northeast and northwest dairy regions. The average for Pennsylvania, 54 per cent, is well above that for the United States as a whole, 48 per cent. The range within the state is from 42 per cent in the mining county of Fayette to 74 per cent in Pike County, where owner operated tourist and summer boarder residences are the rule rather than the exception. Home ownership tends to go with stability of residence, and stability of residence is directly related to participation in community and organizational affairs.

Figure 55 shows the distribution of the number of domestic electric meters per 100 families in Pennsylvania.[29] These data were gathered in 1930 and are the latest ones available. The average for the United States, 67 per 100 families, is considerably below that for Pennsylvania - 78 per 100 families. The range within Pennsylvania is unusually wide - 15 per 100 families in Fulton County to 111 per 100 families in Delaware

29. They are based on reports of operating companies made to the National Electric Light Association (now the Edison Electric Institute) and compiled by the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Reproduced in the U. S. Consumer Market Data Handbook 1939.

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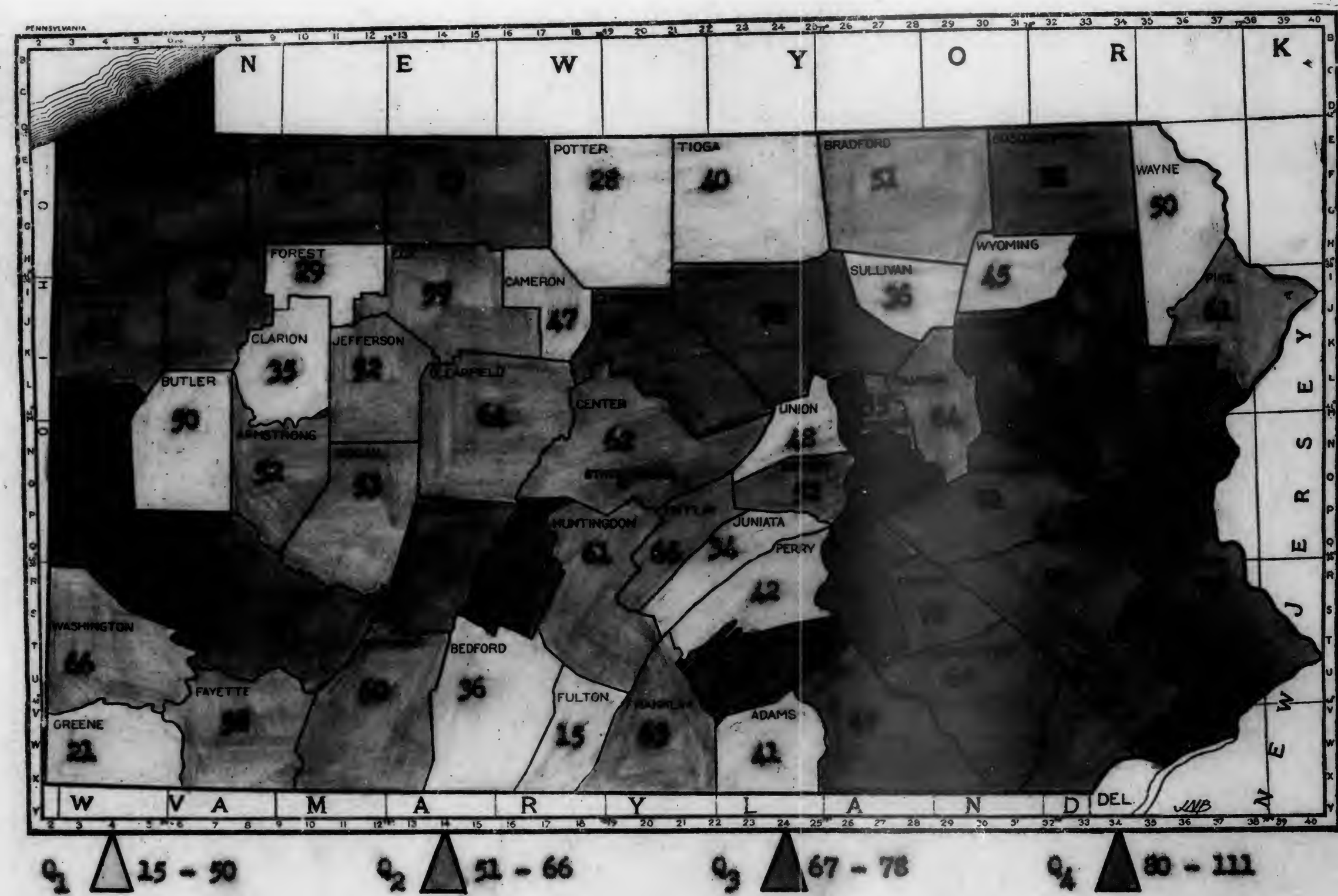

Figure 65. Number of Domestic Electric Meters Per 100 Families in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

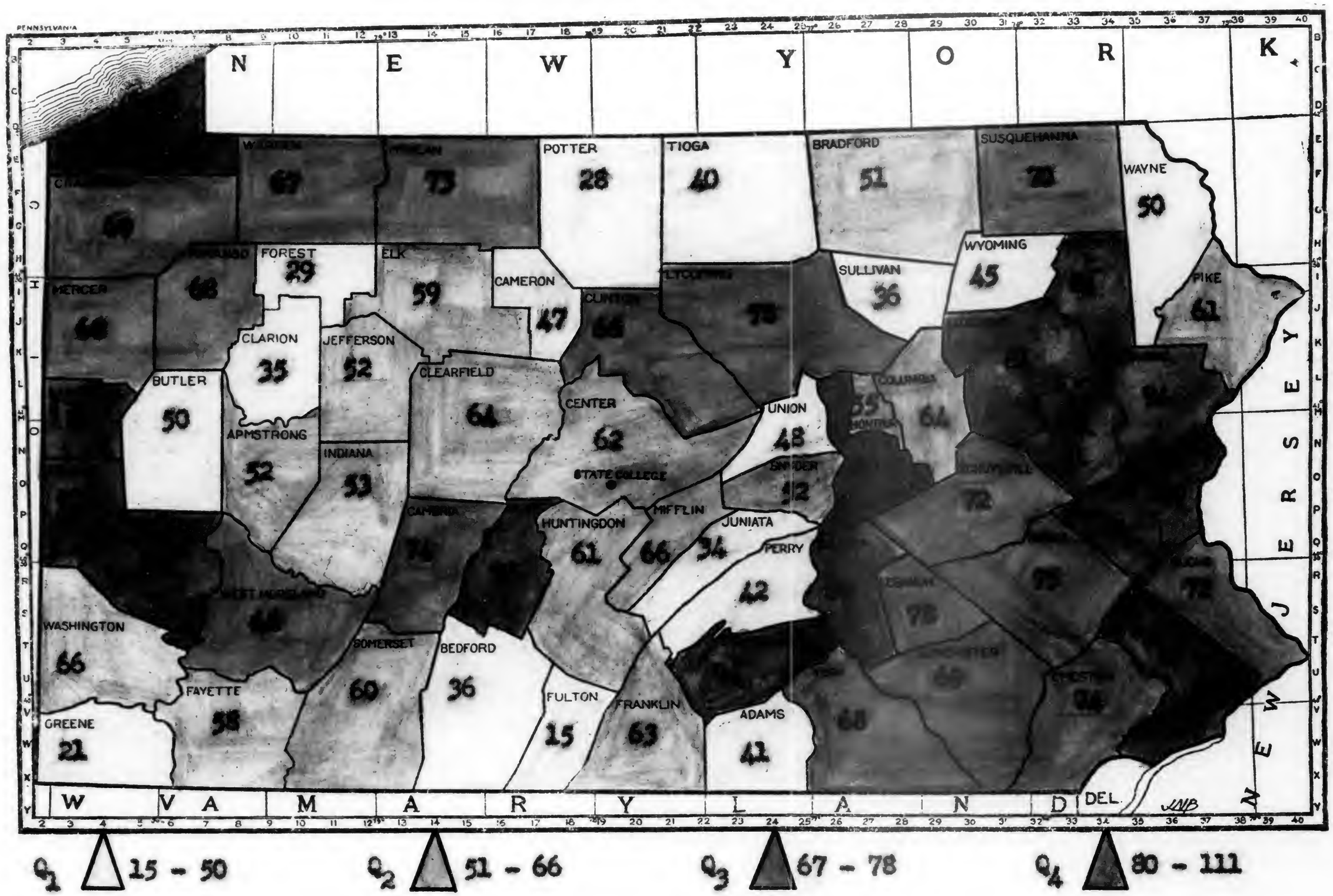

Figure 63. Number of Domestic Electric Meters Per 100 Families in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1930.

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County. Only meters in active service at the time of count were reported. But, in some parts of the state, homes were served by two or more meters and, therefore, a few of the figures run above 100. On the other hand, some houses are supplied by master meters but this is important only in areas where apartment houses are common. In a general way, the distribution of electricity follows fairly closely that for automobile registration for agricultural counties seen in Chapter VI. However, it will be noticed that the coal and urban counties rated considerably higher with respect to the electricity. It is the southeast again that is best situated, with the northwest, and the Pittsburgh area coming in a close second. And again, it is central Pennsylvania, especially in the Allegheny Mountains and the fringes of the Allegheny Plateau, that is least well situated regarding this factor. Urban and industrial counties in every instance lead the parade.

How well the population eats is certainly an important index of the plane of living. For nonfarm populations, the best indication of this phenomena is the food sales' index. (Figure 64).[30] In this index, the United States average was put up 100. It is found that the average for Pennsylvania was considerably above this (111) in 1935. The distribution within the state is wide, ranging from 156 in Pike County to 80 in Snyder County. It is to be expected that agricultural counties will have a lower index of sales because of the food raised and consumed at home. This accounts for the fact that the most heavily populated areas in industrial and commercial sections of eastern and southwestern

30. Source: Consumer Market Data Handbook, Bureau of the Census, 1939.

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Figure 64. Index of Food Sales in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1955 (U. S. Index = 100)

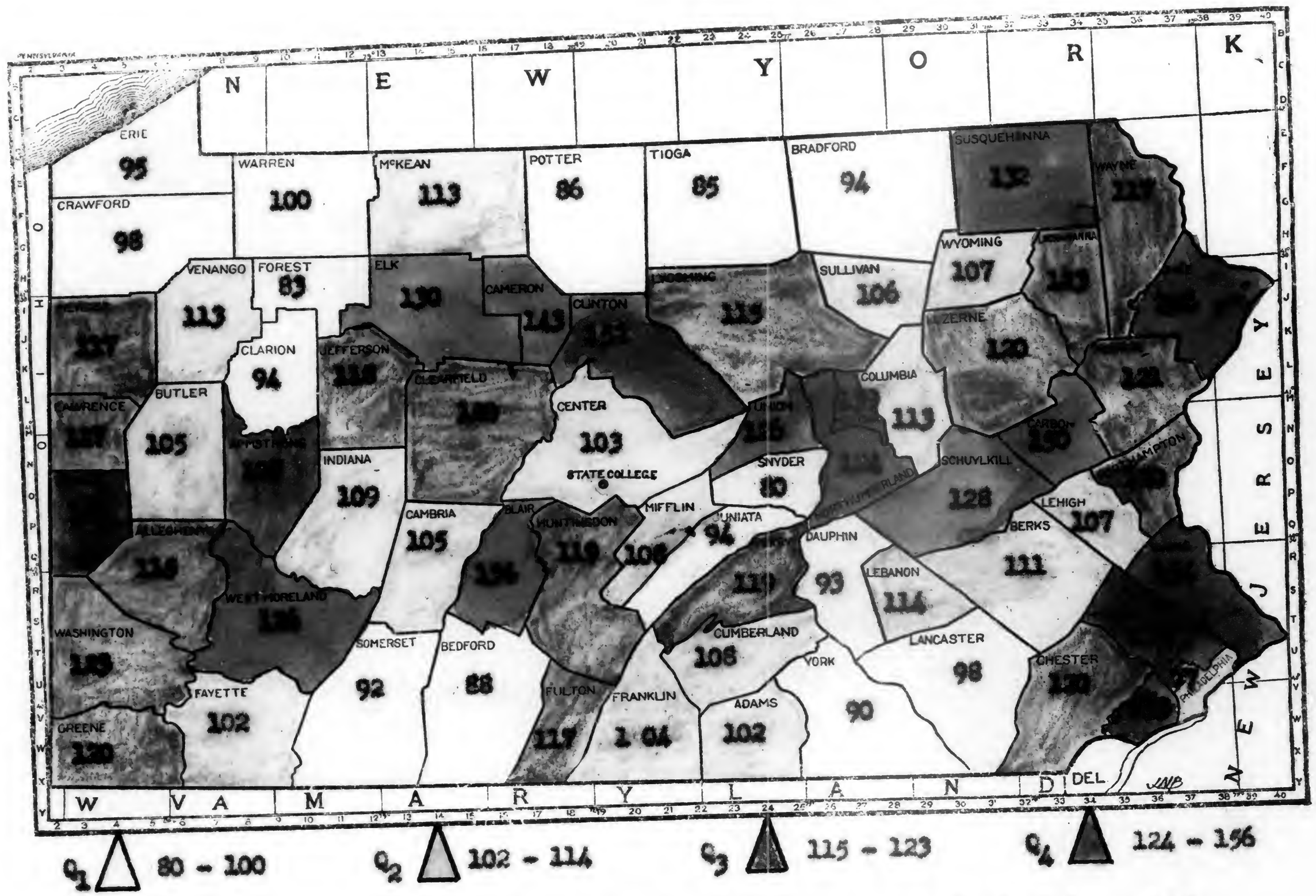

Figure 64. Index of Food Sales in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935 (U. S. Index = 100)

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Pennsylvania have the highest indexes while the farm areas are considerably down the scale. This index should be viewed in connection with the figure on amount of farm produce consumed at home to get a fairer picture for entire county populations. This food index includes not only grocery, meat, bakery stores and the like but includes sales also from fruit, candy, dairy, and delicatessen stores.

The other item of cost that looms large in any family budget is clothing. Figure 65[51] shows the index of clothing sales in Pennsylvania for 1935. Again, the United States index is 100.[52] On this basis, Pennsylvania averaged 105, or five per cent above the nation. The range within the state was from seven in Fulton County to 158 in Mifflin County. It should be pointed out here that a few counties have limited offerings in the way of men's, women's, and children's clothing, including fur, tailor, and shoe shops. Thus three counties - Forest, Pike, and Juniata - were omitted entirely, since the presentation of data on these counties would divulge the business activities of individual operators. Likewise, the index for Fulton County is low because of limited offerings in wearing apparel by merchants. Increasingly, people tend to patronize the larger centers for the purchase of dress clothes and it is to be expected, therefore, that rural counties, especially those near cities, should have a low index. This situation is manifest in southeastern

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51. Source: Ibidem.
52. The indexes of food and clothing were calculated as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Local sales of } \underline{\text{the}} \text{ kind of business}}{\text{Local sales of } \underline{\text{all}} \text{ kinds of business}} \cdot \frac{\text{National sales of the kind of business}}{\text{National sales of } \underline{\text{all}} \text{ kinds of business}}$$

This index was developed by the Market Research Division of the Foreign and Domestic Commerce Department to get at the relative importance of retail markets in the local scheme of distribution.

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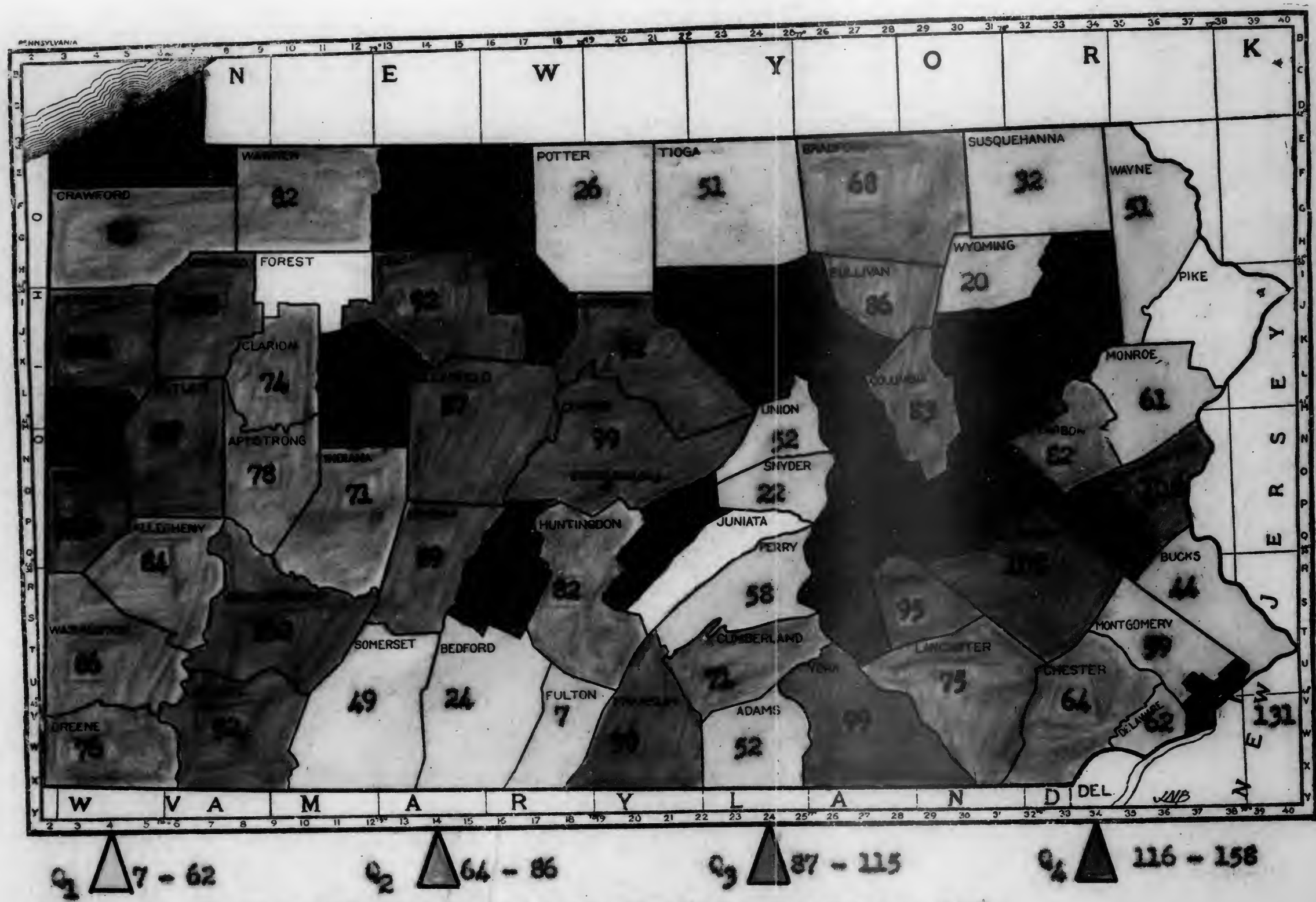

Figure 65. Index of Clothing Sales in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.
(U. S. Index = 100)

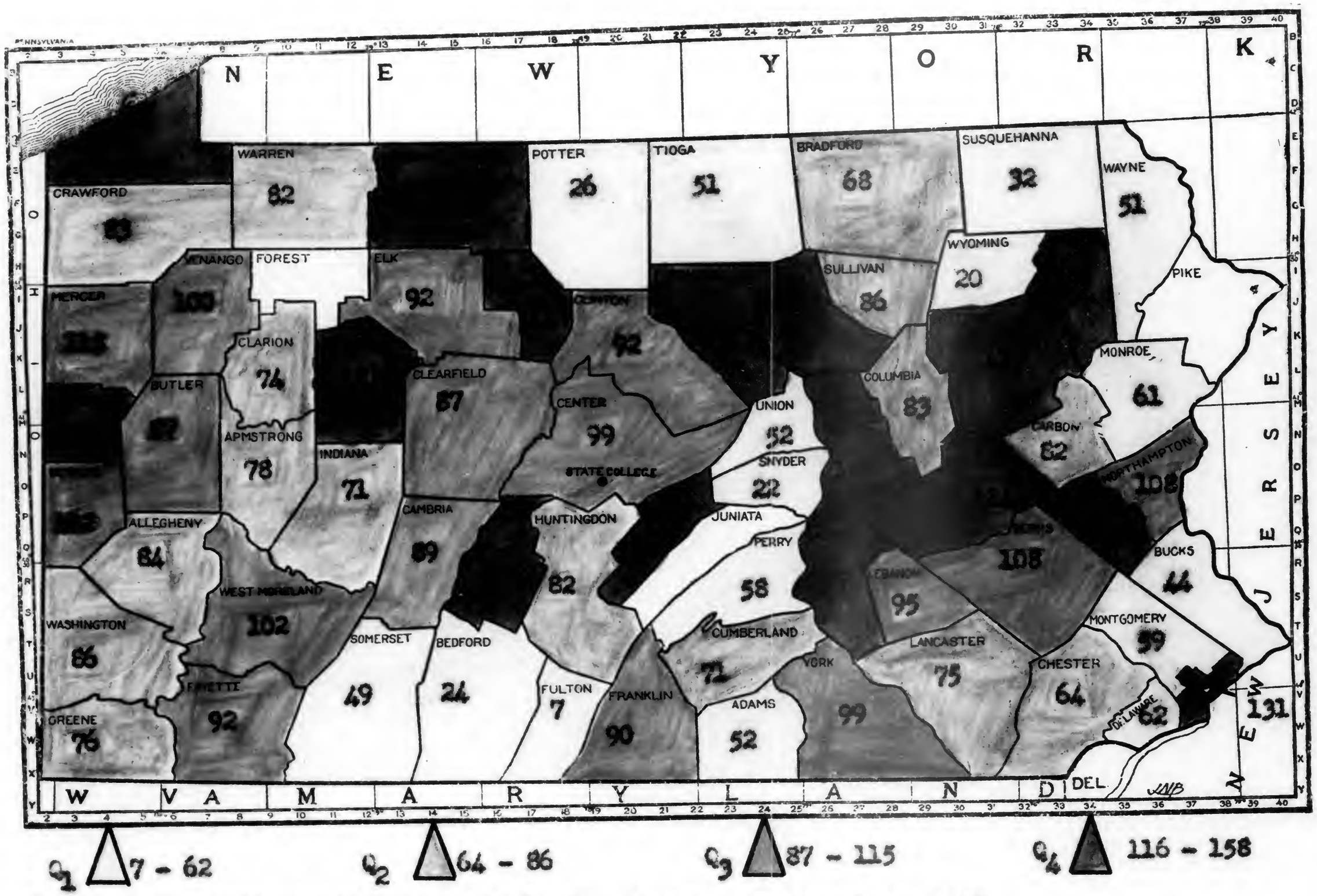

Figure 65. Index of Clothing Sales in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.
(U. S. Index = 100)

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

Pennsylvania where the people in counties near Philadelphia shop in this latter center. Likewise, the five counties near Scranton buy their clothing there and similarly the four counties around Altoona purchase their "good" clothes in this city. "Conspicuous consumption" is more often associated with the city than rural places.

A composite picture of the total annual retail sales per capita is shown in Figure 66.[33] The southeast counties are relatively high, the northwestern counties and the Pittsburgh area come second, while the Allegheny Mountains and Plateau are low. The range is from $93 in Fulton County to $337 in Philadelphia County. The average for the state as a whole is $259, and for the United States a figure somewhat higher - $270. The effect of food sales is apparent in this map. Further, consistently it follows in reciprocal the map showing the proportion of food raised which is consumed at home. There is also a negative correlation between the part-time farming map and this one. At the same time, it shows a high correspondence with the map indicating the ratio between population and income tax returns.

There are not only wide differences in per capita retail sales between counties but the differences existing between cities are even more disparate. On the one hand 11 urban places had a per capita sales in 1935 of over $800. At the extreme end was Jenkintown in Montgomery County with $1131. At the other end of the scale a number of stranded centers had a per capita sale of less than $50 and one town even as low as $25.[34] However, these data should be taken at something less than

33. Source: Ibidem
34. Source: Ibidem

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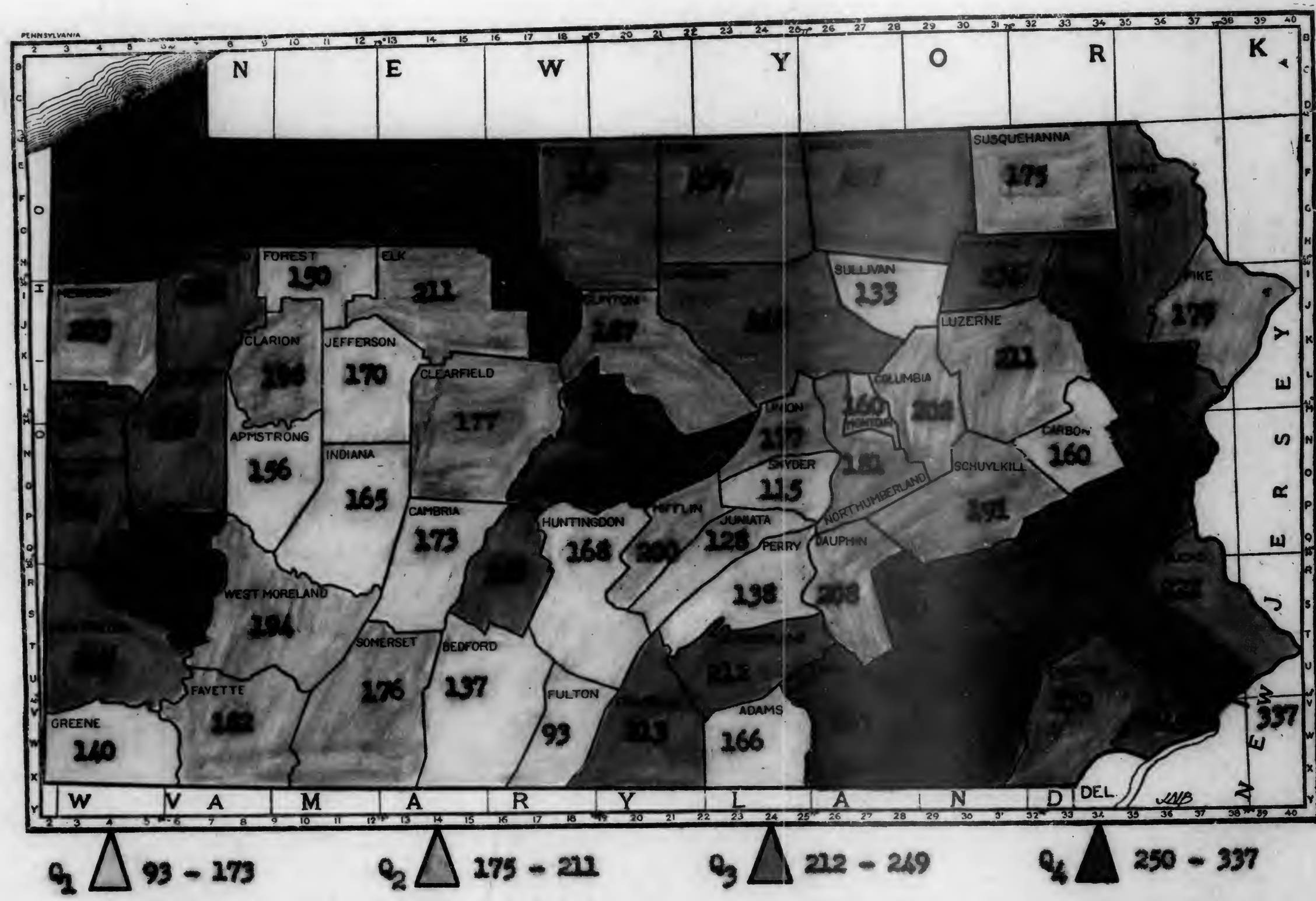

Figure 66. Total Annual Retail Sales Per Capita in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1955.

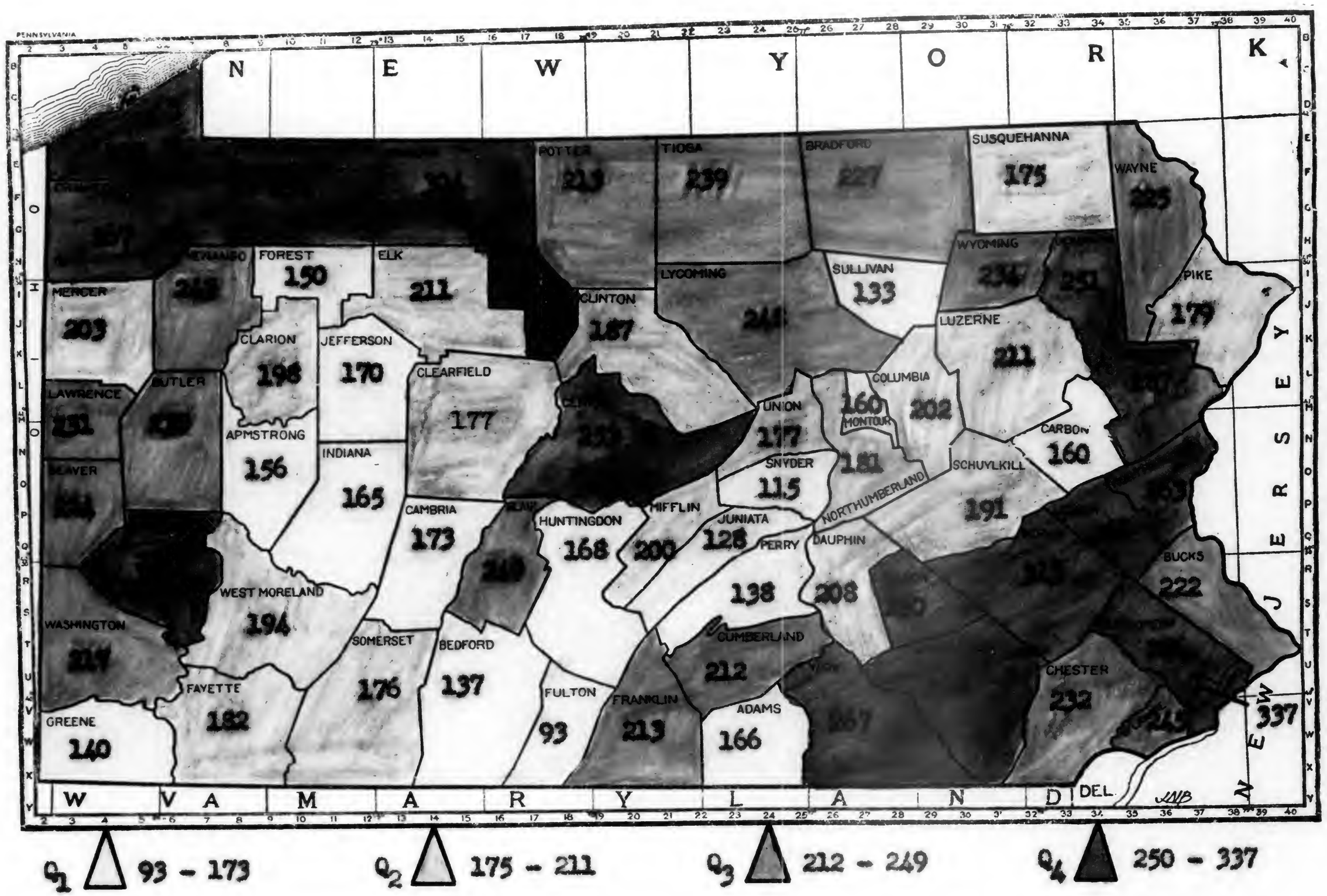

Figure 66. Total Annual Retail Sales Per Capita in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.

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face value for people in certain of these low towns buy in other centers thus tending to level off the peaks.

Finally it should be pointed out that the situation regarding rural vs. urban sales is highly un-uniform. For example, the urban 5.6 thousand population of Adams County spent $555 per capita in 1935 while the rural 31.5 thousand spent but $100 per capita. Again the citizens of Bedford spent $539 each, while the rural people in Bedford County spent $96.79 per capita. Thus a calculation made on a sample of 10 counties revealed that on the average the urban person made purchases valued at approximately 5 times that of purchases made by the rural inhabitant.[35]

This index is important only between counties of similar social conditions for the presence of large shopping centers may modify the index considerably, especially with respect to clothing sales.

Although per capita sales do not exactly correspond to per capita consumption of retail goods, nevertheless it is the best composite index there is.

A further caution might well be made in that these data secured for 1935 were computed on the basis of the 1930 population. Where the population change has been great, this information must be used with care. For example, in the map indicating migratory tendencies of the population for the period 1930 to 1935, it was seen that the Appalachian Plateau received a greater number of people than any other area of the state. This would have the effect of diminishing the per capita sales'

35. Source: Ibidem.

index even more in this area and would tend to make the differences between this area and surrounding territory even more striking.

From the foregoing data it is safe to conclude that southeastern Pennsylvania, northwestern Pennsylvania, and a few steel counties in the Pittsburgh area are in the most favored position with respect to the standard of living. The poor agricultural counties of the Allegheny Plateau and Allegheny Mountains have the lowest standards of living while the hard coal counties of east central Pennsylvania are secondarily so affected. These data serve to give us a background of factual material the use of which enables us to analyze and understand the activities of the agencies dealing with education, health, government, welfare, religion, and recreation.

A final map in this series shows the geography of standard of living for the total population within the commonwealth (Figure 67). This index is composed of the incidence of radios, telephones, and federal income tax returns.[56] It consists of an unweighted average of the ratios of the number of these three factors per thousand population in a county to the ratio per thousand in the entire United States. The United States index, therefore, is 100.

It is seen that the highest standard of living is in the eight contiguous counties in southeastern Pennsylvania. Here is found Montgomery County with the highest average of 163. At the other pole is Fulton County with an index of 21. In other words, if these three combined factors can be considered representative of the plane of living we must

56. These data are presented also as separate items in the thesis.

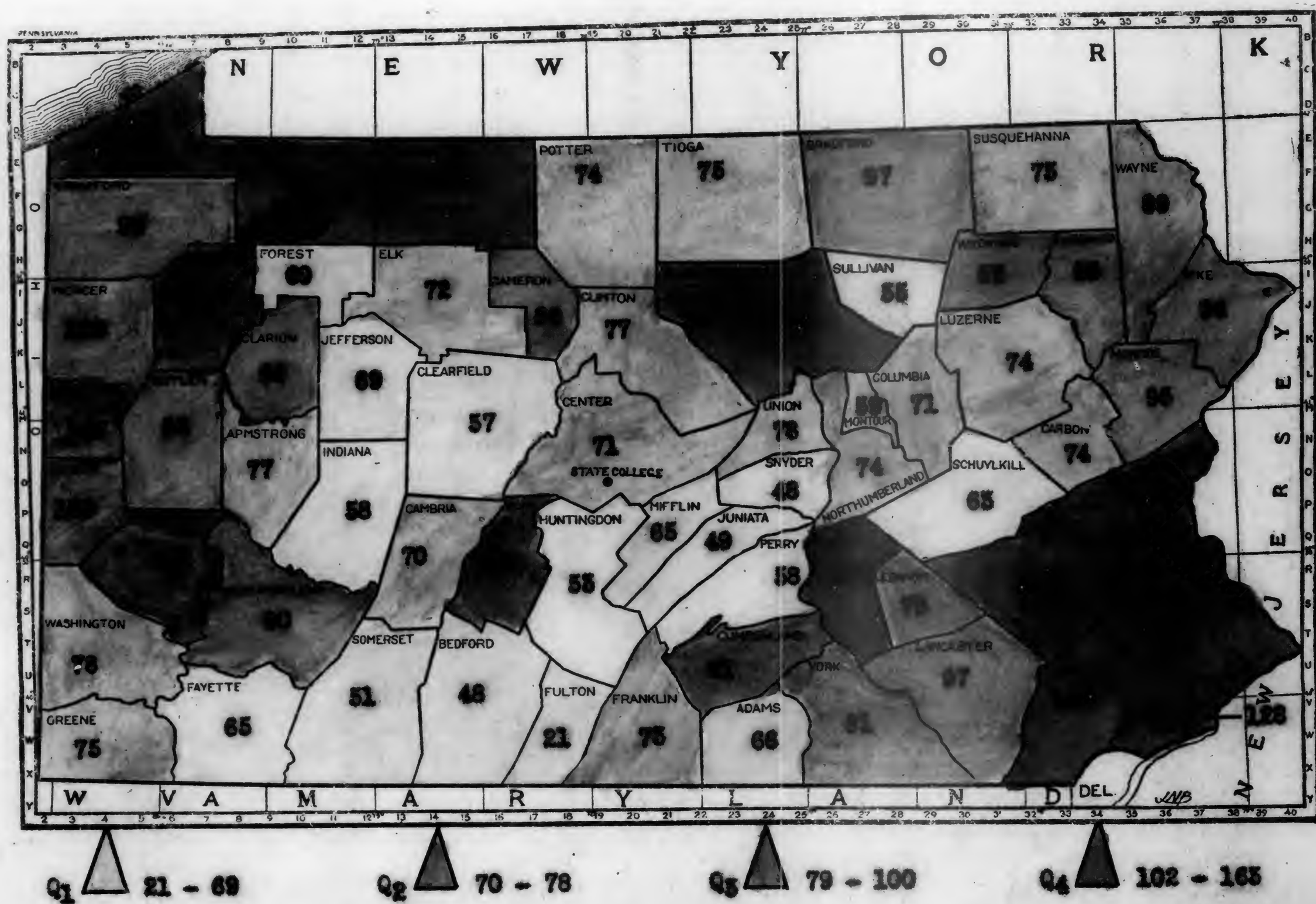

Figure 67. Index of Plane of Living for the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1950.

Figure 67. Index of Plane of Living for the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1950.

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conclude that the former county is 7.8 times as well situated as is rural Fulton County.

Allegheny County and the northwest is also in a favored position, while the Allegheny Mountain and Plateau areas occupy the first and second (lowest) quarters. Ten counties in southcentral Pennsylvania are particularly bad off average only 55 for the entire block.

This figure is consistent with the other data presented in the text and shows also much the same ecological patterning as is seen in the farm and rural-nonfarm indexes of plane of living, even though these latter indexes were composed of different items.

Throughout this chapter we have repeatedly seen the high association between the various measures of plane of living and urbanization. This association is brought out statistically by four correlations using as a base the index of rurality developed in Chapter III. Four representative standard of living factors were chosen with the following results:

Urbanization Factor				Standard of Living Factors		Correlation
Index of Rurality			with	Index of Unemployment	—	.42
"	"	"	"	P. of L. Index, Farm	—	.47
"	"	"	"	P. of L. " , Rural	—	.41
"	"	"	"	P. of L. " , Total	—	.54

Thus it is seen that farmers and villagers fare less well than urban dwellers throughout the state as a whole.

Chapter V

CULTURAL AREAS

The last chapter set forth the most important factors, available in quantitative terms, which influence the plane of living. The present chapter gives consideration to the determination of the cultural areas of the state.

One of the chief characteristics of Pennsylvania is the cultural differentiation within the population. One need not be a social scientist to recognize social, economic, religious, psychological as well as physical differences between the people of the estate area, the coal regions, the forested sections, and the "Dutch country". As we have seen in Chapter II the geographers have determined and mapped the physiography of the state, the agronomists have located 14 major types and scores of minor types of soils in the commonwealth, while the agricultural economists have outlined the major type of farming areas and the areas of differential land use. Likewise, we will attempt to delineate and describe areas of family homogeneous culture that may serve as a base for our further analysis.

The concepts "culture area" and "culture region" have been used considerably in recent years. Odum,[1] Beck and Forster,[2] Vance,[3] Moore,[4] and others have contributed to the field by their researches and writings.

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1. Odum, Howard W., "Southern Regions of the U. S. " University of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill. 1936.
2. Beck, P. G. and Forster, M. C. Six Rural Problem Areas. Relief - Resources Rehabilitation. Res. Monog. I, Div. of Res. F.E.R.A. Washington, 1935.
3. Vance, Rupert B., "Human Geography of the South".
4. Moore, H. E. "What is Regionalism" Univ. of N. Car. Press. Chapel Hill, 1937.

Recently Lively and Almack in Ohio[5] and Lively and Gregory in Missouri[6] have attempted the districting of these two states into sub-regions based upon homogeneity of contiguous counties with regard to several selected indices. In the first instance the areas were determined on the bases of (a) gross cash income per farm (b) rural plane of living index, and (c) rural population fertility ratio. In the study the major areas were delineated on the basis of rural-farm plane of living index, and these were then subdivided into minor areas on the basis of per cent of tenancy.

Mangus, using a modification of these two techniques, proceeded to outline the entire United States into regions and sub-regions.[7] A comparison of Mangus' results with that of Lively and Gregory in Missouri reveals that there is a lack of agreement in the results of the two methods to the extent that counties were placed in different regions. In the main, however, the areas correspond fairly closely. The cultural areas for Pennsylvania first presented here are those developed by Mangus.

1. Rural-Farm Cultural Areas.

Figure 68 indicates the rural farm regions and sub-regions in the United States. These determinations were made on the basis of the following

5. Lively, C. E. and Almack, R. B. "A Method of Determining Rural Social Sub-Areas with Application to Ohio". Mimeo. Bull. 106. Ohio Agricultural Experiment Station. Columbus, 1938.
6. Lively, C. E. and Gregory, C. L. "Rural Social Areas in Missouri" Bull. 305, Missouri Agricultural Experiment Station, Columbia. 1939.
7. Mangus, A. R. Rural Cultural Regions and Subregions of the United States, Division of Research, W.P.A. Washington. (forthcoming).

indices.[8]

a) Rural-farm plane of living index combining

(1) the average value of the farm dwelling

(2) the per cent of farms having automobiles

(3) the per cent of farm homes having electric lights

(4) the per cent of farm homes having running water

(5) the per cent of farm homes having telephones

(6) the per cent of farm homes having radios.

b) Rural-farm population fertility ratio (number of children under 5 per 1000 women 20-44 years of age.

c) Percentage of farms producing less than $1000 gross income in 1929.

d) Percentage of farm tenancy, 1935

e) Land Value per Capita of the rural farm population.

f) Percentage of farm produce consumed on the farm.

g) Illiteracy rates

h) Physiographic features.

The method used consisted of delimiting initial areas on the basis of a) and b) above and then further refining the areas by the use of indices c to h, inclusive.[9]

Figure 68 reveals the diversity of Pennsylvania rural life. It shows also something of the relation of Pennsylvania to other states in the northeast with respect to culture. The state serves as a meeting place for three major regions, which extend on the south into Virginia, in the west to Michigan, on the north to northern New York, and on the east to the Atlantic coast as far as Maine. The state is a part of three major regions: North Atlantic, Eastern Great Lakes, and Allegheny.

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8. All of these indexes are mapped and described separately in other parts of the thesis -- most of them in Chapters III and IV.
9. For a detailed analysis of the methodology see the article: Mangus, A.R. "Regional Aspects of Contemporary Culture" American Sociological Review Vol. 4, No. 4. pp. 506-513.

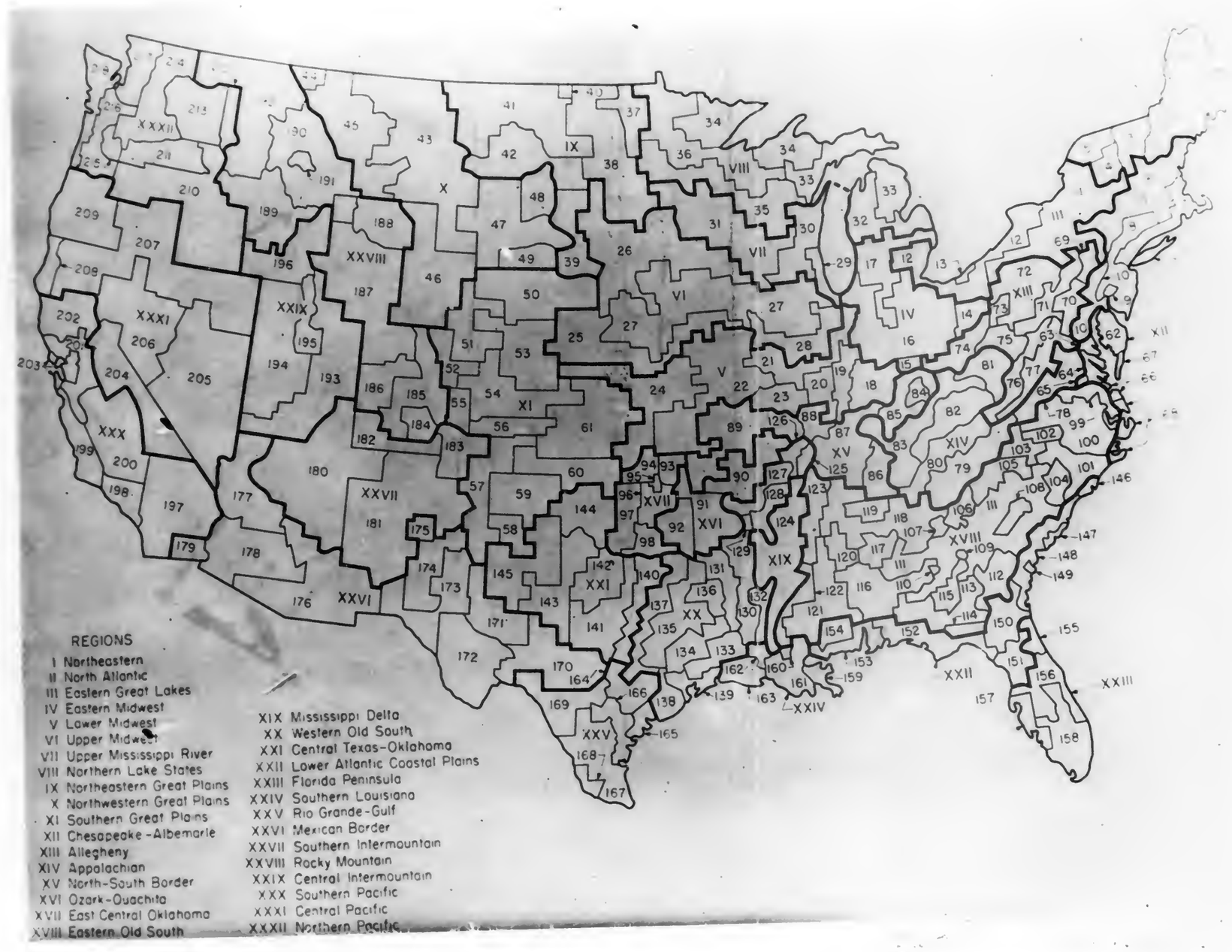

Figure 68. Rural-Farm Cultural Regions and Sub-regions in the United States.

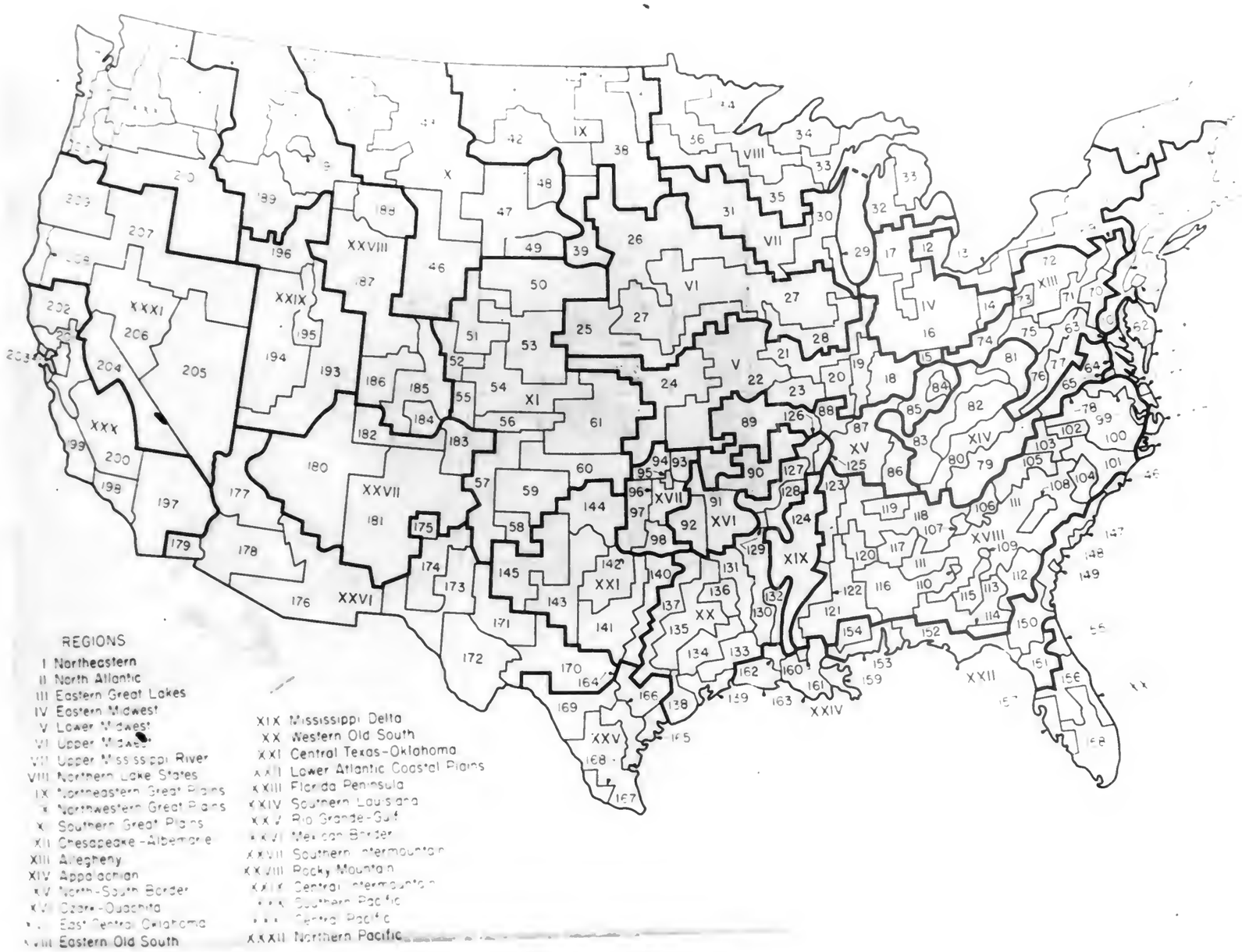

Figure 68. Rural-Farm Cultural Regions and Sub-regions in the United States.

Figure 69 shows more clearly the eleven subregions of Pennsylvania developed by Mangus. A comparison of this map with figures 1, 3, and 4 reveals some relationship existing between rural-farm cultural areas and topography, soil type, type of farming. The Erie, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia areas so influence farm living as to throw the hinterland of these cities into separate subregions. The entire northern tier is a continuous belt across the state forming a dairy subregion, the subsistence and part-time farming area of the Allegheny Plateau form a separate subregion, as does also the counties in the Allegheny mountains from Bedford to Sullivan.[6] The hard coal section is another area, the industrio-agricultural area between the Lancaster-Easton axis another. The six agricultural counties in southern and eastern form one cluster, the suburban and estate counties around Philadelphia belong to another subregion, while the last to be found in Pennsylvania is the resort county of Pike in the Poconos which is a part of large subregion 6 which extends into the New England states as far east as Cumberland County, Maine.

2. Rural-Nonfarm Cultural Areas.

The determination of rural-nonfarm cultural areas followed this general procedure[10]. The counties of the United States were divided into two groups: (1) 1708 counties in which agriculture was predominant and in which the non-farm population resided chiefly in agricultural villages which function as farmers' trading centers. (2) 1562 counties in which much of the rural population did not live on farms and in which at least one-tenth of the gainful workers were employed in industries in centers under 25,000 population. It will be noted from Figure 70 that north- eastern United States, including Pennsylvania, falls in the latter class. Pennsylvania

10. Ibidem, p. 513.

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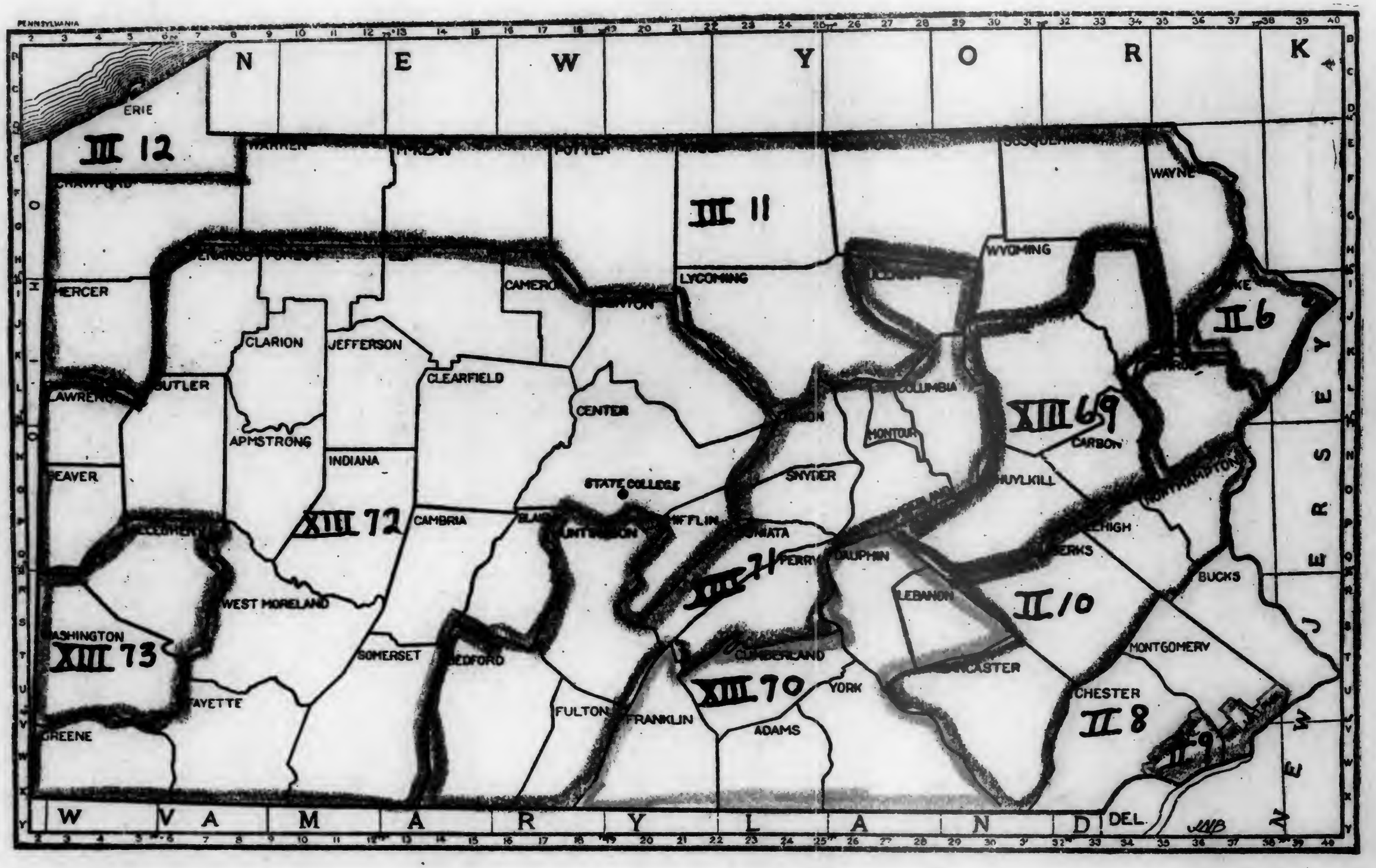

Figure 69. Rural-Farm Cultural Regions and Sub-Regions of Pennsylvania.

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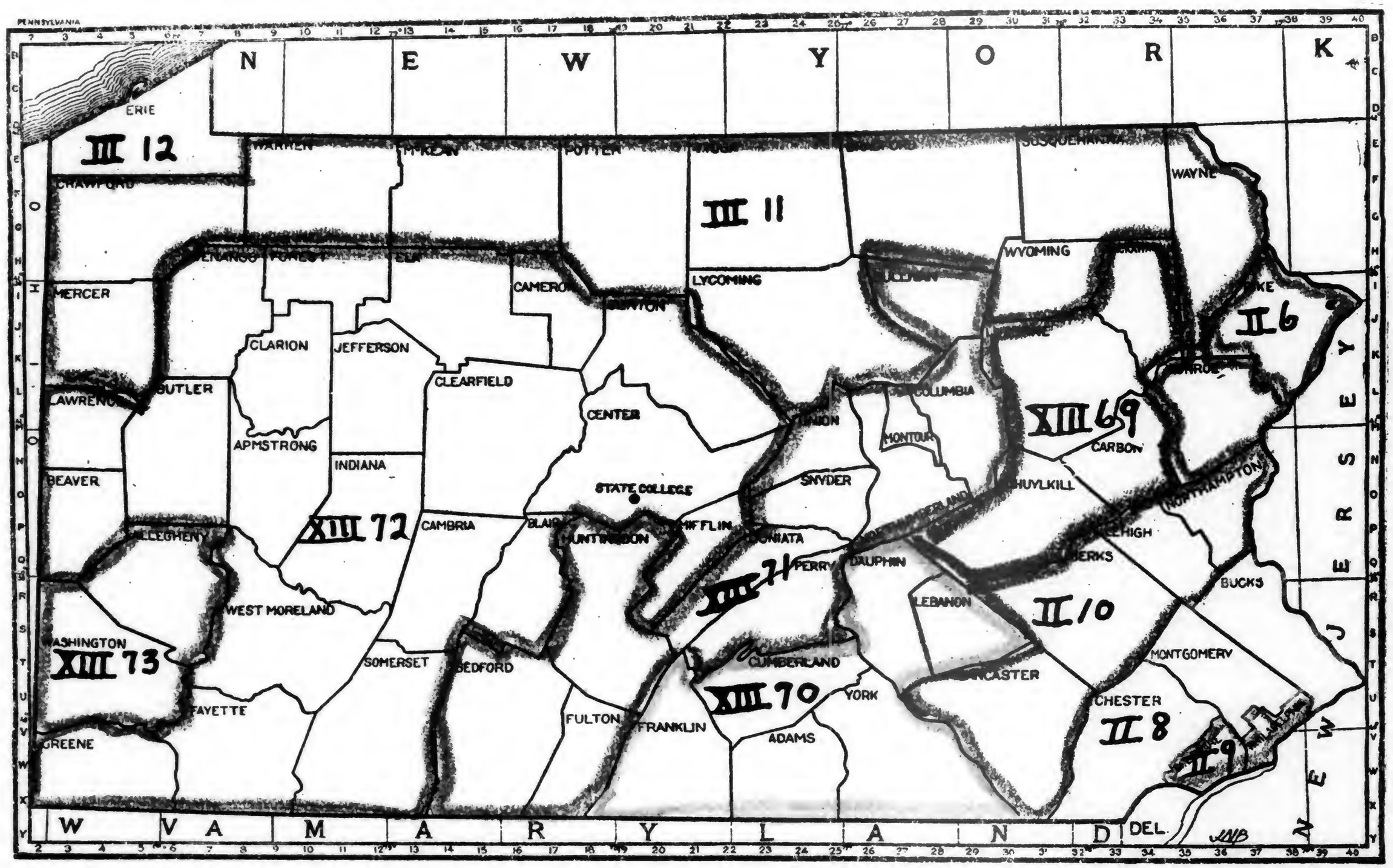

Figure 69. Rural-Farm Cultural Regions and Sub-Regions of Pennsylvania.

then as compared with other areas of the United States, may be classified as industrio - agricultural in its entirety. This is an important fact in any cultural area description.

The 1708 agricultural counties were left in the subregions in which they were set forth in the rural-farm determination of culture-area; while the industrio-agricultural subregions were outlined in the same manner as were the rural farm subregions on the basis of the following indices:

a) Major type of industry.[11]

b) Rural-nonfarm plane of living index[12] consisting of:

(1) average value of rural-nonfarm dwellings

(2) percentage of rural-nonfarm homes having radios.

c) Ratio of children under five to women 20 to 44 in the rural-nonfarm population.[13]

This procedure set forth a set of industrialized agricultural subregions somewhat different from the rural-farm subregions.

3. Rural Cultural Areas.

The third major step was to superimpose the two sets of subregions described above. This required some adjustment to reconcile the discrepancies between the two sets of boundaries and to develop a composite set of boundarios consistent with both the rural-farm and rural-nonfarm elements. This adjustment was made (a) by reallocating interstitial counties, (b) by subregionalising less clearly differentiated regions, (c) by splitting up large nonfarm regions along farm region lines, and (d) by establishing new regions where nonfarm regions were too coherent to be split on the

11. See Chapter III for this map and discussion.
12. This factor was mapped and discussed in Chapter IV.
13. See Chapter III.

basis of farm areas.[14]

Figure 70 shows the results of this combination of cultural areas. Like the original rural-farm regions the rural regions of northeastern United States converge in Pennsylvania, and likewise the outreaches of these major regions extend several hundred miles in each direction.

Figure 71 shows the rural regions and subregions which lie in part or wholly in Pennsylvania. Nine of the subregions shown lie in contiguous areas. The tenth, in the northern tier of counties, is broken into three parts because of the projection of this homogeneous area into southern New York State. Thus we have before us a delineation of the "cultural regions" and subregions of the commonwealth.

Before progressing farther with the analysis let us pause to develop a little more fully some of the implications of the above research and of the concept culture region. A culture region has been defined as "an area large enough to display most social factors, distinctive enough to make recognition fairly easy, and possessed of a characteristic mode of life".[15] This definition has been used considerably recently; but it appears to the writer that it is loosely conceived. Any county in Pennsylvania, for example, "displays most social factors"; any county, township, village, or even family, for that matter, has "a characteristic mode of life". All that is left of the definition therefore is "distinctive enough to make recognition fairly easy." Even this prooves to be faulty. It is easy to distinguish the Amish of Big Valley in Mifflin County by their big black hats, beards, religious activities, and because they speak "Dutch". But they cannot be distinguished by the methods Mr. Moore proposes, the statistical analysis of county data. This Amish area conforms excellently to his three

14. A. R. Mangus, op. cit. p. 515.
15. Moore, H. E. "What is regionalism" Univ. of North Carolina Press. Chapel Hill. 1937. p. 1.

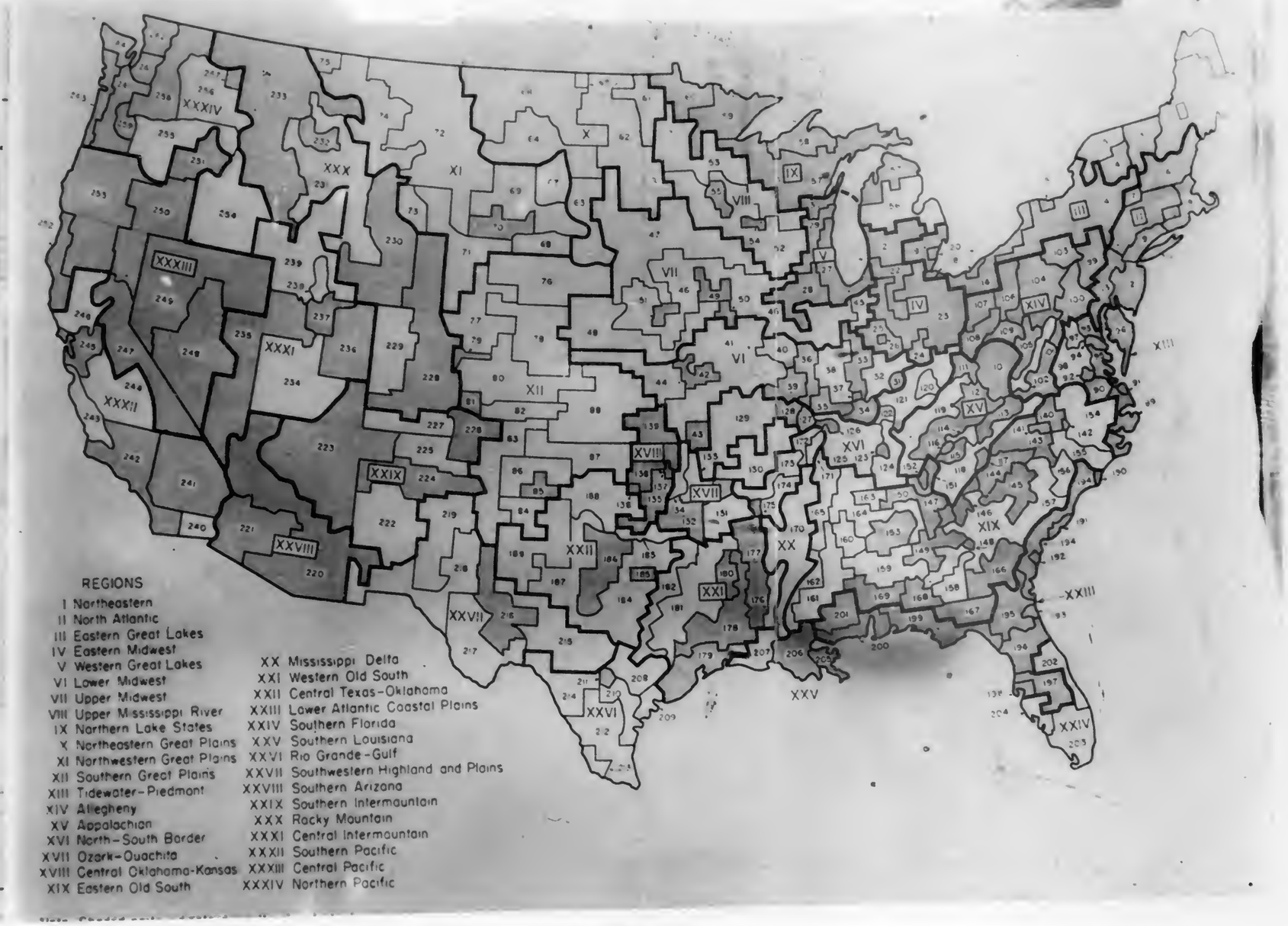

Figure 70. Rural Cultural Regions and Sub-regions in the United States.

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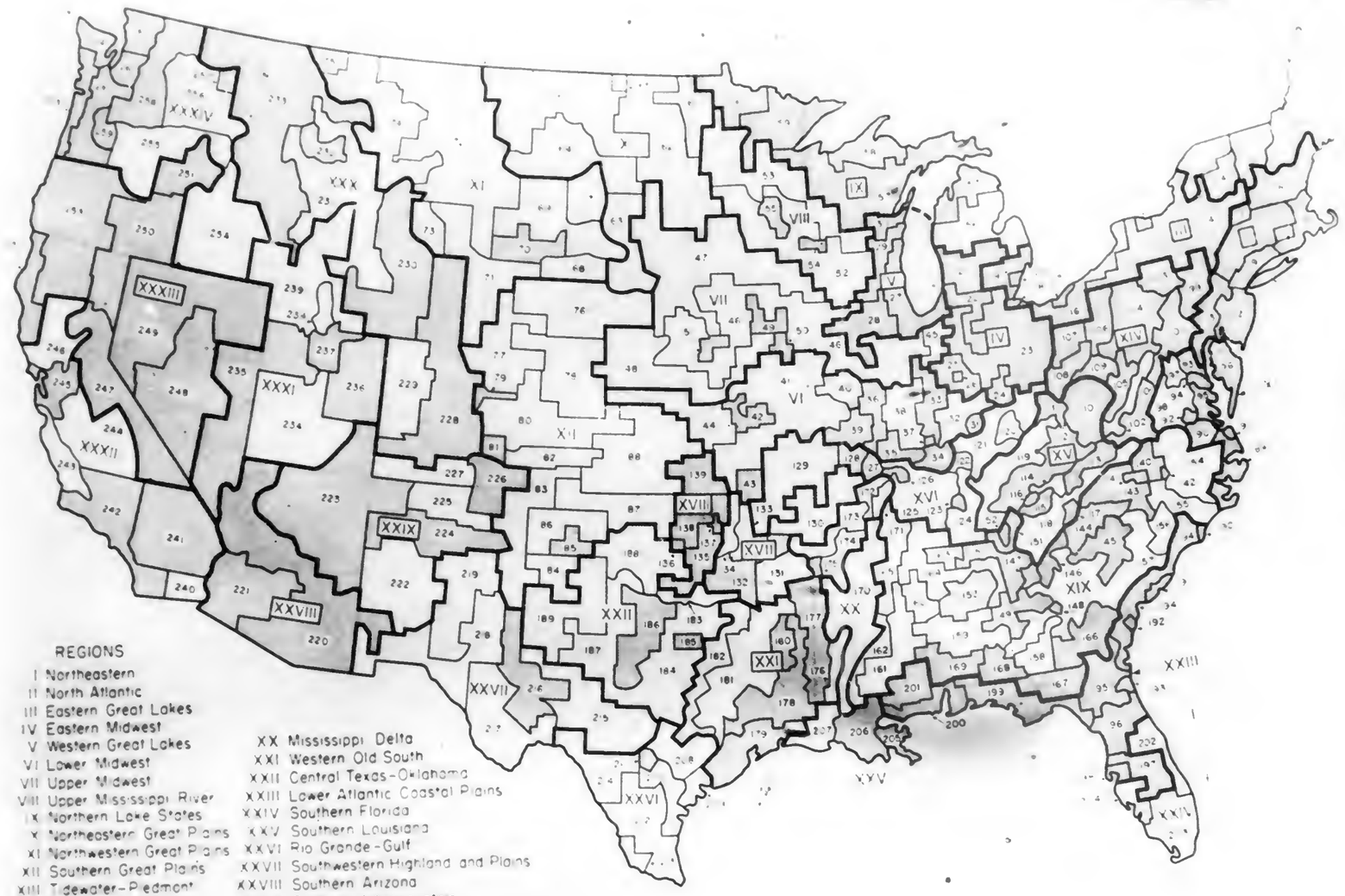

Figure 70. Rural Cultural Regions and Sub-regions in the United States.

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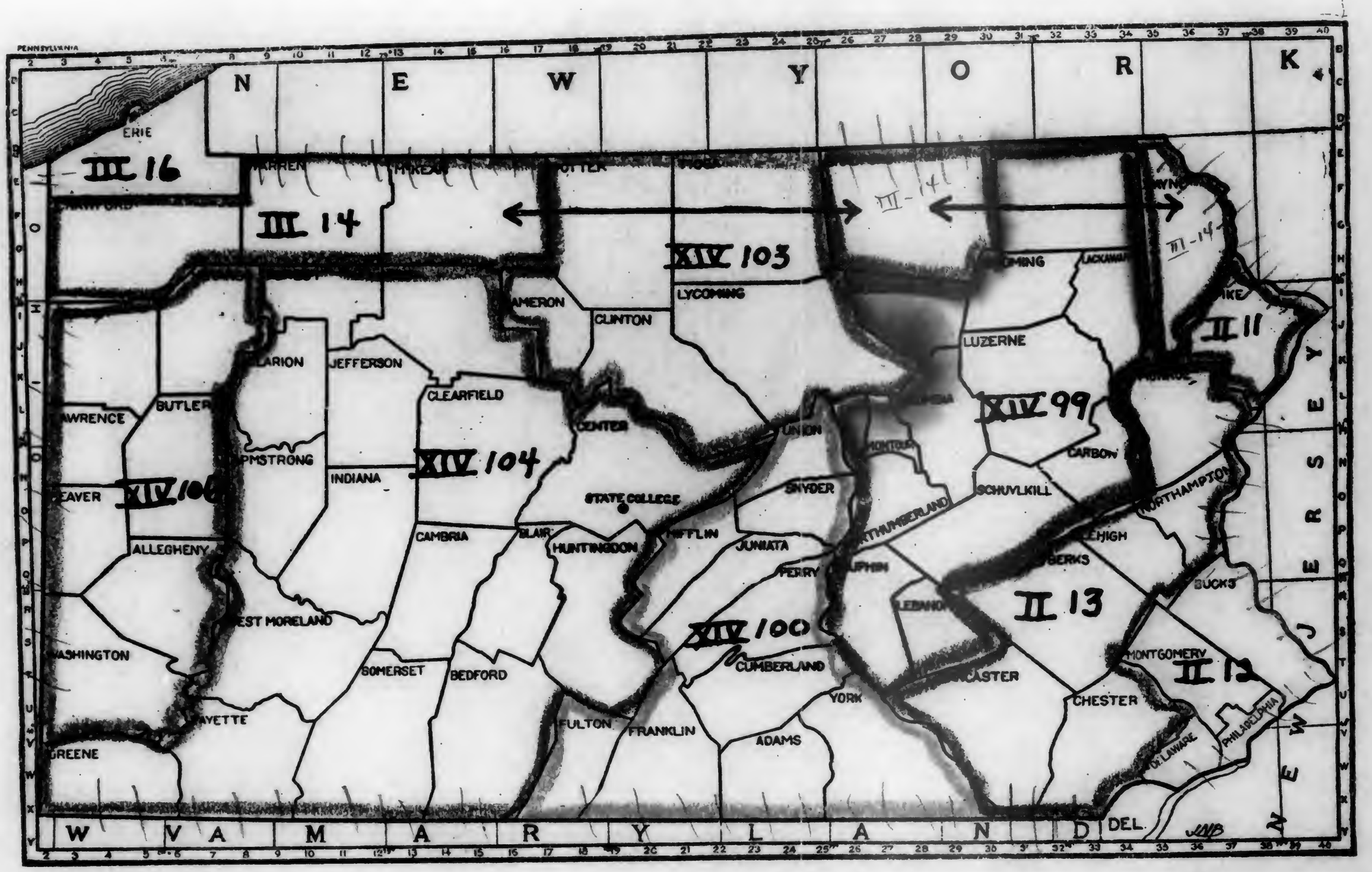

Figure 71. Rural Cultural Regions and Sub-Regions of Pennsylvania

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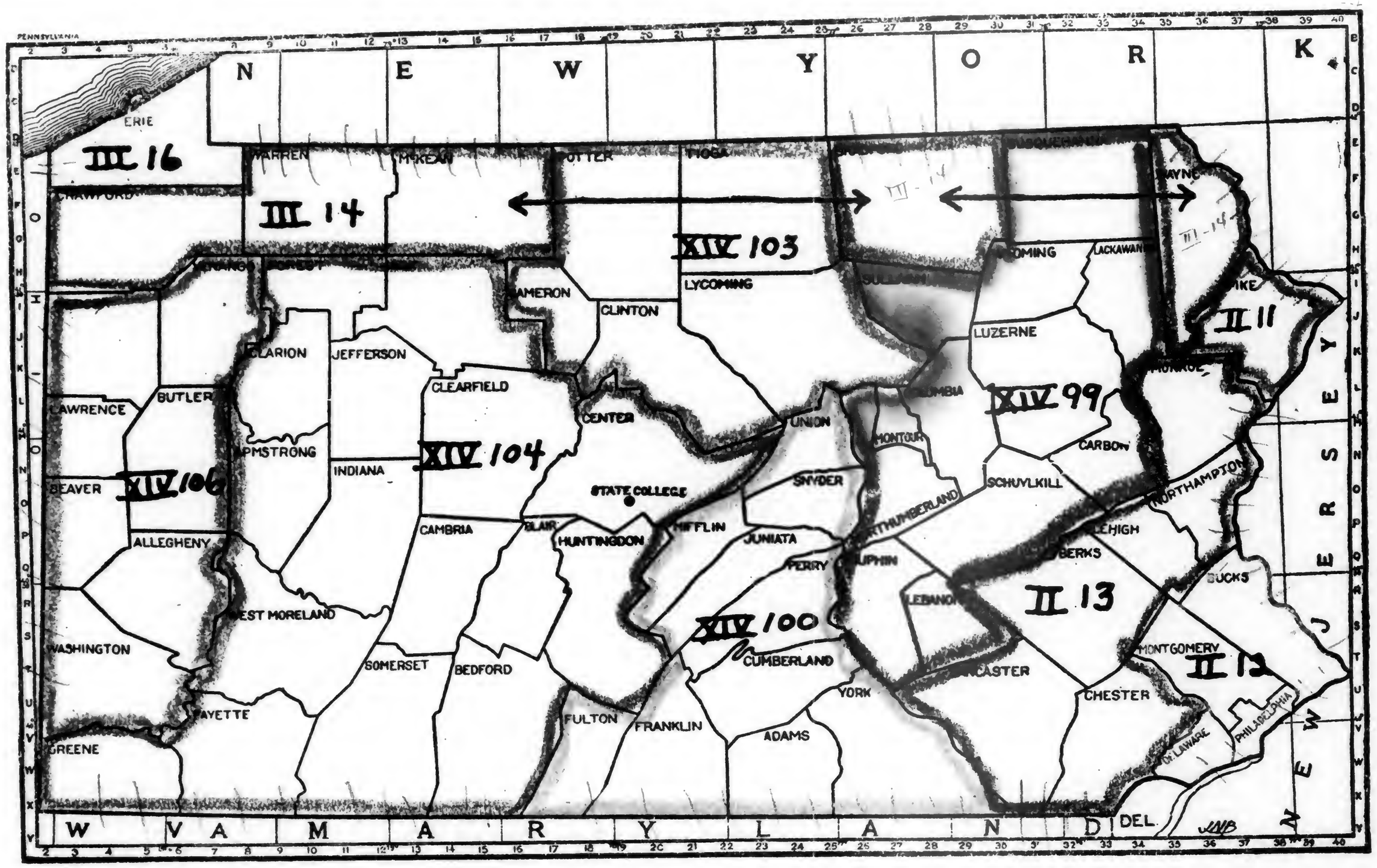

Figure 71. Rural Cultural Regions and Sub-Regions of Pennsylvania

criteria but its existence is entirely obliterated when these people are included in the general county population — except for a few specific factors.

It is true that each of these outlined above regions has its own resources, its own productive possibilities, its own economic capacities based on its products. As a matter of fact, the basis for many of these regions was determined when the geological strata were laid down. And so there is bound to be some relation between geography and human ecology. Man has always been dependent upon his environment, in particular his geographical environment. He cannot escape it entirely any more than he can escape the law of gravity. But he can modify it. He may even do well where conditions are unfavorable,[16] for he is a creator as well as a creature of environment. What he has become is to be explained in part by nature, but much more so by nurture.[17] Voltaire has stated the case even more strongly when he says that although climate has influence on people, government has a hundred times more, and religion in conjunction has still more. If so what about art, education, recreation, and so on?

Thus it is difficult, if not impossible, to say that "cultural areas" exist on the basis of any given limited number of factors — social or physical. These areas, if they exist at all are the result of the interactivity of people and their institutions with the resources and opportunities to be found involving all phases of community life. The important word here is <u>interactivity</u>. How can it be measured? Do the data presented in the present chapter in order to delineate cultural areas get at the fundamentals of culture analysis? Only in part. As with standard of living, there is a

16. Cf. Vance, R. V. Human Factors in Cotton Culture, U. of N. C. Press. 1929. p. 5.
17. Wallis and Willey, Readings in Sociology, Knopf. New York City, p. 186.

basic criticism which can be made of this cultural area determination, namely: culture can not be measured simply by using indexes of physical factors. Many strong "cultural determinants" such as religion, nationality, race, and education are left out. As pointed out earlier certain counties in the state which have almost identical indexes of population fertility, plane of living, tenancy, and so on, do not agree at all in terms of religion, modes of recreation, paternal dominance, and the other more subjective cultural patterns for which census data are not available. And yet these latter factors color the kind of life lived quite as much as do the material influences.

The "cultural areas" so outlined are very suggestive. But they show some fundamental limitations. Not that the data are erroneous or that the handling of them has been bad, but simply that the facts and methods used do not get at some of the basic considerations in showing culture differences. The culture of a people is their social heritage. It is a complex which includes art, law, morals, knowledge, folkways, invention and all other material and non-material traits and patterns. From the standpoint of sociology, then, a region is a kind of "cultural gestalt" of a distinctive area. Using this definition as a guide we have only to look over the figures presented thus far to see that Center county has little in common with Fayette; yet these are thrown together in area 104 (Figure 71). Likewise dairy Susquehanna County cannot be allocated with catholic, foreign born, hard coal Lackawanna. On the other hand the map of primary data show that Tioga, Bradford, and Susquehanna, which are placed in three separate areas by Mangus undoubtedly belong in the same subregion. Likewise the resort counties of Monroe and Pike belong together; the forest

counties of Elk and Cameron are alike; and the Dutch counties of York and Lancaster belong in the same areas. The list could be extended.

Another criticism of the method used is that of allocating counties by comparing peripheral counties with others. If one starts with counties in the center of a cultural area those counties are not compared with other counties. They remain, uncompared, as a part of the original allocation when they actually may be more similar to an adjacent area than the one they are in. Such is the case in the Allegheny Plateau.

Further, if the ecologist, using this method, starts with a county in an isolated position, it will remain isolated, for, obviously it is more like itself than any other county in the state. Thus we find Erie and Pike counties off by themselves. This is a limitation that is especially aggravated when attempting to deal with a single state.

Again, the counties were grouped into rural cultural areas on the basis of rural indices alone. Many of these counties actually are more closely related to urban centers than to the more rural counties with which they are linked. Thus coal producing Westmoreland County belongs unquestionably to the Pittsburgh Steel area on which it depends for support. Comparably suburban and estate ridden Chester County is hooked up with the Philadelphia area.

A fifth major criticism is the crudeness of the data. This is no fault of the worker but is a limitation in the validity of the results. The data used are available only on a county wide basis. Frequently one part of a county bears little relation to another, such dissimilarity is covered by averages which include the entire county.

A sixth shortcoming is the assumption that counties are culturally homogeneous if they possess certain common traits and are geographically

contiguous. This may not be true, for, as will be pointed out later, the hard coal counties in eastern Pennsylvania are most similar to an area clear across the state, the soft coal area, and bear little relationship to the contiguous agricultural counties.

Realizing these limitations, some of which can be eliminated only by a thorough knowledge of the state, the writer undertook to outline another set of areas. These are shown in Figure 72 and may be described as follows:

1. The North East Dairy Region, including 7 counties, is one of the three strong agricultural areas in the state. It has a high average standard of living, a homogeneous protestant population, low tenancy, low relief rate, and a median population fertility. Each county has minor industries. Fluid milk goes to Erie, Youngstown, and Pittsburgh.

2. The Allegheny Coal and Steel Area includes six counties in southwestern Pennsylvania. As the name indicates this is an industrial section. It has a large foreign born population, high population fertility, a low standard of living, is preponderantly catholic, has high unemployment, has high average farm tenancy, and has high relief rate.

3. The McKean Oil Section includes but one county. There is great wealth here, good schools, protestant population, little unemployment, and high living standards. Its economic base is oil -- even for the 1000 farmers many of whom work in the oil business on a part-time basis. It is a small island unlike anything near it.

4. The Forest Region includes four counties in the northern Plateau. Forest lands extend into other counties, to be sure, but we are arbitrarily following county lines. In this area living standards are low, relief rate is high, emigration is high, birth rates are high, and subsistence and

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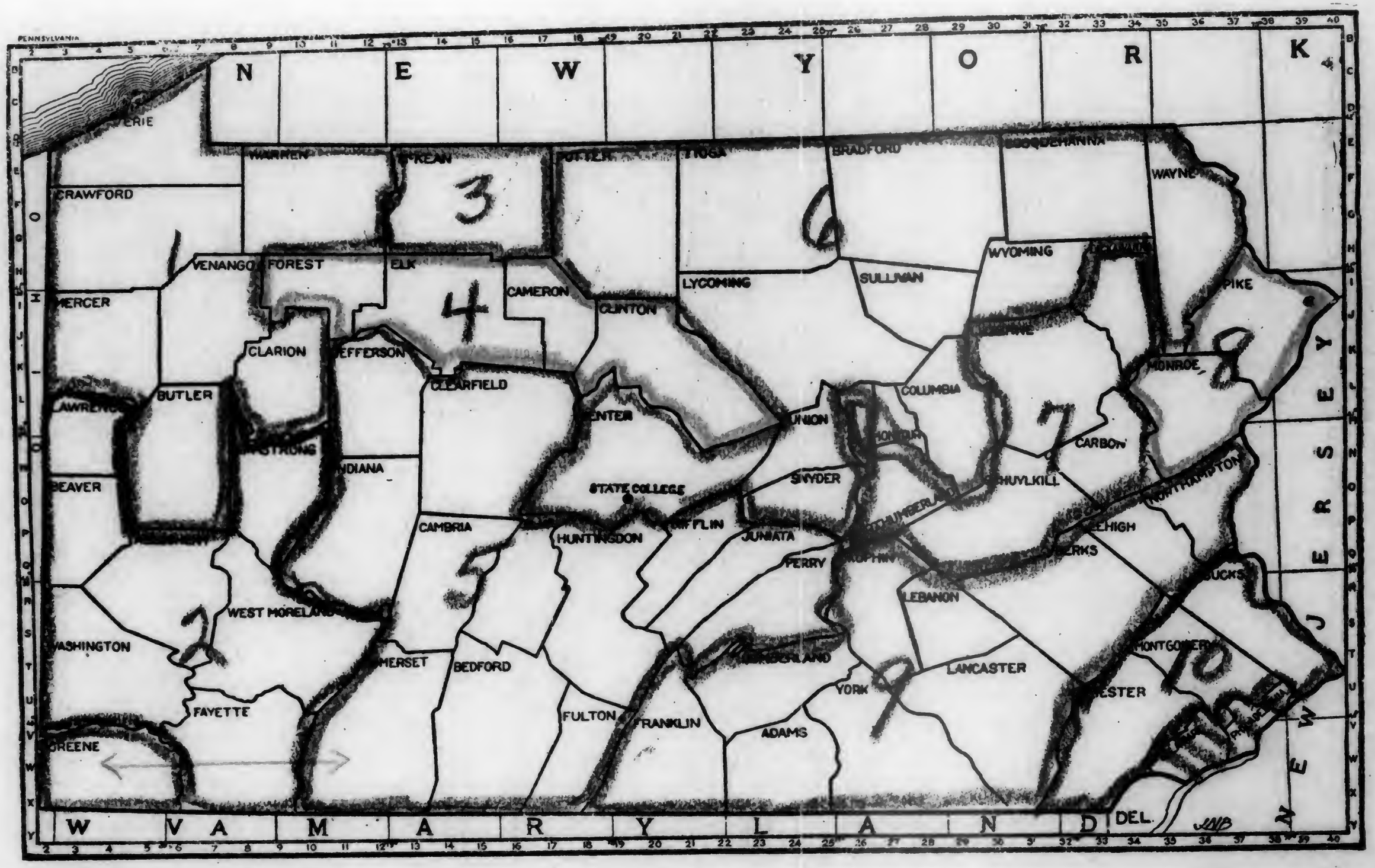

Figure 72. The Socio-Economic Areas of Pennsylvania.

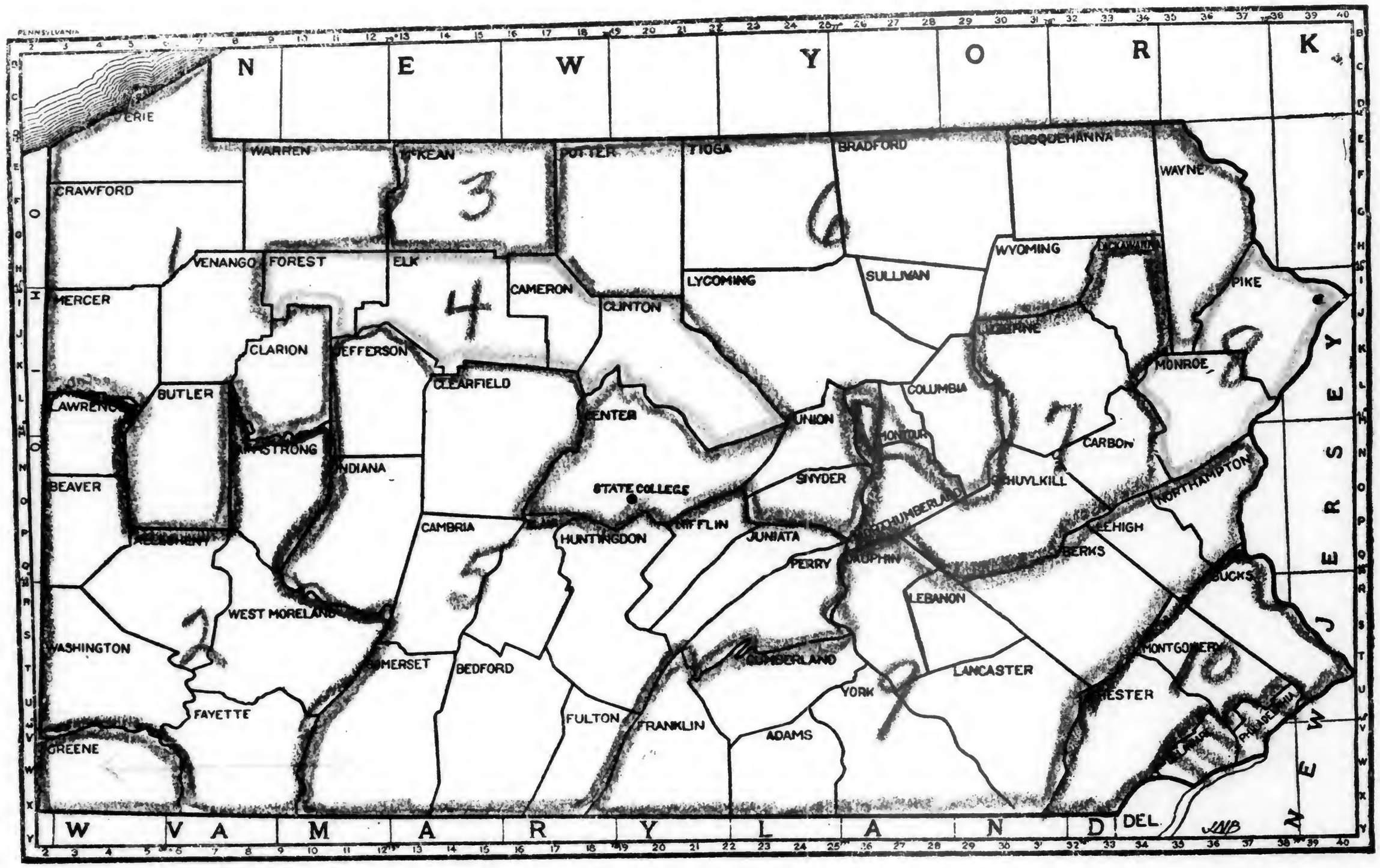

Figure 72. The Socio-Economic Areas of Pennsylvania.

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part-time farming is high. Much of this whole area is public land for forests, parks, and game.

5. The Allegheny Plateau, is an area of poor soil, semi-depleted mines, very high population fertility, high average tenancy, and a very low standard of living and a high relief rate. It is dotted with part-time and general farmers, some of whom specialize in fluid milk which is marketed in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. Many foreign born industrial workers and miners have taken up holdings in this area. It contains some minor industries.

6. The North East Dairy Region is a livestock specialty area sending fluid milk to New York City. There is little industry. The standard of living is high, the birth rate is low, and the percentage of farm tenancy is the lowest in the state. The population is English and Scotch-Irish with a liberal sprinkling of catholic farmers. This area is much like region 1.

7. The Hard Coal Region is primarily industrial. It is very much like region 2, having a high percentage of catholic foreign born population, a high fertility rate, an average standard of living, a high average unemployment, and a high relief rate. Farming is relatively unimportant and consists of raising produce consumed locally by the three million people in the area.

8. The Pocono Resort Area has an economy geared to the tourist, resort, and summer boarder business. Soil is poor, and what farming is done supplies local hotels, restaurants and stores. Tenancy is negligible, birth rates are low, unemployment is low, and standards of living are high.

9. The Pennsylvania Dutch Area is characterized both by good agriculture and industry. Each of the ten counties in the region has good farms and each has one or more sizeable cities where manufacturing is important (See Figure 9). Most of the farmers and villagers and many of the urban dwellers are Pennsylvania German. The area has low average population fertility, high standard of living, low unemployment, high farm tenancy, and a very low relief rate. Farm products are consumed in local centers or, as with milk, shipped to Philadelphia.

10. The Philadelphia Hinterland includes five counties on the southeast tip of the state. The outreaches of Chester, Montgomery and Bucks counties are but little different from area 9. However, this whole section is dominated by Philadelphia and even the farmers in the farthest reaches of these counties think, talk, and trade in terms of this metropolis. All produce goes to the city. The area for ten miles around Philadelphia proper is largely suburban; beyond that is the estate and summer home circle; beyond that the farmers. The area has an average amount of tenancy, a high plane of living, a low fertility rate, an average amount of unemployment, and a low relief cost. The rural population is Yankee and English stock with Quaker infiltrations. The urban industrial population is heterogeneous.

The above ten areas were delineated on the basis of the following factors mapped elsewhere in the thesis:

1. Topography
2. Type of farming
3. Farm income
4. Index of rurality
5. Population nationality and extraction
6. Population fecundity
7. Relief and unemployment
8. Farm tenancy
9. Standards of living.
10. Type of industry
11. Metropolitan area

12. Rural population density.
13. Intimate acquaintance with the culture and activities of the population in all parts of the state. This knowledge is essential if one is really to understand the matrix of interrelationships which characterize an area. It is this that is essentially sociological.[18]

These maps were superimposed one on the other with the results as shown in Figure 72. In a number of places no clear cut dividing line is found. In other cases it is clear that the dividing line between areas should cut across country boundaries in order to be accurate. Several ideas regarding these areas were received from a tentative map developed by Dr. O. E. Baker for use in the analysis of 1940 census data.

These ten distinct parts of the state (Figure 72) are called socio-economic areas. There is doubtless more emphasis here on the economic than on the social because of the factors used. However, the writer was conscious of this and attempted to allow for it. The areas are purposely not called "cultural regions". For, as suggested earlier in the chapter the factors which have been used here and elsewhere do not measure culture. They only suggest it, and that very broadly. Furthermore, a region is commonly thought of as a larger area such as the New England states, the Pacific northwest, the Corn belt, and the Cotton belt. At best these areas described are subregions. Thus where "region" is used here and later in the thesis the reader will know that something less than a region is meant, i.e. socio-economic areas. To call these cultural regions would be presuming too much.

Referring to the statement of Wallis and Willy concerning cultural areas it can be said that there <u>may</u> be "a geography of culture as distinct

18. See Lundberg, G. A. Foundations of Sociology. Macmillan, N. Y. C. 1939. p. 476.

in demarcating outlines and as different in content as the physical geography"[19] but so far no one has been able to measure it. Instead of distinct lines it is the opinion of the writer that the differences which do exist are gradations from one area to another. It is granted that there are occasional small pools of population such as the Amish, Moravian, and German Catholic groupings which exist, accepted in the larger life of the area, but these are exceptions. When it comes to an analysis of the "Dumb Dutch" of Snyder County and the "Smart Dutch" of Lehigh County it will be found that the people in these areas differ in degree and not in kind. And these differences are too subtle for census enumerators to detect.

At best the subregional allocations of this chapter are rough approximations which will doubtless break down under subsequent analysis. On the other hand, a good case can be made to the effect that the state as a whole is in one cultural region which includes the entire United States; for the nation as a whole is a cultural entity with a substantial oneness in language, dress, education, political ideals, national sentiments, and religion. As Eubanks says,[20] "'E Pluribus Unum' is not only a national motto; it is also a statement of the process by which many diverse elements have been fused into a single general cultural entity if not unity." This is a viewpoint and a fundamental hypothesis very different from that which underlies the present chapter.

Regionalization and sub-regionalization have interesting theoretical possibilities. There is little question but that the crude area representations presented here could be improved upon markedly by (1) Modifying

19. Ibidem, p. 187.
20. Eubank, E. E., The Concepts of Sociology, Heath & Co. New York. 1932. p. 575.

the method somewhat, by (2) including a more equitable balance between material and subjective factors to get valid indexes,[21] and (3) by using data on a township basis. But until the two last problems can be solved it is of little use to correct the first deficiency. Elaborate formulae and methodology are useless unless the raw data are adequate. It is futile to use refined statistical techniques on crude facts, beyond a certain point. To make good shoes one must have good leather as well as skill in handling the materials.

Our next step is to determine whether or not the various classes and kinds of social agencies in the state show any relationship to the areal representations just formulated. If so, which agencies? To what degree?

21. Cf. Lively, C. E., "Social Planning and the Sociology of Sub-regions" Rural Sociology II, No. 3. p. 295-6.

Chapter VI

AGENCIES OF COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION

In the Colonial days settlers did a minimum of traveling. Social contacts beyond the community were rare. Word of mouth was the primary type of communication. Since there were few roads, and most of these open only to travel by horseback, most persons knew very little of what was happening in other sections of their state. Today, the entire state, the nation, and even the world are a part of our environment because of improved transportation and communication techniques.

1. Railroads.

Pennsylvania has 91 railroads. Of these 18 are main systems using steam and electric locomotives with over 11,000 miles of track. The area trackage of the state is four times that of the United States as a whole. Nearly 50 million passangers ride Pennsylvania trains a year; and over 150 tons of railroad freight go over her rails annually. The state is the crossroads for farm produce moving east, and for the coal, and steel and iron ore moving to and from manufacturing centers in the commonwealth. The most concentrated railroad freight traffic in the world goes through Pennsylvania mountains.

In addition to the railroads, 3,227 miles of trolleys and subways take millions of people about their business and pleasure daily. In 1931, they carried 1,250,000,000 passengers to school, to work, and to stores. The technological advances which have made this communication possible have caused many social changes. Not the least of these changes are the ones affecting the social organization of rural communities. From the social sufficiency of pioneer family life we have witnessed widening

influence of social contacts. The local husking bees, barn raisings, and quilting parties, have been replaced by special interest groups, movies in the county seat, and other activities. Further, we see the effect of easy communication and transportation, in abandoned one-room schools, closed rural churches, discontinued "neighborhood nights" and the transfer of such institutions and activities to the community center. The presence or absence of such facilities influences the number and operation of social organizations.

2. Roads

Not until twenty years after the Declaration of Independence was the first good road in Pennsylvania constructed - a 60-mile turnpike from Lancaster to Philadelphia. Since that time other areas have been gradually opened up until today the highway system of the state totals over a hundred thousand miles. This includes 14,634 miles of state highway and 25,864 miles of state rural roads which were taken over by the state since 1931. Of these latter, one-fourth are unimproved. In 1937 there were 73,129.5 miles of "rural" roads according to the Highway Department. Five counties, Lancaster, York, Bradford, Westmoreland and Berks, each had over 2000 miles of such roads. These are all large counties and as seen by the density spot map in Chapter IV are fairly evenly settled with people, necessitating a road network in all parts of the county. The counties having the greatest mileage of state highways were Chester, Bucks, Lancaster, Allegheny, and Susquehanna. Again, these counties are large and well settled. With the advent of trucks and automobiles, motor transportation has become the most widespread of all. Especially is the road system significant in rural

areas, for most country places are untouched by railways, waterways, or airways.

There are nearly 50,000 miles of second class township roads. Despite efforts during the last ten years to improve the surface of these tributaries, 90 per cent of them are still classified as dirt roads. Unfortunately, 65.5 per cent of all the farm families in the state live along these routes (Table 10). Only 22.1 per cent of the farmers are on hard surfaced highways, while 8.5 per cent live on gravel roads. There is still much work to be done in the commonwealth to get the farmer out of the mud. Especially is this true in the Allegheny Plateau where four out of five farm families are on dirt roads. In much of the southeast, on the other hand, four out of five farms are on good roads.

Table 10. Number and Per Cent of Farmers in Pennsylvania, Living on Various Kinds of Roads, 1930.[1]

Kind of Road	Number	Per Cent
Concrete	15,595	9.1
Macadam and asphalt	22,475	13.0
Gravel	14,684	8.5
Improved dirt and clay	21,367	12.4
Unimproved dirt	91,241	52.9
All other	7,049	4.1
Total farms	172,419	100.0

Associated with the question of roads as a facility of transportation is their maintenance. The burden of maintaining good roads in the sparsely settled mountain areas is a serious one. Some preliminary analyses show, for example, that there is a high inverse correlation between the per acre value of farm land and the rural road mileage per capita of farm population.[2]

1. Data from United States Census 1930.
2. Cf. Pennsylvania Planning. State Planning Board. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Nov. 1939.

The more valuable the farm land of a county and the denser the population, the lower is the relative cost of maintaining good roads. As a matter of fact, this principle obtains not only for roads but for any other agency, public or private. The above point is made clear from an inspection of Figure 75.[3] Here it is seen that the entire southeast is above the median in value of farm land per mile of rural road. Eleven counties of the highest quarter are found here, nine of them forming a solid block on the southeast corner. Philadelphia, in this area, has the highest ratio in the state, $129,000 farm land value per mile of rural road, 92 times as much as Greene County. In contrast to the southeast is the upper Allegheny Plateau practically all of which is in the lowest quarter. McKean County with her oil lands is an exception. A few counties have land valued at $2000 or less to support a mile of road. Thus it is seen that increasing state aid to heavily burdened areas or the actual taking over of all roads by the state must come about if farmers everywhere are to have equal opportunity for social mobility and in marketing their produce. For it is seen that those areas where most farmers live on dirt roads have least ability in terms of wealth to pull themselves out of the mire. Thus we find that the man-land relation is more than a mere matter of the production of farm crops. Land and people are inextricably related for the achievement of all goods and services.

3. Automobiles.

The automobile registration in Pennsylvania is one and one-half million greater than that of the German Reich and four times that of Italy. Seventy-two per cent of all families in the state own cars, equivalent to

3. Sources: United States Agricultural Census, 1935, and the Pennsylvania Department of Highways.

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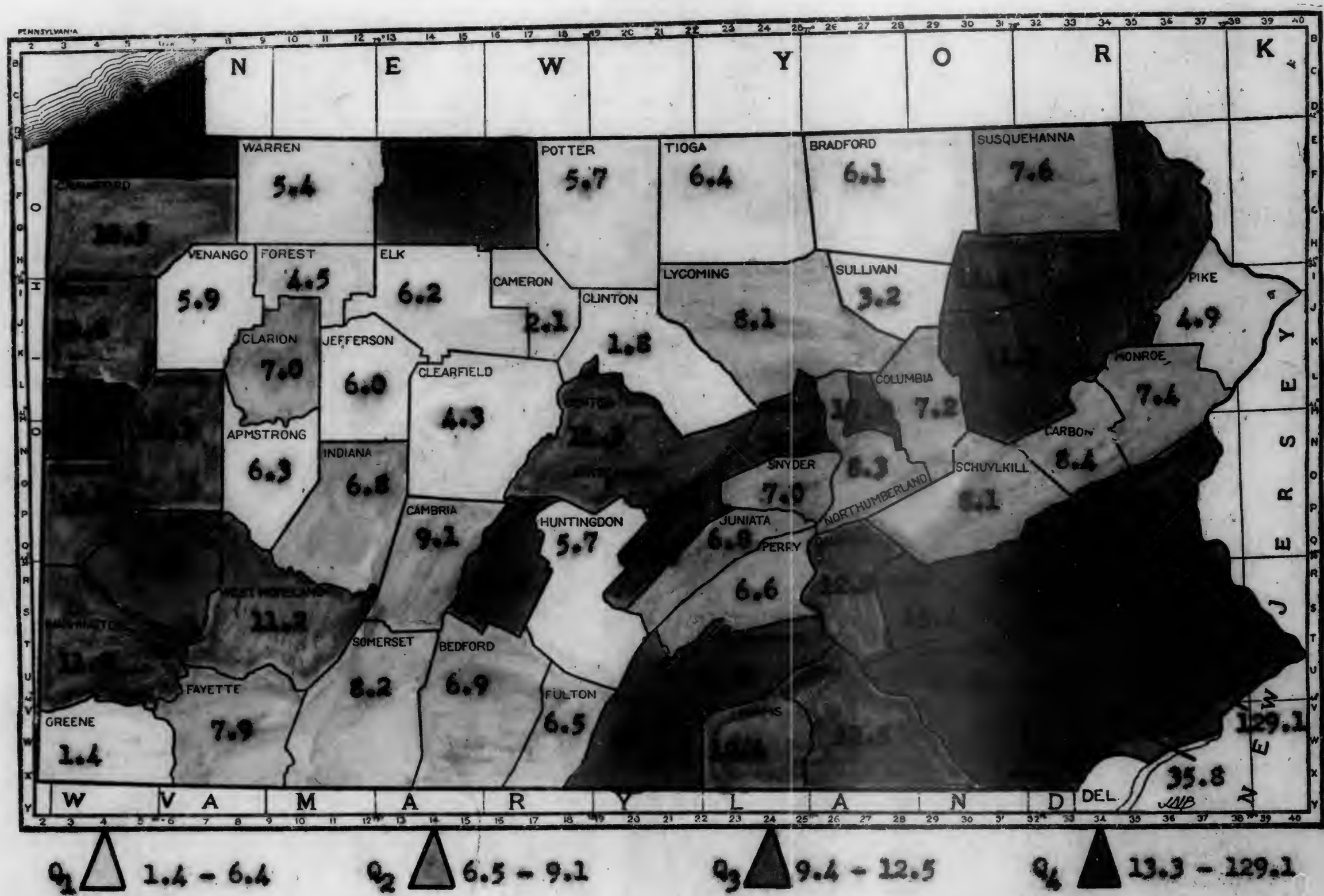

Figure 73. Value of Farm Land (in Thousands of Dollars) Per Mile of Rural Roads in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.

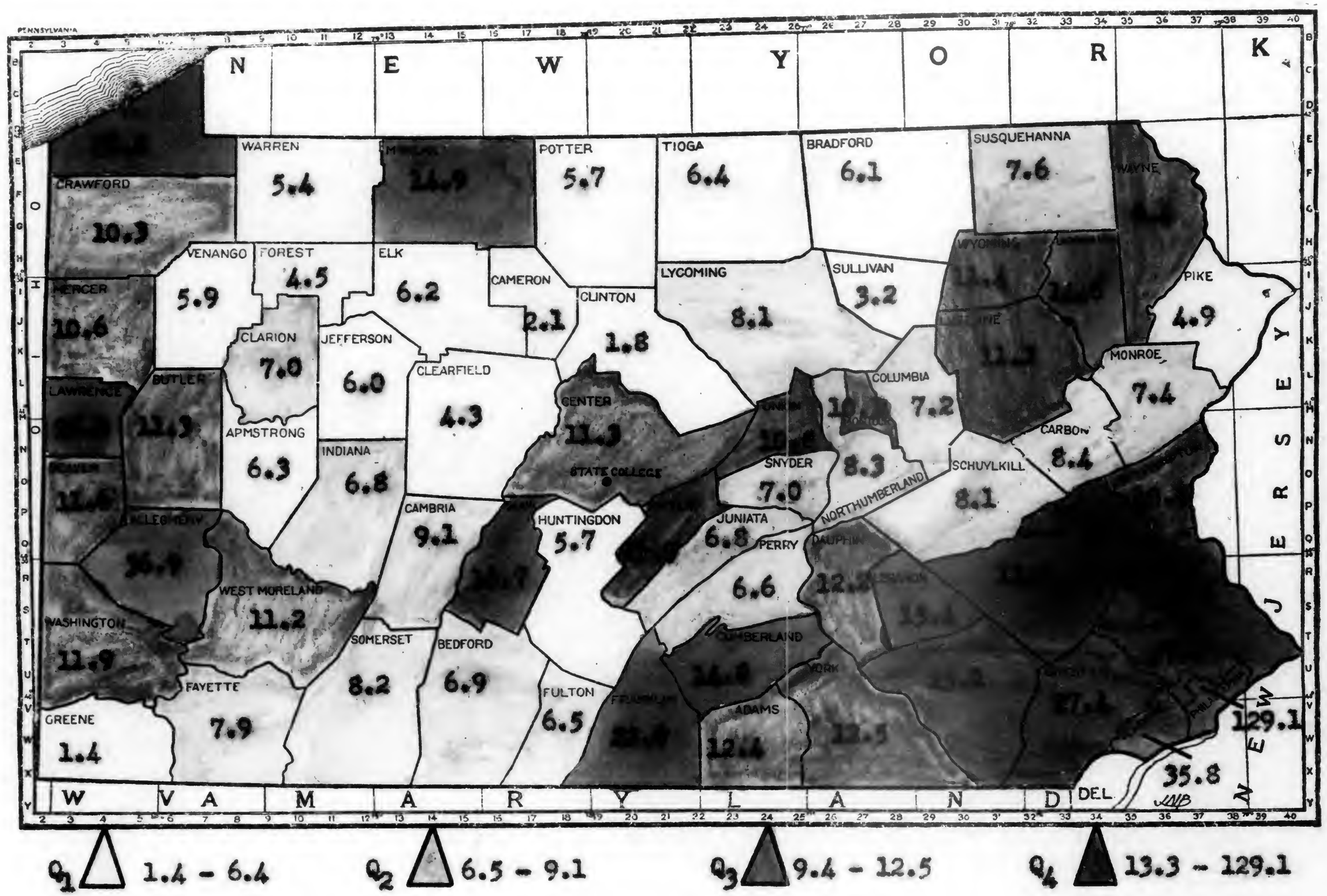

Figure 73. Value of Farm Land (in Thousands of Dollars) Per Mile of Rural Roads in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935.

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one car for every 6½ persons. As would be expected farm families own more cars relatively than city families. There are 57,280 automobiles on 191,234 farms making a total of 82.2 per cent of all farms having cars. Farmers in the commonwealth have 51 per cent more automobiles per capita than the United States farm average. In addition, 52,510 trucks are on farms. Many of these are small pick-up trucks and serve both as business and pleasure vehicles. When those are considered it is estimated that today nine out of ten farmers are supplied with motor transportation.[4] In 1935 the percentage of Pennsylvania farms recorded as having auto transportation was 89.5.[5] This fact is significant for social organizations and agencies in the state.

Figure 74 shows the variation by counties in the number of automobiles per farm. The figures here approximate very closely the per cent of farms having automobiles but are not strictly comparable because a few farmers have more than one such conveyance. Pike County leads the state with 1.12 automobiles per farm while Forest County, at the other extreme, has less than one-half an automobile per farm on the average. In the main, the proportion of automobiles on farms follows very closely the general economic level of the farmers in the various counties with the southeast leading and the Allegheny Plateau lagging behind. Pike is an exception. The large number of automobiles here is occasioned by the need of such facilities for transportation in the pursuit of tourist and summer boarder business.

Considering the total population 72 per cent of the families own automobiles, according to 1936 data.[6] This is slightly below the United States

4. Source: Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture, Harrisburg.
5. Source: United States Agricultural Census, 1935.
6. Source: Reuben H. Donnely Company, New York.

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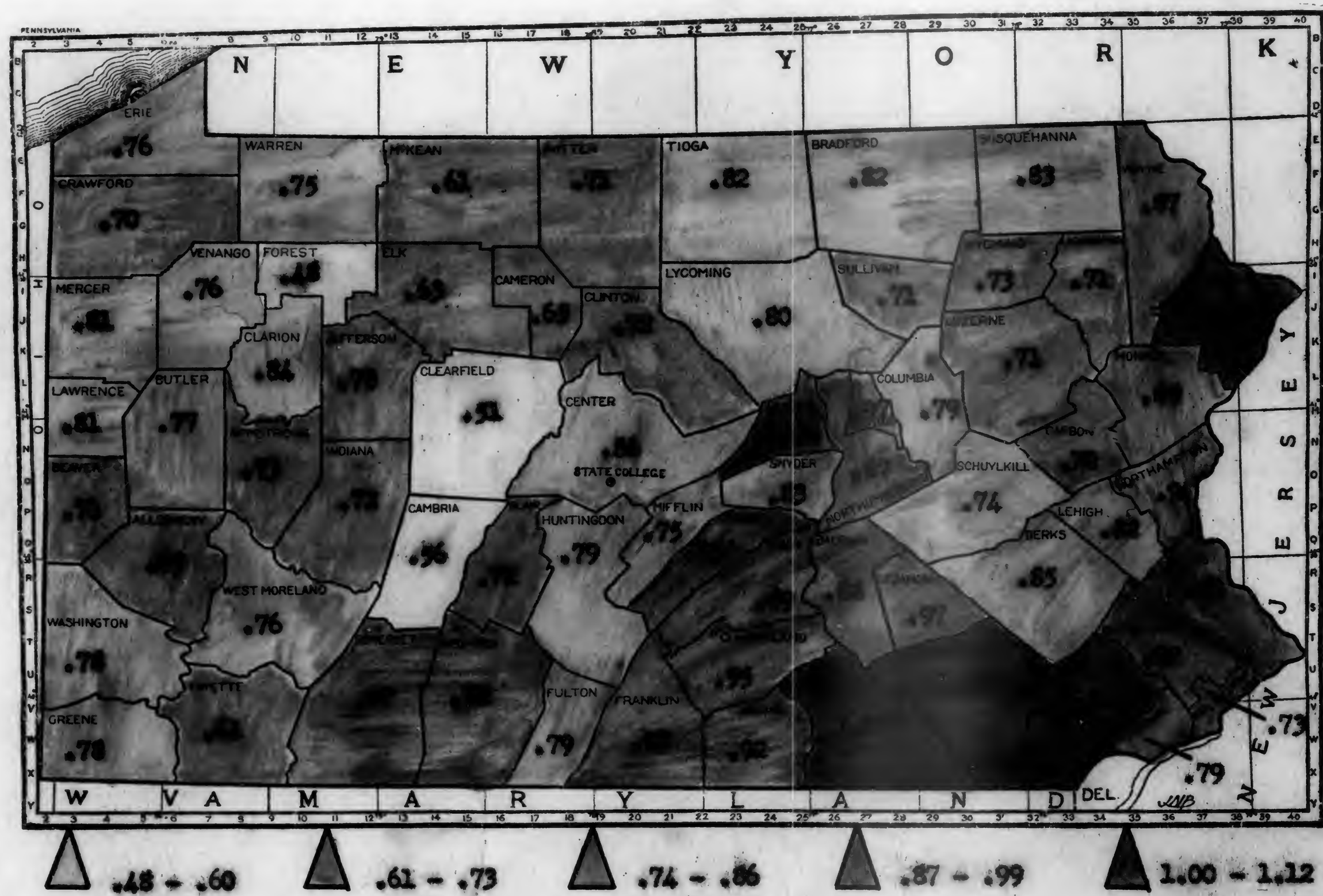

Figure 74. Number of Automobiles Per Farm in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938.

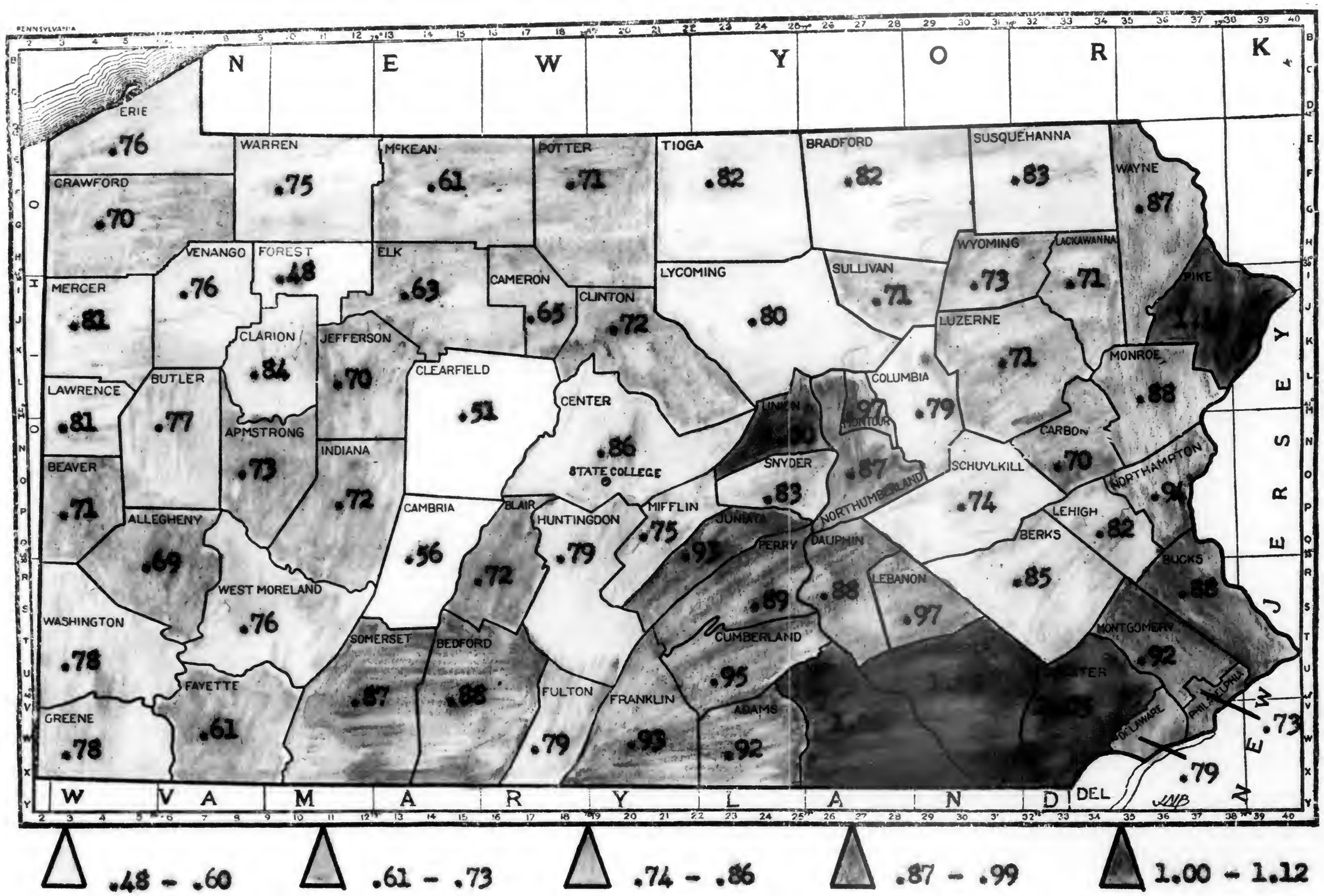

Figure 74. Number of Automobiles Per Farm in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938.

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average (75 per cent). Figure 75 shows the passenger automobile registration per 100 families. It is seen that Philadelphia, with 51 registrations per 100 families, is at the low end of the ladder, while adjacent Montgomery County is high with 107 passenger automobiles per 100 families. In suburban Montgomery County, the home of a good many Philadelphia business people, more than one car per family is not uncommon. Within the state as a whole, we see that the southeast is in first position with the northwest second in the frequency of atuomobiles. As with the preceding figure both coal sections fell in the lowest quarter. The miners have relatively less use for facilities of transportation than residents of suburban or agricultural areas. It is noticeable that in almost every county having a large city, the proportion of passenger automobile registrations declines.

It should be kept in mind that this figure includes only passenger car registration. This does not, therefore, embrace all automobiles used, even for pleasure purposes, for a great many truck farmers as well as fruit and dairy farmers own small pickup trucks which are not only useful in their business but are frequently the only conveyance of their kind on the farm and are used, therefore, for business and pleasure alike.

The major difference in the two figures appears in the Allegheny Plateau where it is noticed that the villagers and city people with greater economic resources have many more cars than farmers. Thus the figures for McKean County are 93 and 81, for Cameron County 101 and 85, for Forest 82 and 48, and so on. In the good agricultural sections of the east, however, farmers have more cars proportionately.

Here is the reason for much of the increased mobility that has characterized the last two decades. The automobile has meant an enlargement of the

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Figure 75. Passenger Auto Registration Per 100 Families in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1956.

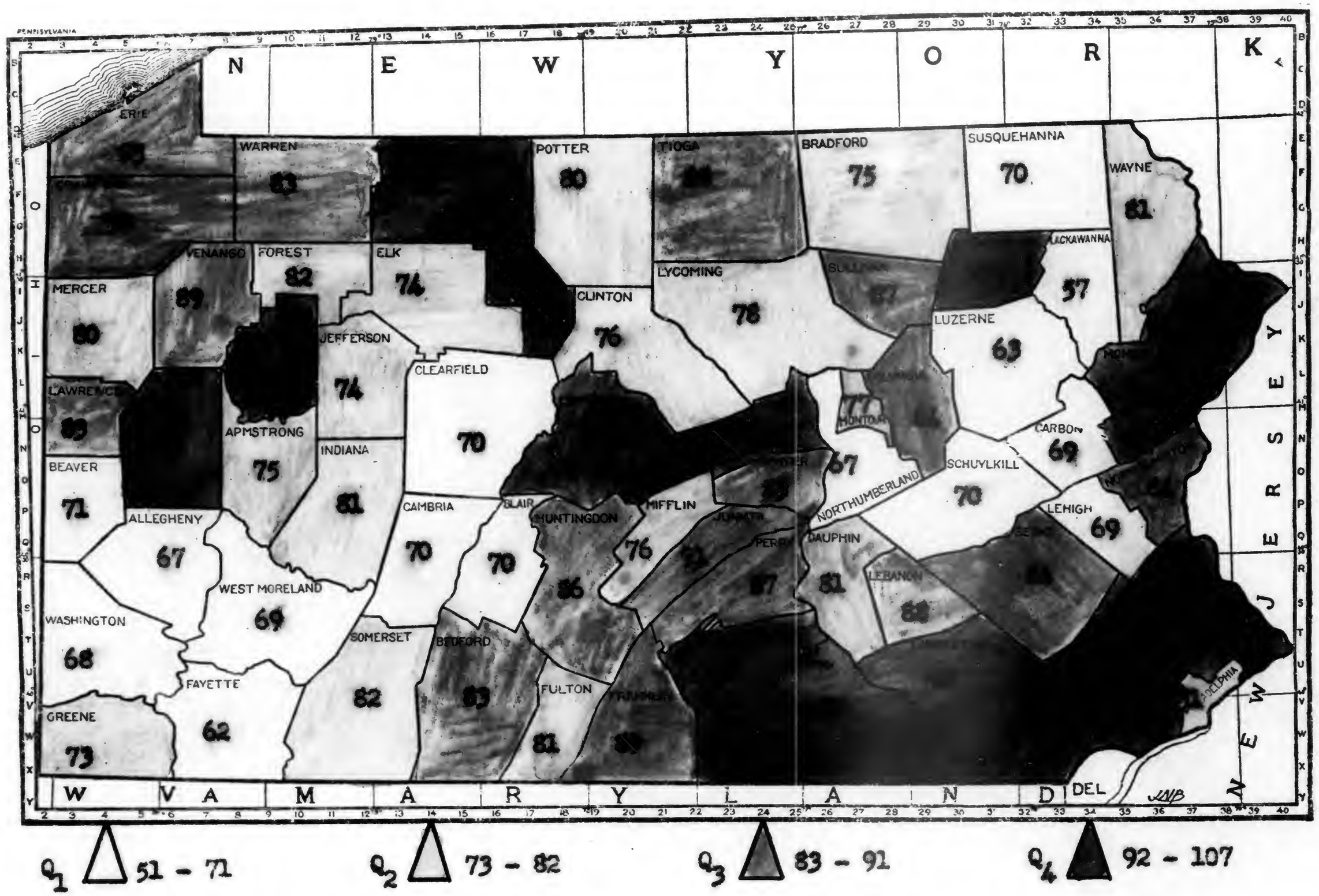

Figure 75. Passenger Auto Registration Per 100 Families in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1936.

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range of social and economic contacts, the extension of our environmental influences, the rise of special interest groups, the decline of the neighborhood, the rise of the larger villages as the capitals of rural America, and the increasing use of cities as centers of trade and commerce.

4. Airlines.

There are six main air crossings in Pennsylvania comprising 1900 miles of airways. All of these air routes are maintained by the federal and state governments but are served by commercial transport companies. One of these makes overnight deliveries between Philadelphia and the Pacific coast. There are 111 airports in the commonwealth.

Aviation, in the state, has but little effect on the rural social agencies right now except to enable state and national leaders to make their heavy schedules of engagements at meetings and conferences. However, aviation is no longer the romantic and "stunting" means of travel it once was. Instead, it has at least partially developed with definite routes, schedules and rates. It is in the same relative position that the auto was a few decades ago. It represents another phase of our quickening, broadening social life.

5. Telephones.

Almost one in three farms have telephones in Pennsylvania. On January 1, 1938, 58,090 farm telephones were reported, 30.9 per cent of all farms.[7]

For rural folk, and for farm people especially, the telephone is a chief instrument for communication, not only for informal interaction, but also for setting up, advertising, and carrying out more crystallized forms of human association.

Figure 76 shows the percentage of farms in Pennsylvania having telephones, by counties, for 1938. Chester County was high with half of the

7. Source: Crop Reporting Service, Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture, Harrisburg.

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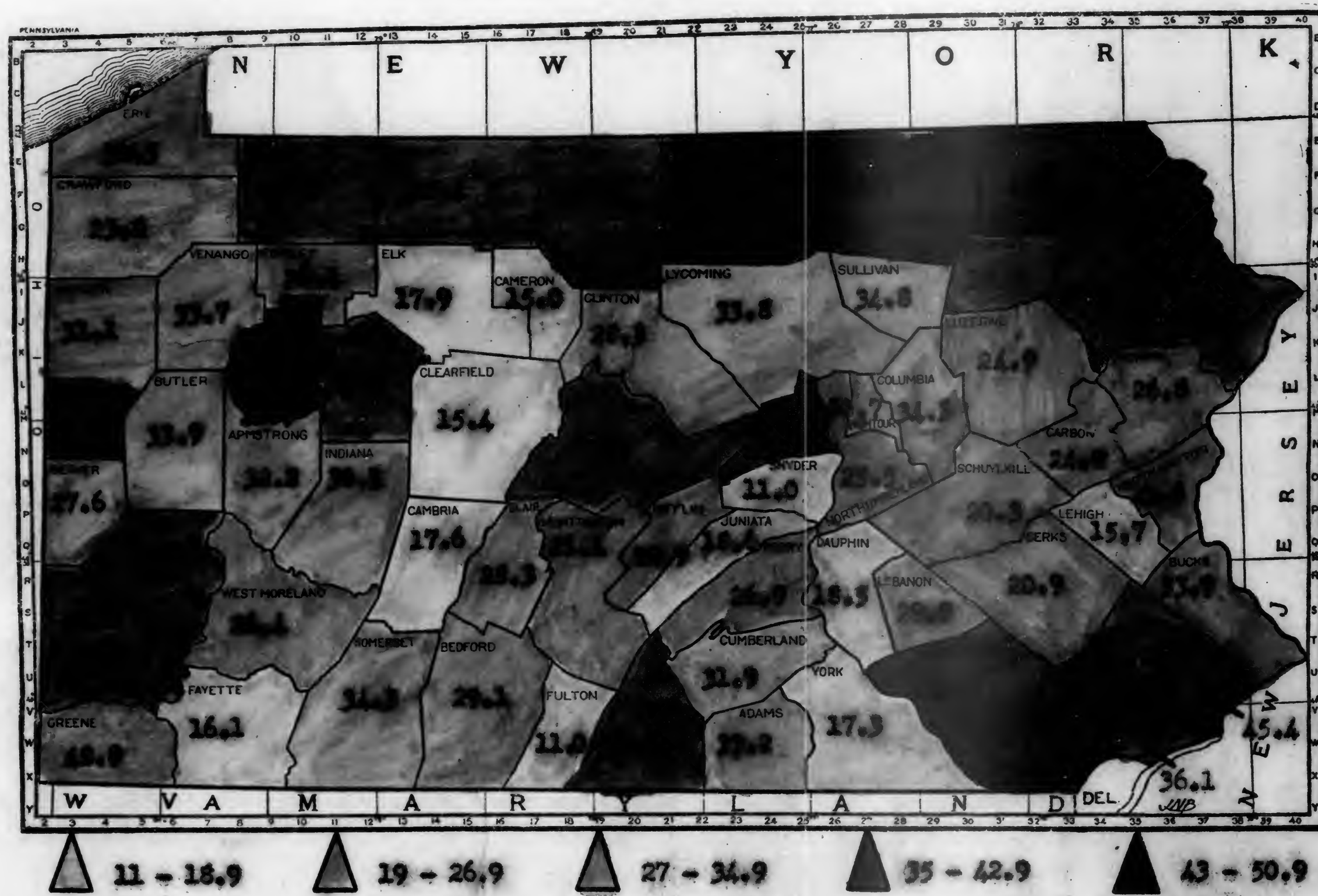

Figure 76. Percentage of Farms in Pennsylvania Having Telephones, by Counties, 1938.

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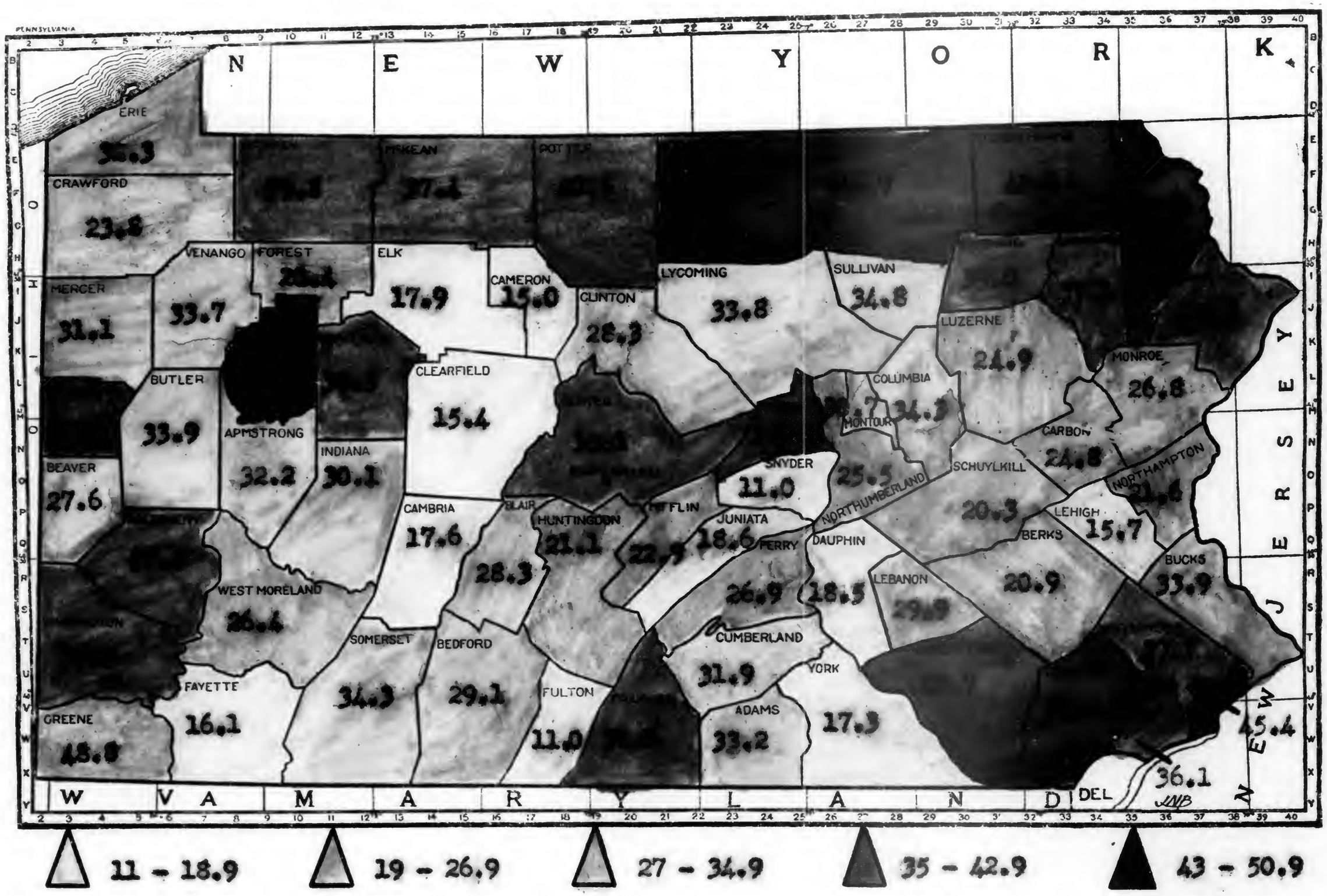

Figure 76. Percentage of Farms in Pennsylvania Having Telephones, by Counties, 1938.

farm homes in the county having telephones while Snyder and Fulton Counties, at the other extreme, have only one telephone to every nine farm homes. In general, as with other such home facilities studied in the chapter on standard of living, the lower Allegheny Mountains and Plateau are low. For this particular factor east central Pennsylvania is unusually low. This includes the entire hard coal area, and parts of the fertile and well-to-do Pennsylvania German territory. The areas best situated were the northeast Dairy Region, the Philadelphia Hinterland and the Pittsburgh area.

The number of residential telephones has often been used as one of the factors indicating the height of the plane of living. Therefore these and other data in this chapter have their bearing on Chapter IV. Figure 77 shows the distribution of telephones for the total population.[8] Southeastern Pennsylvania, and especially the northern tier of counties, rate high in this agency. This is somewhat unusual for the Upper Plateau which rarely occupies a high status on such facilities. On the other hand, south central Pennsylvania, especially the Allegheny Mountain region and also part of the Allegheny Plateau, is practically all in the lowest one-fourth. In Fulton County, for example, but nine per cent of the families had residential telephones in 1935. This is to be contrasted with Montgomery County, in which 62 per cent of the families had this convenience. The average for the state was the same as for the entire nation, 36 per cent.

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8. These figures were supplied by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. Telephones are assigned to the county in which the central office to which they are connected are located. In presenting these figures, the A. T. and T. says, "Taken as a whole, it is not believed that the accuracy of a county distribution is appreciably affected by this practice."

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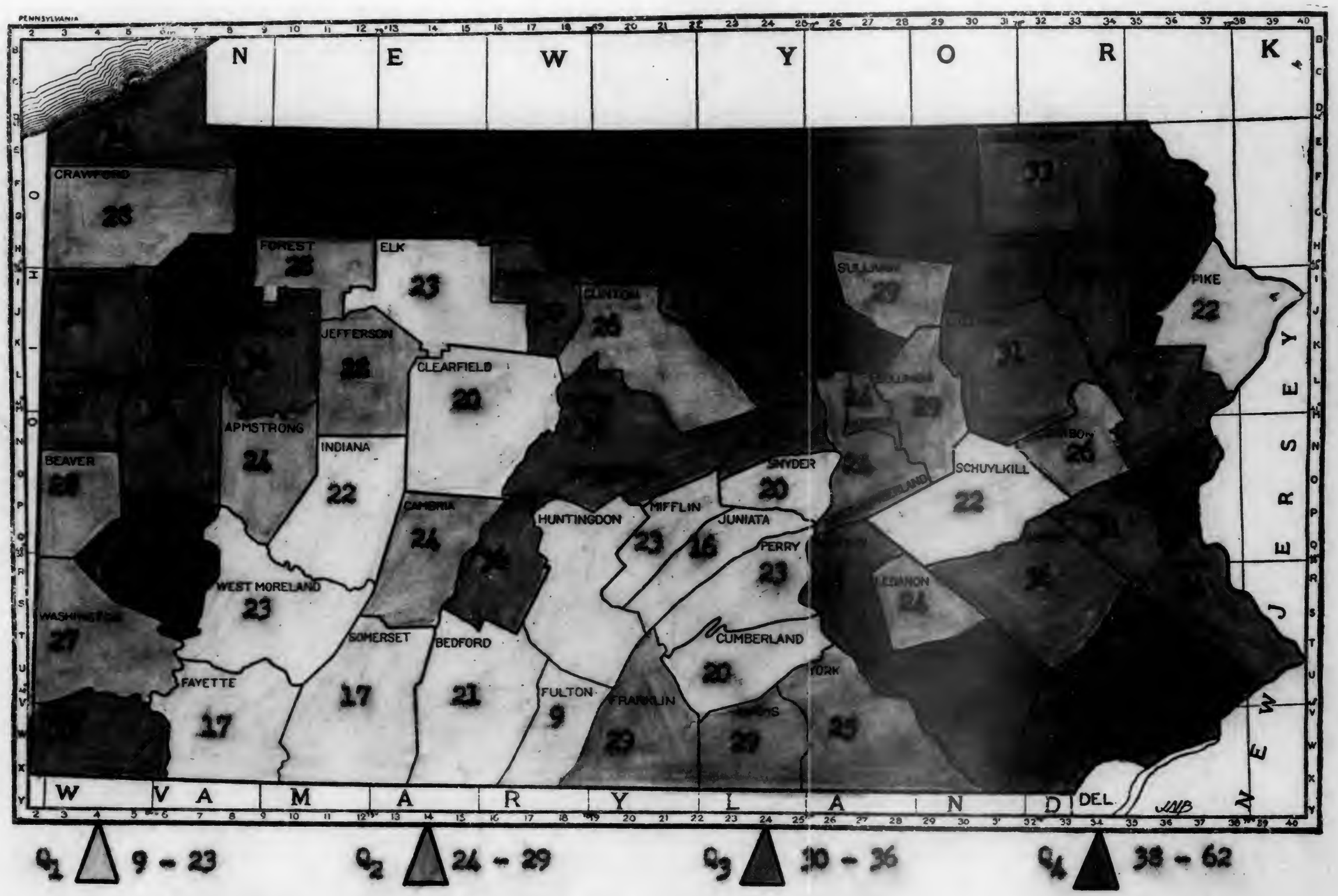

Figure 77. Number of Residential Telephones Per 100 Families in Pennsylvania, By Counties, 1955.

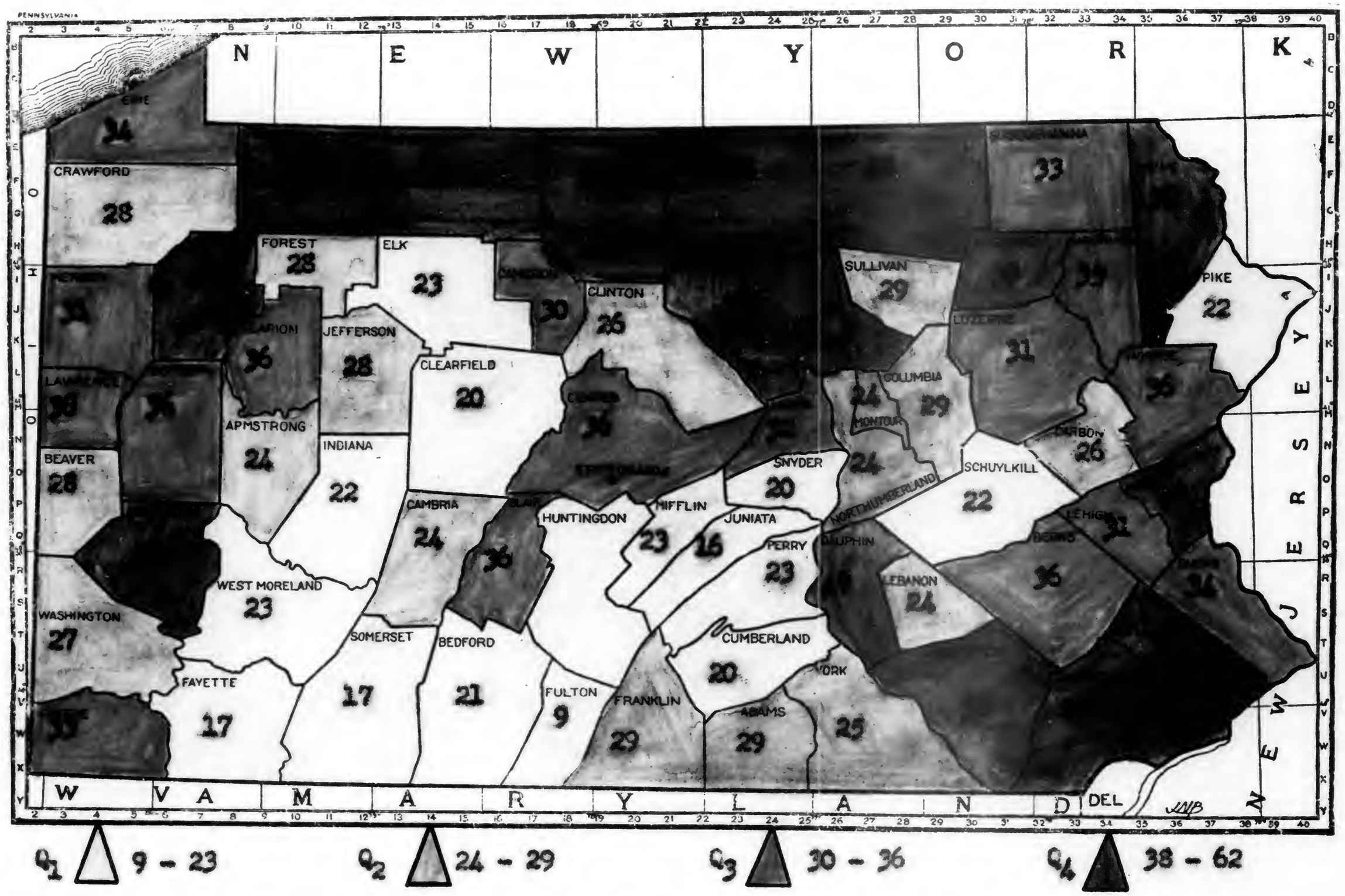

Figure 77. Number of Residential Telephones Per 100 Families in Pennsylvania, By Counties, 1955.

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6. Radios.

For many Pennsylvania farm families, the radio as a source of entertainment, adult education, and cultural development is second to none; and as a source of news is second only to the papers.

In 1930, one-third of the farm families had radios as contrasted to 52.5 per cent of urban families. For 1938, the figure for farm families had jumped to 48.4 per cent. This is a significant increase in eight years and its effect upon the recreational, education, and social life of farm families is obvious to all.

Delaware County leads in the proportion of radios with 90.4 per cent of the farm homes being so equipped. This figure is contrasted with that of Cameron County where but one-fourth of the farm homes had radios. (Figure 78).[9] The Allegheny Mountain region shows up poorly in comparison with eastern Pennsylvania. It is noteworthy that those areas in the state suffering greatest isolation are those least able to break that isolation thru the use of the radio.

The distribution of radios for the total population follows much the same pattern that electricity in homes manifest in Chapter IV. However, no strict comparisons can be made because Figure 79 could not be constructed on a quartile basis without splitting groups of counties having identical numbers.[10] Philadelphia is highest in the state with 102 radios per 100

9. Source: United States Census, 1930, and the State Department of Agriculture.
10. Figures were supplied by the Joint Committee on Radio Research, 420 Lexington Avenue, New York City. Radio sets out of order for more than six months were not included. The figures presented by the Committee for Pennsylvania doubtless represent something of an overestimation. The research was conducted primarily for use in selling time to companies for radio advertising purposes.

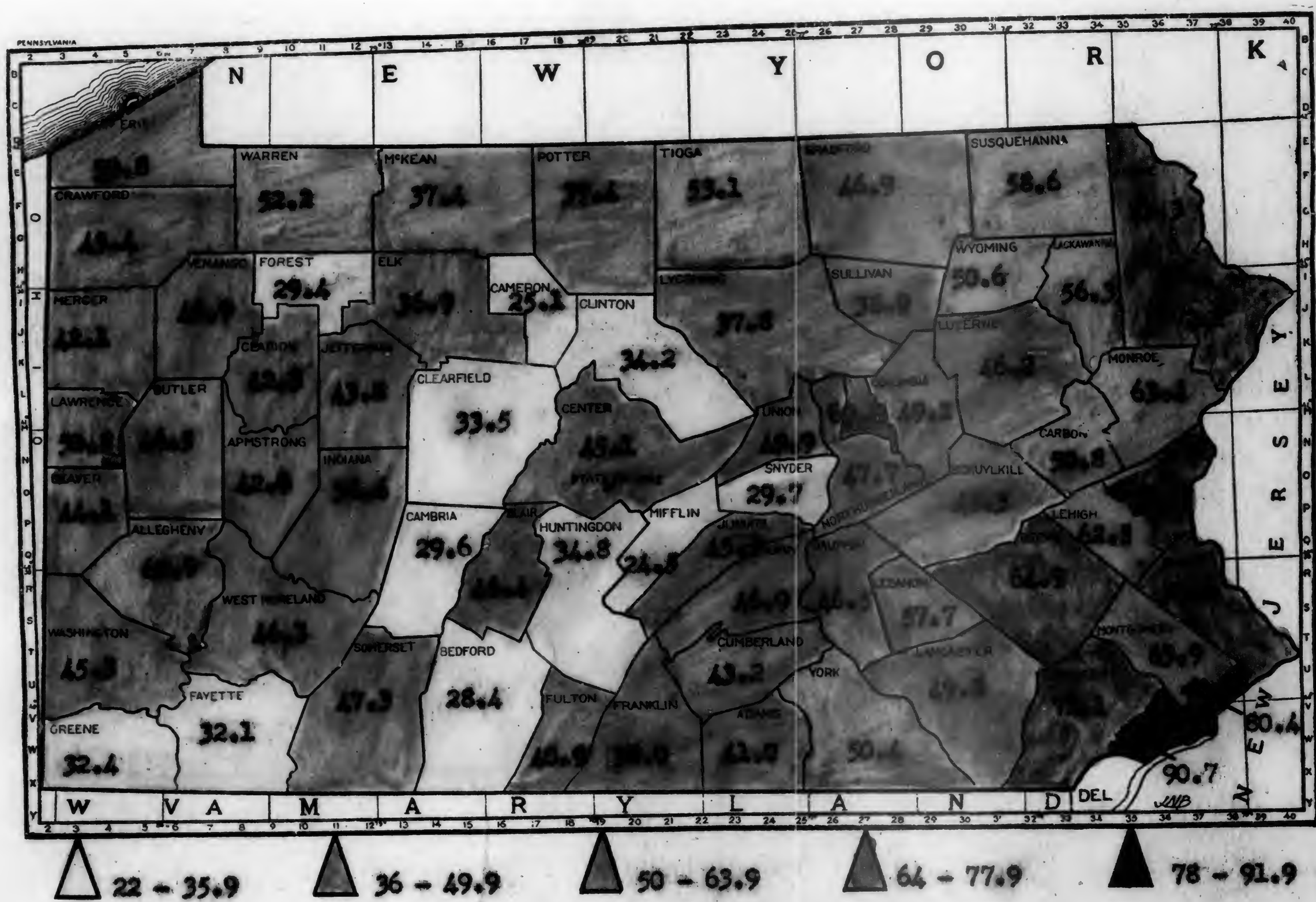

Figure 78. Percentage of Farms in Pennsylvania Having Radios, By Counties, 1938.

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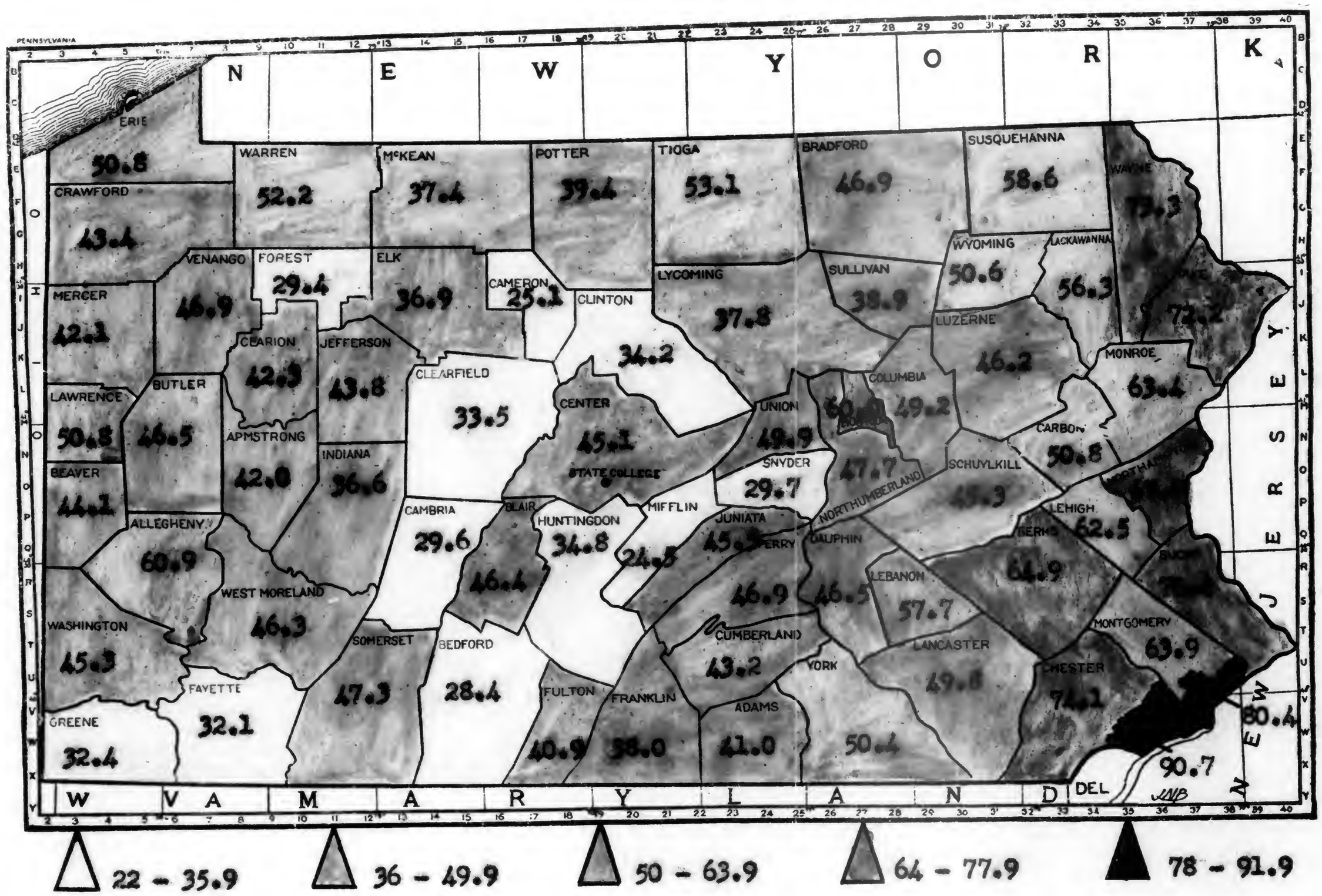

Figure 78. Percentage of Farms in Pennsylvania Having Radios, By Counties, 1938.

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Figure 79. Number of Radios Per 100 Households in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938.

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Figure 79. Number of Radios Per 100 Households in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1958.

households in 1938. Fulton County again is lowest with 89 radios per 100 households. The state average was 99 while the United States average was 89. These data do not furnish the full extent of radio use for it does not include more than one radio set in a home, nor radios in automobiles, stores, restaurants, and so on; they merely represent the number of homes having at least one radio. In studying Pennsylvania, five counties were sampled - Center, Crawford, Lebanon, Susquehanna, and Westmoreland. About 2,000 families were interviewed. These counties, as has been shown by data already presented, are not typical of the state as a whole, either in terms of gross cash income, availability of electric current, or any other group of factors. Furthermore, each of these counties except Center is located near cities having radio stations. Doubtless the 1940 census will divulge a different and somewhat more accurate picture of the presence of this facility.

Figure 80 shows the location of broadcasting stations in the state.[11] In 1939 there were 28 stations ranging in size from 100 watts to 50,000. Except the upper Alleghany Plateau the state is well covered. These stations provide not only general entertainment, education, and the like, but are increasingly being used by county agents, Home Economics works, schools, and other agencies as educational media thru which great numbers can be reached.

7. Newspapers.

A total of 1,057 publications emanate from 584 towns in Pennsylvania. Of these 451 are periodicals, principally monthly, weekly, and quarterly journals. The other 606 are newspapers and form the chief source of local and national news (Table 11).[12]

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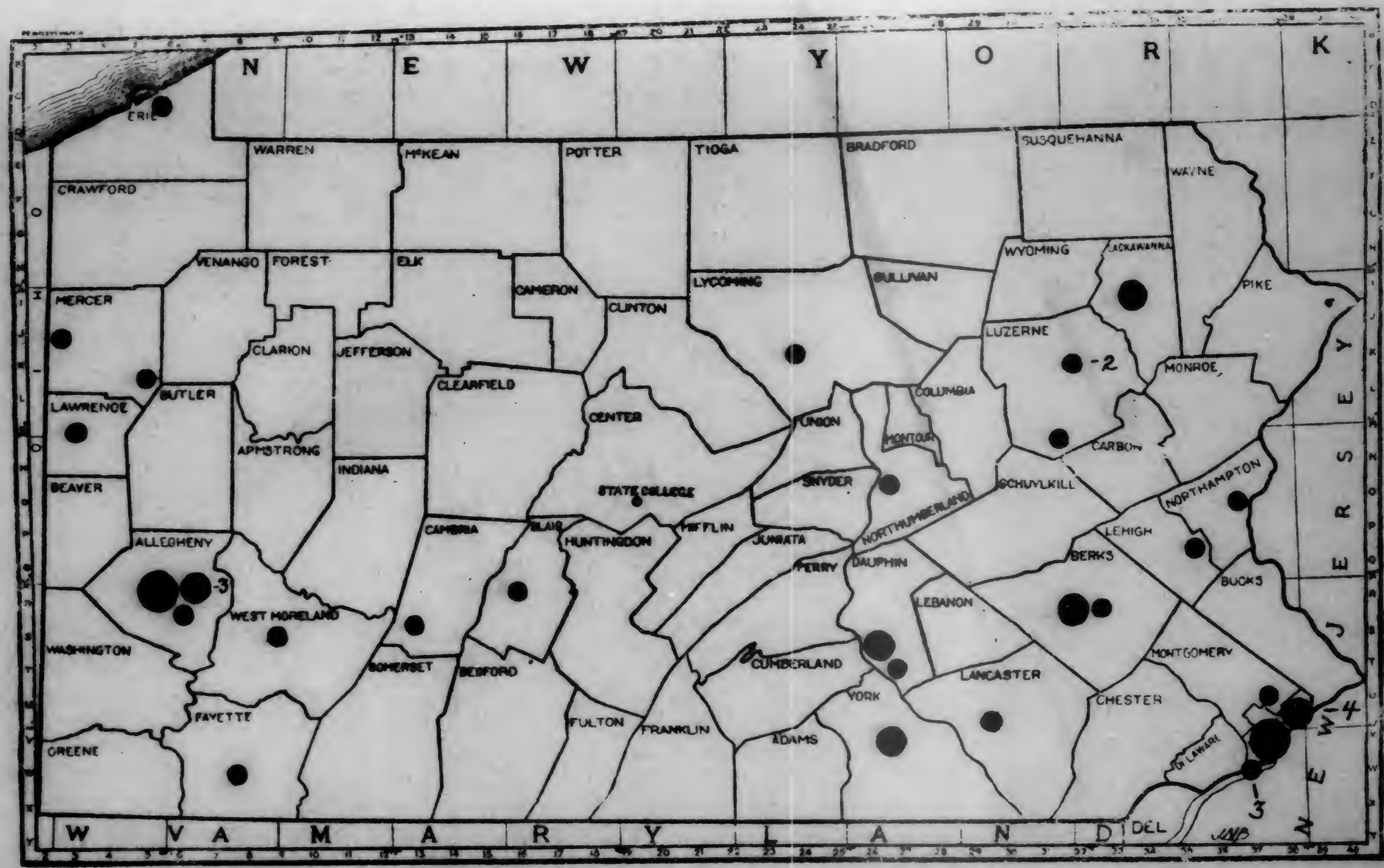
11. Source: Radio Guide. Chicago, Illinois.
12. Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals, op. cit., p. 773.



● 100 - 999 Watts ● 1,000 - 10,000 Watts ● 50,000 Watts

Figure 80. Location of Broadcasting Companies in Pennsylvania, 1939

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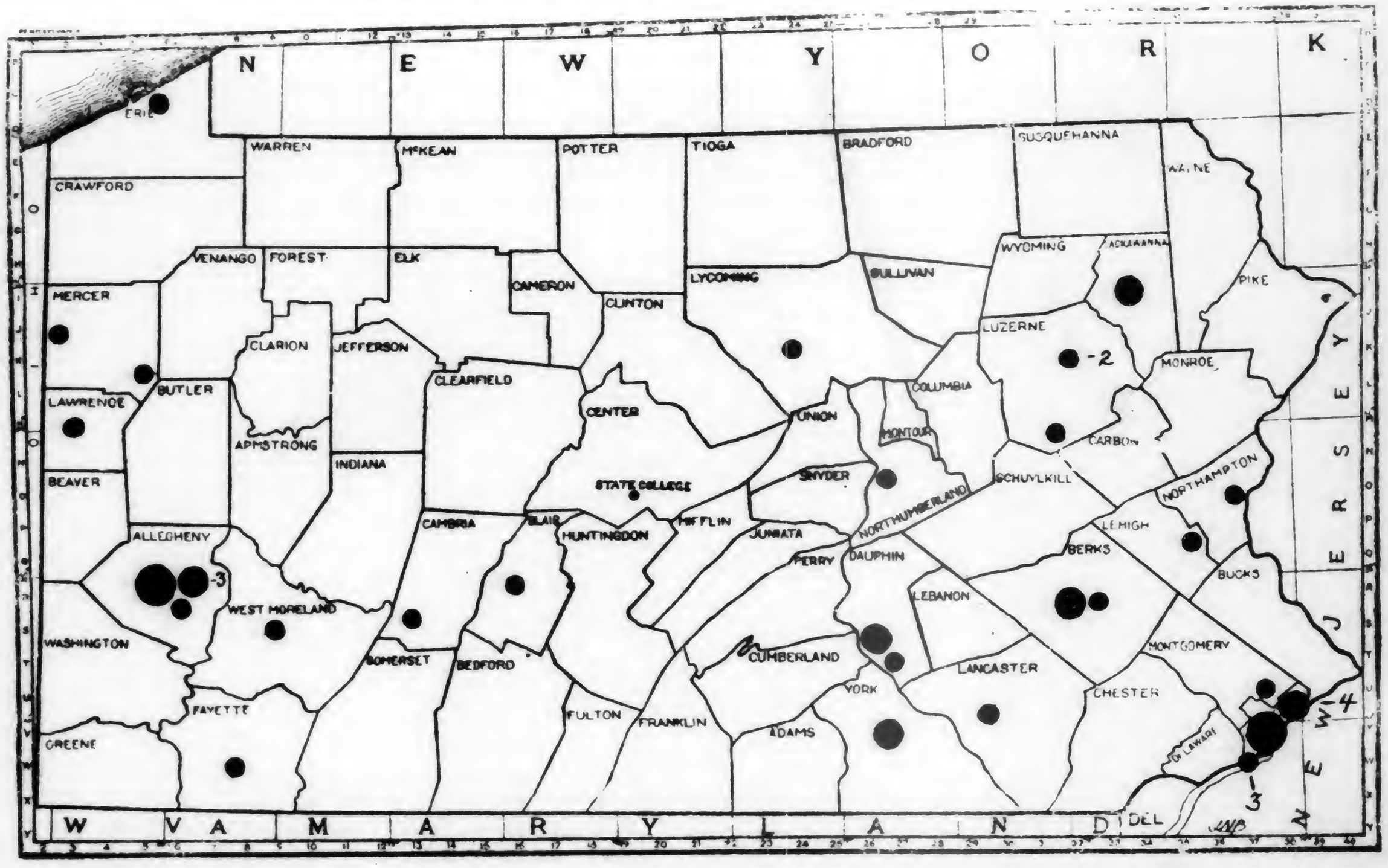

● 100 - 999 Watts ● 1,000 - 10,000 Watts ● 50,000 Watts

Figure 80. Location of Broadcasting Companies in Pennsylvania, 1939

Table 11. Newspapers Published in Pennsylvania, 1939

Period of Issue	Number
Daily	151
Tri-weekly	2
Semi-weekly	429
Weekly	21
Fortnightly	1
Semi-monthly	2
Total	606

One hundred fifty-one of these are daily papers distributed as follows: 111 evening dailies, 40 morning dailies. Included in the above are eight foreign dailies. Sixteen of the above carry Sunday editions. The highest circulation among the dailies is to be found among the papers coming out of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Harrisburg, Scranton, and Erie. Although there are cross quarters of newspaper circulation, papers from these cities cover the four corners and the central part of the state in which they are respectively located.

The location of the newspapers in Pennsylvania is seen in Figure 81. The most important aspect of this figure is the fact that every section of the state is covered. All counties have some kind of newspaper printed locally. The newspaper business in Pennsylvania is primarily an urban matter, there was not one remaining rural daily in the state in 1939. The centers of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, of course, dominated the newspaper publishing business. Thirteen dailies and 12 weeklies come out of Philadelphia, while six dailies and five weeklies are published in Pittsburgh.

The publication of weekly newspapers shows quite a different picture from that of the dailies, for it is seen that there are a large number of

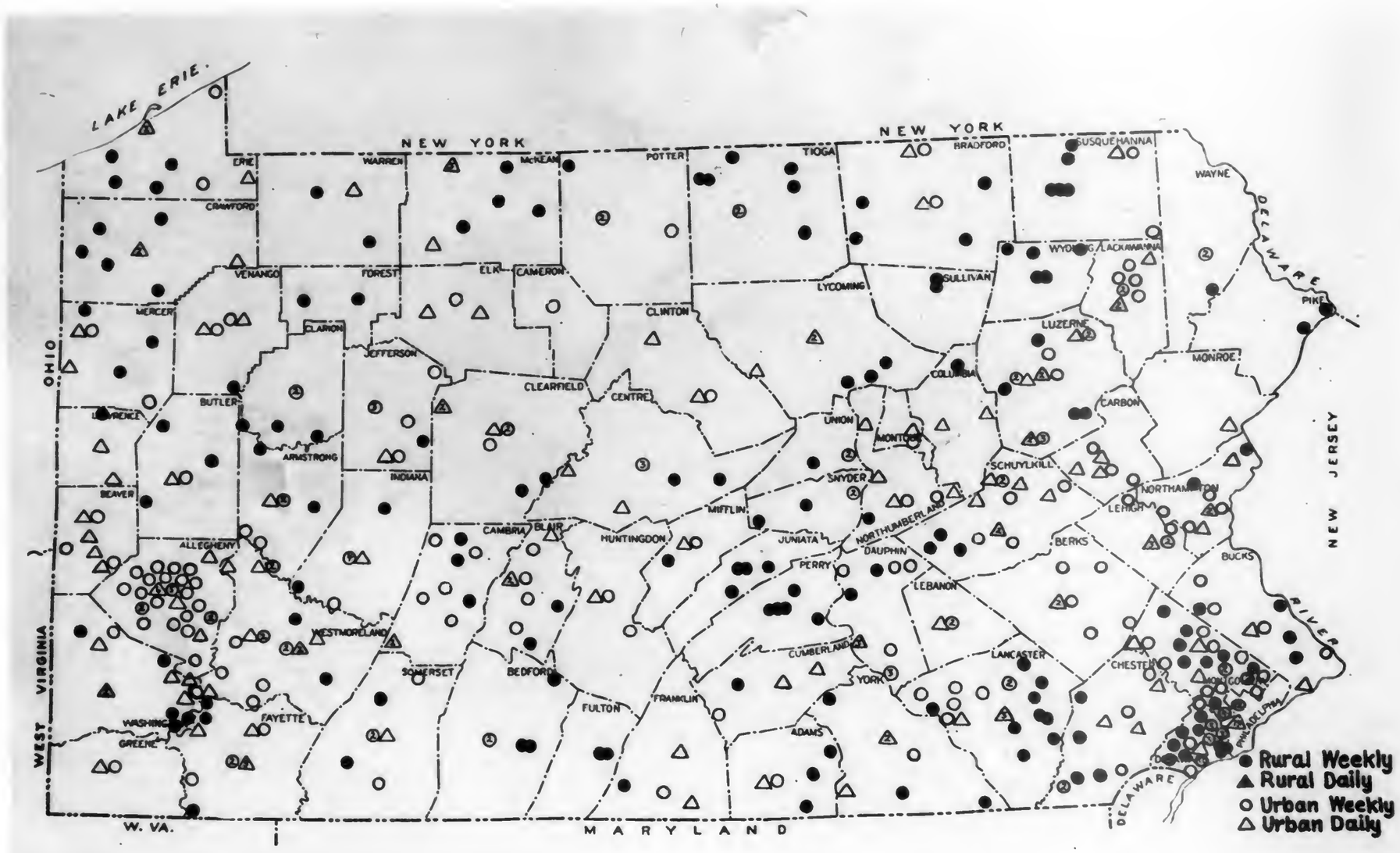

Figure 81a. Location of Newspapers in Pennsylvania 1939.

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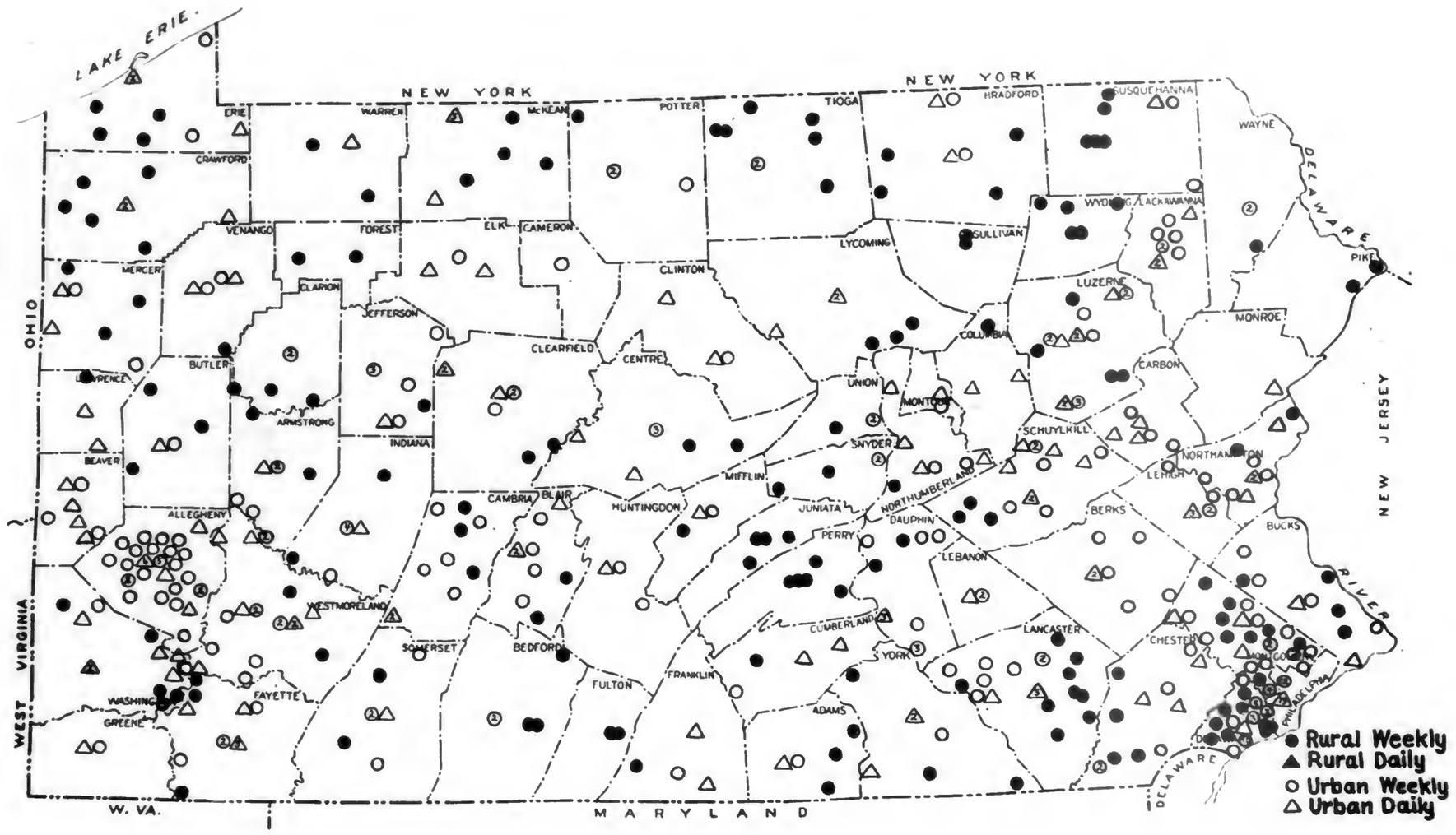

Figure 81a. Location of Newspapers in Pennsylvania 1939.

rural weeklies. This is particularly true in the more isolated sections, and in the agricultural parts of the state. Thus the Allegheny Mountain district and the northern tier have a liberal scatteration of black dots indicating the location of rural weeklies. There were 156 such papers in 1939 against 224 urban weeklies.

To show how the local, county, and city press affects the farm population in an area, Somerset County in the southern tier was chosen for a study. The accompanying map (Figure 81b) shows the influence of Pittsburgh, Johnstown and even the remote cities of Philadelphia and New York in combining with the local press within the county to bring news, entertainment, information and public opinion, to the people on Somerset farms. What is seen here is somewhat typical of the entire state. Rural weekly newspapers have a circulation in the villages where they are published and on farms within a limited radius. City dailies cover many counties, and frequently several states. Thus Pittsburgh dailies cover parts of three states while Philadelphia papers cover four.

Farm magazines generally have a larger circulation in rural territory than magazines of other types. The Pennsylvania Farmer, a fortnightly paper, covers the entire state, going into seven out of ten farm homes. The Country Home, The Country Gentleman, Breed Association magazines, American Agriculturist, Rural New Yorker, and Farmer's Wife and Farm Journal are other popular farm papers. A county analysis of non-farm magazine circulation is given in Figure 82 showing the circulation of 12 national magazines per 100 families for the year 1937.[13] These magazines were as follows:

13. This combined circulation of 12 national magazines was taken from 1937 circulation statements of the publishers.

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Figure 8IB. Sources of Newspapers Taken by Somerset County Farm Families.

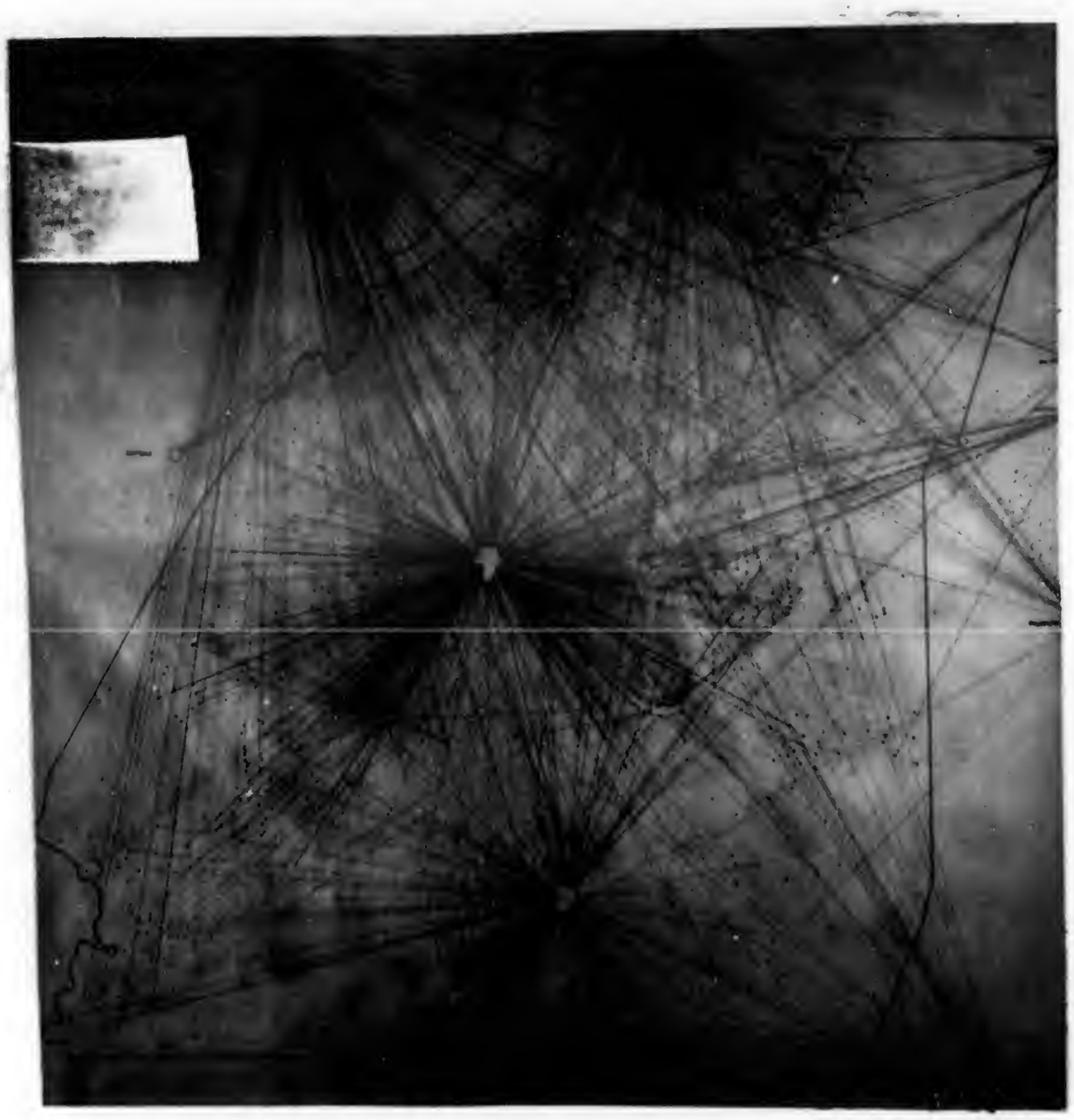

Figure 8IB. Sources of Newspapers Taken by Somerset County Farm Families.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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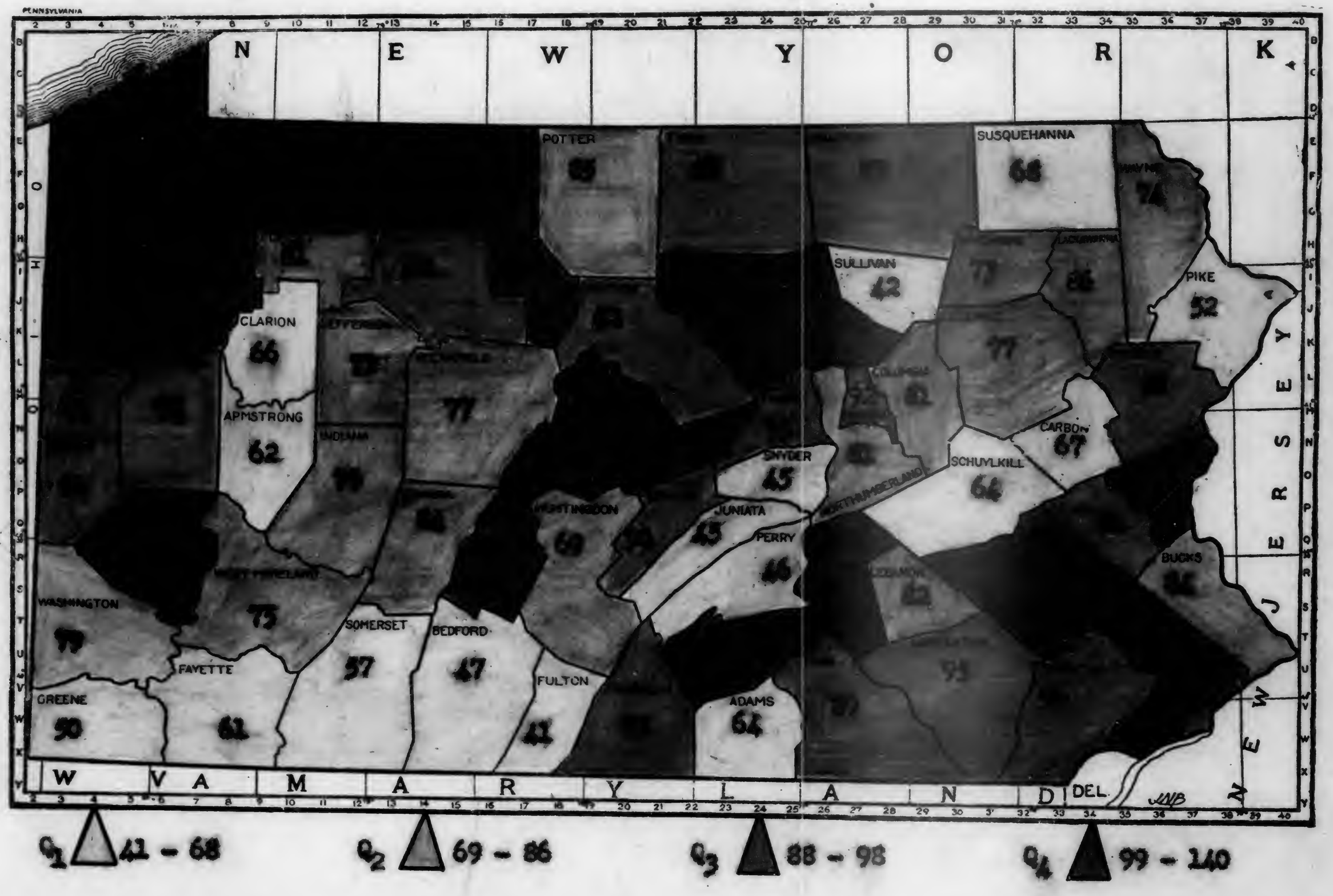

Figure 82. Circulation of 12 National Magazines Per 100 Families in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1937.

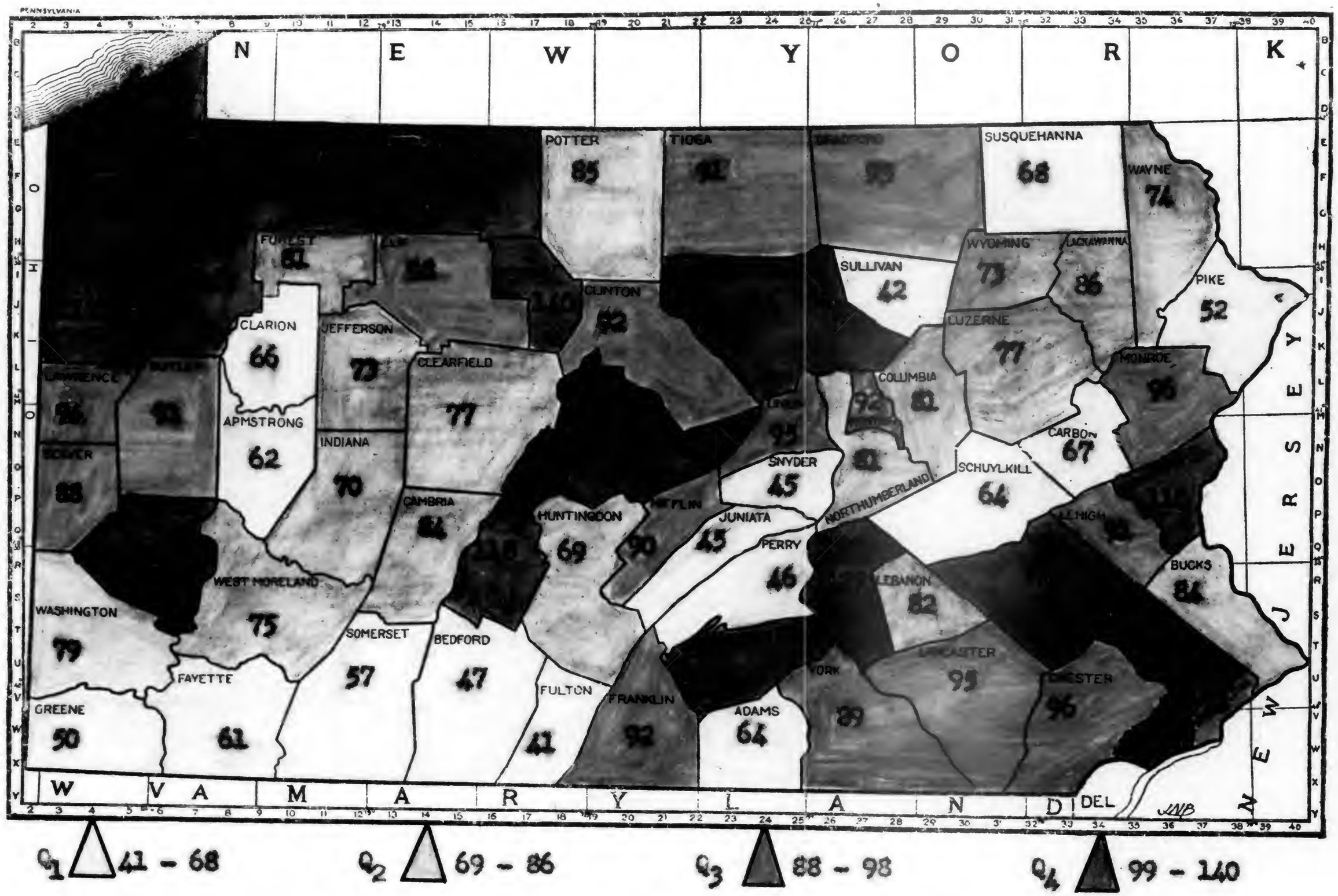

Figure 82. Circulation of 12 National Magazines Per 100 Families in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1937.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

General Magazines	Women's Magazines
American	Good Housekeeping
Collier's	Ladies Home Journal
Cosmopolitan	McCalls
Liberty	Pictorial Review (Delineator)
Saturday Evening Post	True Story
Time	Woman's Home Companion

It would have been desirable to have a more representative listing, for not one of the above magazines caters especially to agricultural population.

Whereas the circulation of these 12 magazines for the country as a whole was 94 per 100 families, the index for Pennsylvania was 93. Within the state considerable variation is noticed, ranging all the way from 41 per 100 families in Fulton County to 140 in Cameron County. Seven northwestern counties form a solid block in the highest quarter; the rest of this fourth was distributed throughout the state. The area having second highest circulation was the southeast, in which all but two counties were above the median.

This factor presents a pattern dissimilar to any yet encountered. It appears to be correlated somewhat with urbanization but the correspondence is not high. More intensive study is needed to determine whether the counties in the lowest one-fourth take increased numbers of other national magazines, subscribe to more secondary magazines, or fail to take any magazines to the degree that is found among the northwestern counties.

8. Rural Delivery Service.

In 1939 there were 1,568 carriers employed in the rural delivery service in the State of Pennsylvania, serving 376,961 families or 1,487,843 persons residing in rural communities. The aggregate length of the rural routes in the State of Pennsylvania was 57,046 miles.

This service reaches every corner of the state. Its effect on rural organization is at once apparent. It is the mechanism by which official organs of various societies are distributed to the membership; it is the means by which leaders in different parts of the county or state jointly plan their programs and handle their business; and it is the agency most frequently used for announcing meetings and activities.

Thus social life is intimately related with the agencies of transportation and communication. Indeed, it may be said that the existence of rural organizations is dependent upon some of these agencies. Yet, at the same time, these techniques for the extension of influence are doing more than any other set of culture complexes to disrupt and remold the present order of things in local communities. We originally hypothicated that the environmental conditions affecting social agencies varied greatly from one area to another. The maps and data in the present chapter bear excellent testimony to this thesis.

Further, many of these services are not only communication agencies but are in themselves community agencies as well. Thus the radio and newspaper are also agencies of education and recreation in addition. Generally speaking the urban areas have more of these facilities than rural territory. Also the better agricultural areas have a marked advantage over central Pennsylvania and the Allegheny Plateau. These latter areas are highly rural; they have the lowest physical resources and wealth, and the lowest standards of living. We see also that the distribution of these agencies is related to many other environmental

factors. This was our third hypothesis. We shall see presently that these data tend to complement those of later chapters.

Chapter VII

EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

1. Schools.

Cubberly has said that "nothing else which a state does for its people contributes so much to the moral uplift, to a higher civic virtue and to increased economic returns to the state as does a generous system of free public schools."[1] The public school is generally regarded as the outstanding social institution in the commonwealth. It is, beyond all doubt, the chief educational agency. But since education is closely related to other phases of life -- economic, social, civil, political, and recreational it appears practicable to take rather complete stock of what is going on in this field -- noting the inequalities and dislocations as well as the achievements.

Public education in Pennsylvania is big business -- involving nearly two million pupils, over 60,000 teachers, and an annual outlay for total expenses of $218,378,740 (1937). In fourth class districts alone there were 709,814 pupils, and 24,018 teachers in 1937, involving a total expense of $63,180,193. The school is the only social agency which touches every neighborhood and community in every county in the commonwealth.

It is estimated that 37.2 per cent of all public school pupils in Pennsylvania are in rural territory.[2] Therefore we may assume, for all practical purposes, that the fourth class figures given above represent the approximate rural educational volume.

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1. Cubberly, E. P. Public Education in the United States, Houghton Mifflin, Boston 1919, p. 757.
2. Advisory Committee on Education. Education in the 48 States and Washington 1939, p. 97.

Nine out of ten of the state's youth between 5 and 17 years are in school. Table 12 shows that Pennsylvania with 92.5 per cent is just above the United States average (91.7 per cent) in ratio of enrollment to those eligible to be enrolled. About six out of seven of those enrolled went to public schools in Pennsylvania as compared with eight out of nine for the county as a whole. Of the states contiguous to Pennsylvania — New York and New Jersey. had a higher proportion of pupils enrolled, while the states on the south and east, Ohio, Maryland, and West Virginia, had lower proportions.

Table 12. School Enrollments and Ratios of Enrollments to Estimated Number of Children 5-17 Years of Age, for Pennsylvania and Contiguous States and the United States, 1935-36[5]

State	Estimated Number of Children	Enrollment	Percentage Ratio of Enrollment to Number of Children	Per cent Public	Per cent Private and Parochial
New York	2,750,000	2,681,501	97.5	85.2	14.3
New Jersey	965,000	934,245	96.8	83.8	13.0
Pennsylvania	2,500,000	2,306,871	92.5	80.2	12.0
Ohio	1,619,000	1,467,469	90.6	79.6	11.0
Maryland	412,000	352,280	85.5	72.4	13.1
West Virginia	546,000	458,505	83.9	82.4	1.5
United States	31,618,000	29,005,873	91.7	83.4	8.3

The financing of public education is another question of concern to anyone interested in securing a rounded picture of education in the commonwealth. Figure 83 shows the per capita appropriation for education by counties based on the total population. Here it is seen that the wealthier, more densely populated counties in the southeast and in the western Pennsylvania Steel area have the lowest per capita rate. On the other hand, almost the entire Allegheny Plateau has a high per capita appropriation.

5. United States Office of Education Bulletin, 1937. Biennial Survey of Education in the United States: 1934-36. Vol. II, Ch. II pp 59, 61-2, 23-4.

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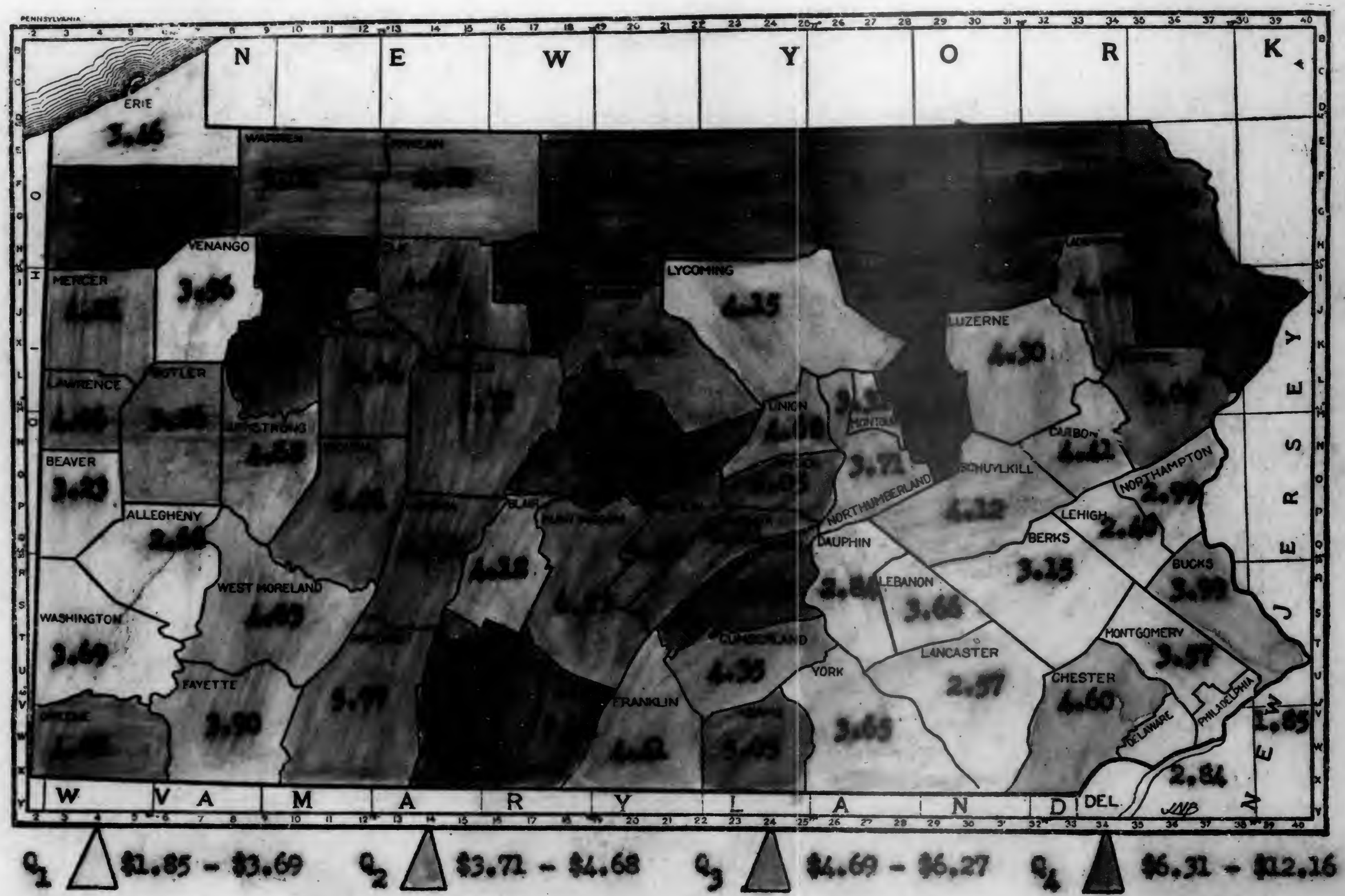

Figure 83. State Appropriation for All Education Per Person in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935 and 1936.

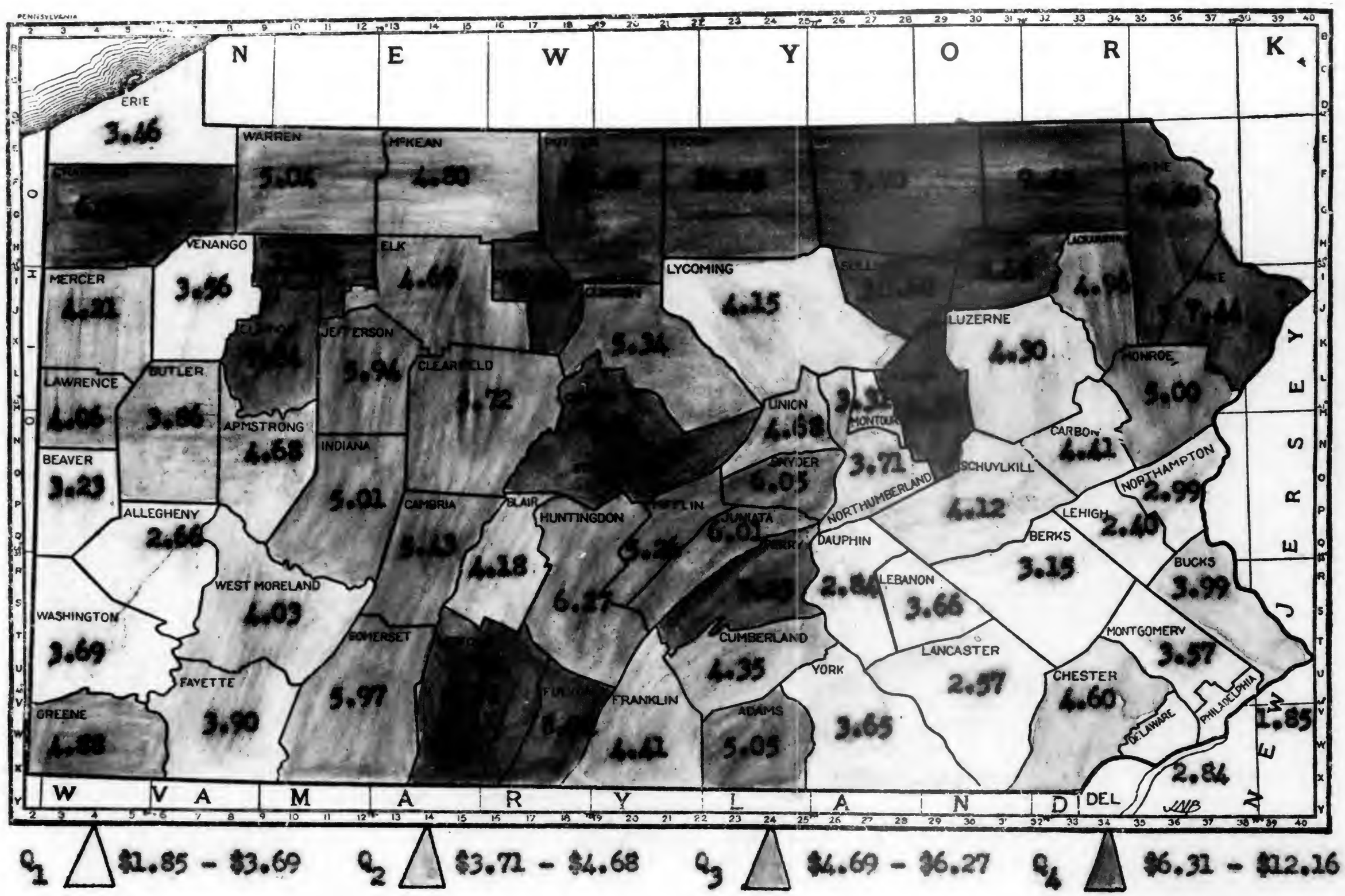

Figure 83. State Appropriation for All Education Per Person in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935 and 1936.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

This is especially true in the northeast dairy region where 10 contiguous counties fall in the highest 25 per cent. The appropriation throughout the Pennsylvania German section falls in the lowest quarter. The range in per capita appropriation for educational purposes is from $1.85 in Philadelphia County to $12.16 in Forest County. Sullivan, Tioga, and Potter counties, also sparsely populated, receive more than $10 per capita for educational purposes. The average for the state as a whole is $3.65 per person.

Pennsylvania does not have as yet an equitable equalization plan for distributing the cost of education. At the present time the major types of aid in fourth class districts are for teachers' salaries and for transportation of pupils. Amount of aid is based on the value of taxable property per teacher in the district as follows:[4]

True valuation of assessable property per teacher	Proportion of teachers' salaries state pays	Proportion of transportation cost state pays
$50,000 or less	75%	75%
$50,000 to $100,000	70%	60%
$100,000 and over	50%	50%

By a later act of the legislature, additional amounts of money were to be paid to fourth class districts for transportation of pupils, effective July 1, 1939. However, due to lack of funds this was postponed until 1942. By this new provision very poor districts could receive up to 90 per cent of the cost of approved consolidation. Lesser amounts, 80%, 75%, 70%, 65%, etc. would be paid to districts with increasing valuations.[5] This

4. Sections 1210 and 1406 of Pennsylvania School Laws.
5. Section 3705 Pennsylvania School Laws.

should aid materially the equalization of educational costs, permitting the ecological subregions in central Pennsylvania to supply children with adequate educational service without increasing taxes.

For the year 1936 the average value of school property per pupil in the state was $2.91, placing the commonwealth in 13th place among the states. Delaware had school property valued at $443 per pupil, whereas Georgia on the other end had but $75 worth of property per pupil.[6]

Since the data in Figure 83 were based upon the total population, they lack the refinement necessary for our purposes in analysing rural education. Figure 84 shows the distribution of total appropriations for education in fourth class districts, per pupil, for the academic year 1935-36. A fourth class school district is one having a total population of less than 5000 persons. It therefore comes closest to being rural of all the data available. It is not strictly rural, however. Third class districts are those containing 5,000 to 30,000 persons, second class, 30,000 to 500,000; and first class, over 500,000 persons.[7] Here again, the northeast dairy region is high. This is to be accounted for in part by the sparseness of population which necessitates higher pupil transportation costs and lower teacher-pupil ratio, both of which are costly. The appropriation throughout eastern Pennsylvania is generally high but the appropriation in the southern Allegheny Plateau, particularly in the soft coal section, is lowest. The entire southwestern third of the state has a pupil appropriation in fourth class districts below the average for the state, with the exception of Allegheny County. The range in appropriation per pupil is from $54 in Clearfield County to $191 in Pike County. The counties ranking next high in fourth

6. Advisory Comm. on Ed. op. cit. p. 113.
7. Pennsylvania Department Public Instruction. School Laws, 1937 Edition. Harrisburg, p. 3.

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Figure 84. Total Appropriation for Education Per Pupil, Fourth Class Districts, Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935-1936.

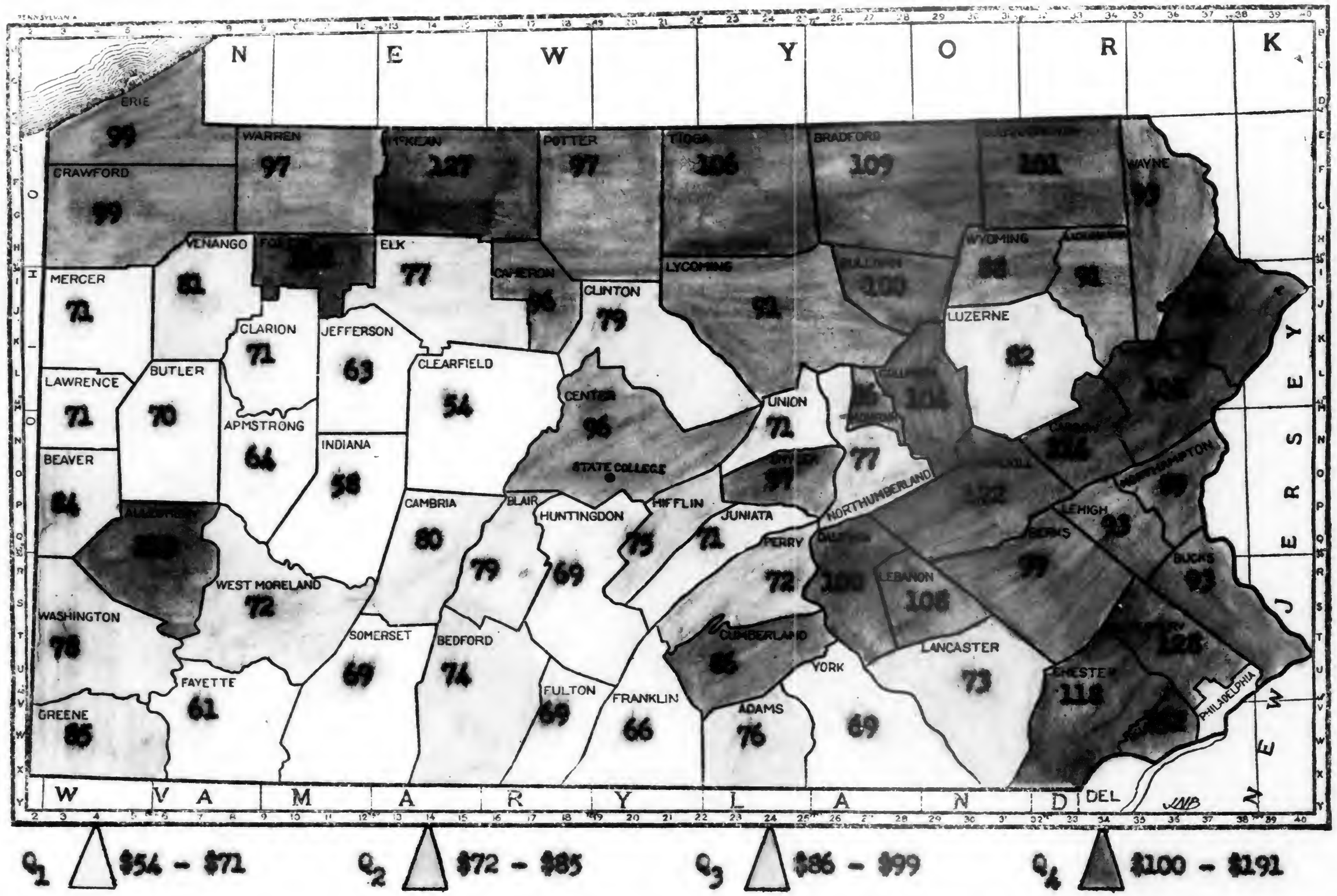

Figure 84. Total Appropriation for Education Per Pupil, Fourth Class Districts, Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1935-1936.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

class appropriations are Delaware, Montgomery, McKean, and Schuylkill, all of which have considerably more wealth proportionately than the counties in the Allegheny Mountains and Plateau. The average appropriation per pupil in fourth class districts was $89.

How much of the educational bill for fourth class districts does the state pay? The answer was $23.69 per pupil in 1937 for the entire state. The range, however, was from $9.98 in Washington County to $70.19 in Pike County (Figure 85). Other counties receiving relatively high state aid were Elk, Forest, Bradford, Sullivan, and Tioga, all in the sparsely populated and poor part of the commonwealth. All counties in the highest fourth except Fulton lie in a contiguous belt across the northern part of the state. Of the entire northern tier only McKean County, which has oil resources, falls in the 3rd quarter. The hard coal counties and the central Pennsylvania dairy counties received next highest aid, while the industrial southwest and southeast received least state assistance for the education of youth in fourth class school districts.

Doubtless the best figure on cost of education is current annual expense. Figure 86 shows the variation in the state for fourth class districts ranging from $43.21 in Mifflin County to $159.58 in Pike County. Aside from the wealthy counties in the southeastern corner and Allegheny and Schuylkill Counties, which have rural industrial resources, all of the counties in the top 25 per cent were in the northern part of the state. As shown from the previous figure this was made possible by state aid. A block of counties comprising two-fifths of the state and located in the Alleghenies of central and south central Pennsylvania fell below the median. In general the lower Allegheny Plateau paid least for education. The average expenditure per pupil in fourth class districts for the entire state was $63.96 for the academic year 1936-37. This figure is to be contrasted with $86.56 average

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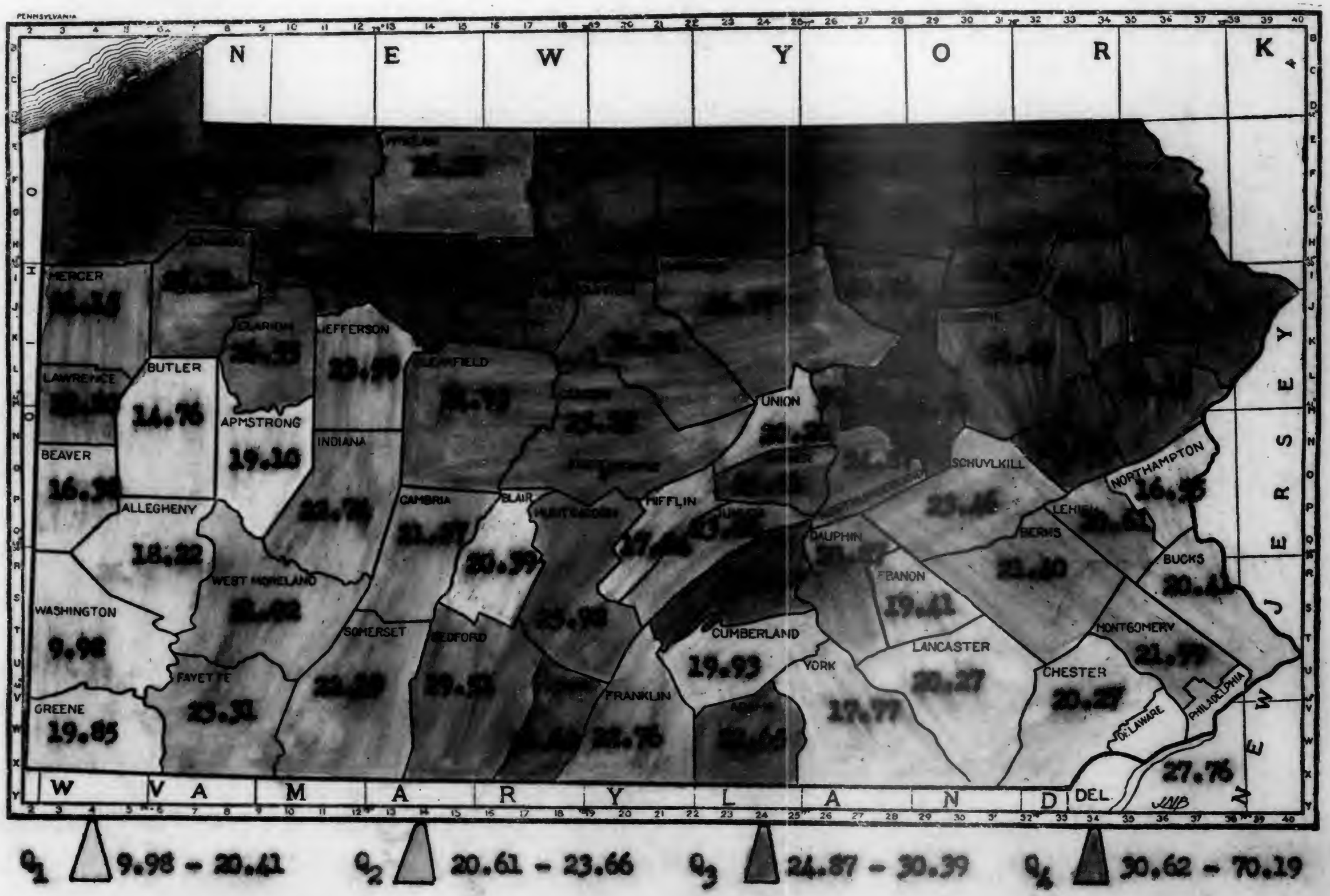

Figure 85. State Appropriation Per Pupil in Fourth Class Districts of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1937.

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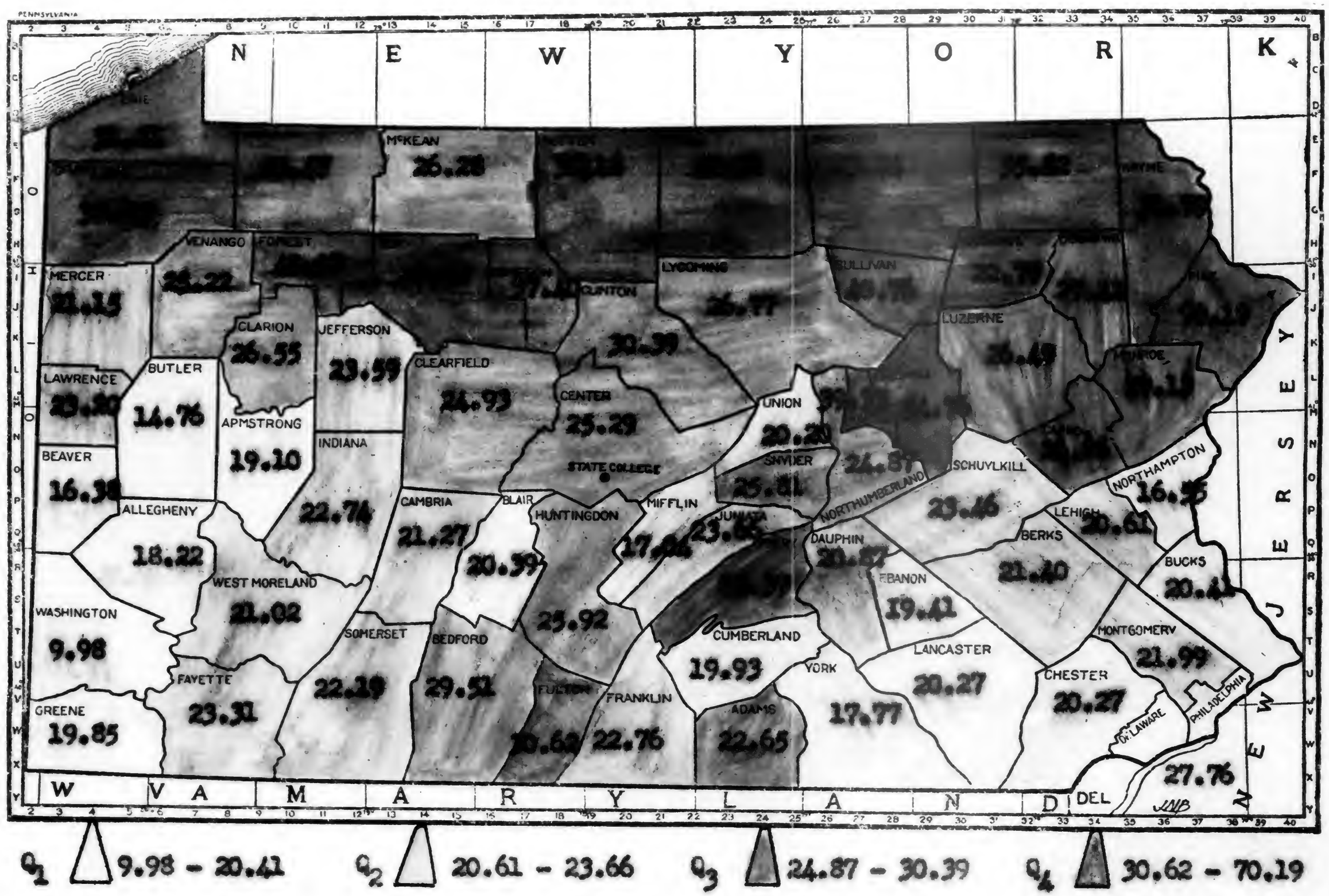

Figure 85. State Appropriation Per Pupil in Fourth Class Districts of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1937.

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Figure 86. Current Annual Expense Per Pupil in Fourth Class Districts of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1936-1937.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

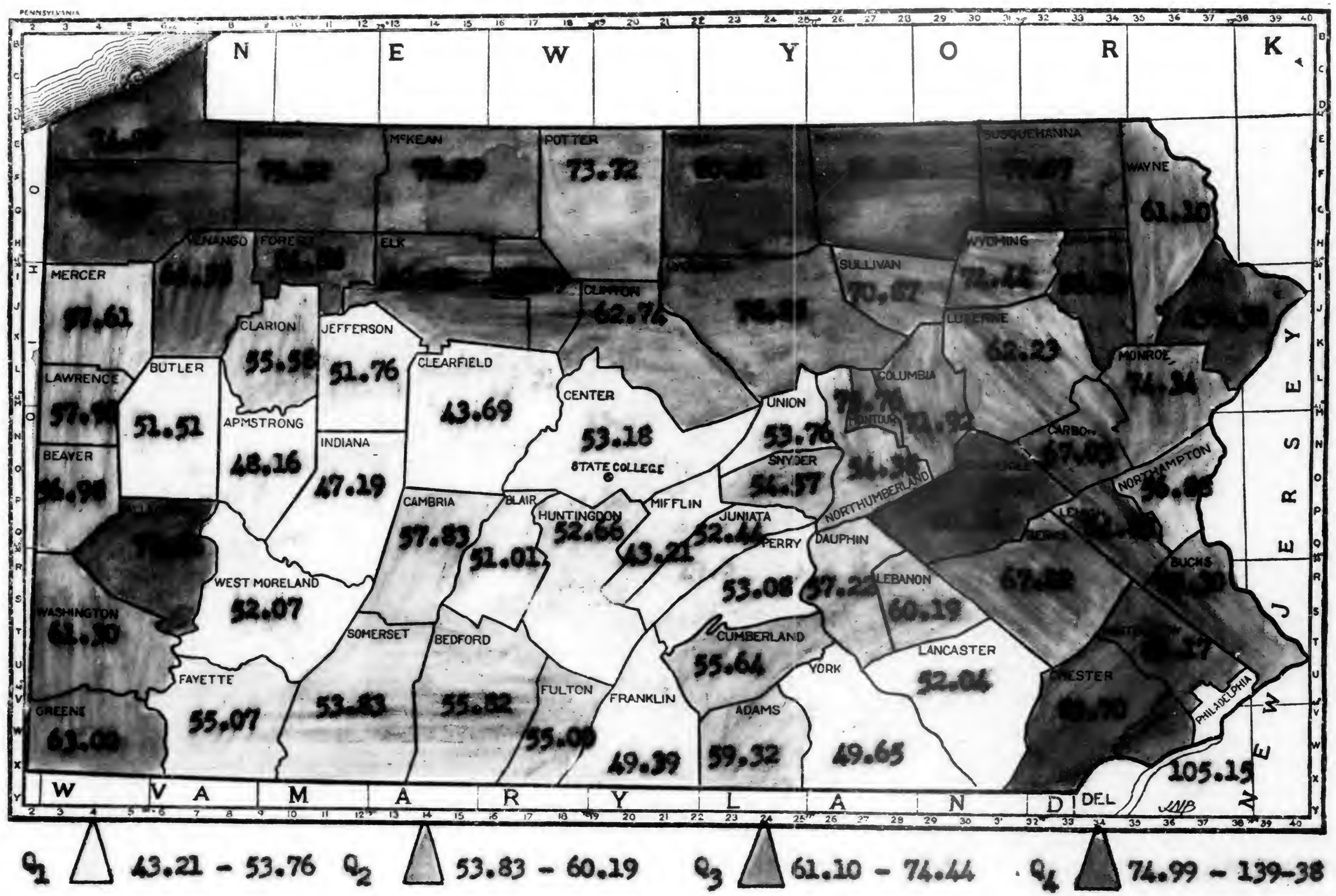

Figure 86. Current Annual Expense Per Pupil in Fourth Class Districts of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1936-1937.

current expenditures per pupil in the other three classes of school districts for the same year. In other words 73.8 per cent as much money was being used for the education of fourth class district children as in the state as a whole.

The correlation between current school expenses and the index of rurality was -.11. In other words the more rural counties spent slightly less money for fourth class district education.

Further, it is significant to note the relation between rural school expense and rural standards of living. Here the correlation was .45. In short, the counties which are well off put more money into the education of youth in fourth class districts.

Considering all classes of elementary and secondary schools the state spent $79.70 per pupil for current expenses in 1935-36,[8] ranking 20th among the states and considerably below New York, which spent $134.13. The average for the United States was $74.30 per pupil.

Rural-urban differences with respect to staff salary are wide. In 1936 urban teachers and administrators received $1813 each while rural teachers and administrators received $11.18 each — a difference of $695. The <u>difference</u> between salaries, in other words, was 62.2 per cent of the <u>actual</u> salary of the rural staff. It will be difficult to retain high quality teachers in the country so long as such a disparity exists.

a) <u>One-Teacher Schools</u>. For this discussion the one-room school and the one-teacher school will mean the same thing. There are a few instances, however, where one-room schools have two teachers. Although rapid strides have been made in consolidating one-teacher schools a majority of the public schools are still of this type. According to the Department of Public

8. Advisory Comm. In Ed. - op. cit. p. 35.

Instruction there were 5,550 one-room schools in 1938.

Table 13 shows the number of one-room schools by counties for the years ending 1920 and 1938. Lancaster County leads in the former year with 387 one-room schools with York County a close second, having 354 schools. In the 18 years following, this number diminished to 267 and 292 respectively. In the third column of this table the per cent of decrease by counties is given for the 18-year period. Thus we see a number of counties such as Pike, Lackawanna, Allegheny, and Elk that have practically eliminated the one-room school.

The distribution of one-room schools in the state may be viewed in Figure 87. For the state as a whole 47.5 per cent of the one-teacher schools have been eliminated. But the degree to which this decrease in such schools has been affected is highly variable over the commonwealth. Thus York County has eliminated only 17.6 per cent of its one-teacher schools, while at the other extreme Pike County has eliminated 91.3 per cent of them. The northern tier of counties has done much with its program of consolidation and centralization as have also certain counties in the southwest. The least favorable situation with respect to consolidation is to be found in the east central part of the state which includes much Pennsylvania German territory and extends from Lancaster County in the southeast as far north as Union County in the central part of the state. The fact that the good agricultural counties in the southeast, comprising Lancaster, Adams, York, Cumberland, Chester, have such a large number of schools indicates that the reasons are primarily economic. These counties are relatively well off as seen from the income and standard of living maps. The topography is relatively level with farms evenly placed, thus

Table 13. Per Cent of Decrease in One-Teacher School Between 1920 and 1938 in Pennsylvania, by Counties.

County	1919-1920	1937-1938	Per cent of Decrease	County	1919-1920	1937-1938	Per cent of Decrease
Total	10,185	5,350	47.5	Juniata	89	64	28.1
Adams	144	100	30.6	Lackawanna	68	9	86.8
Allegheny	205	26	87.4	Lancaster	387	267	31.1
Armstrong	228	147	35.6	Lawrence	110	48	56.4
Beaver	132	98	25.8	Lebanon	116	65	44.0
Bedford	219	80	63.5	Lehigh	141	76	46.1
Berks	314	138	56.1	Luzerne	172	101	41.5
Blair	132	49	62.9	Lycoming	191	102	46.6
Bradford	222	55	75.5	McKean	96	14	85.5
Bucks	187	85	54.6	Mercer	202	147	27.3
Butler	208	144	30.1	Mifflin	88	37	57.0
Cambria	186	57	69.4	Monroe	84	33	60.8
Cameron	26	8	69.3	Montgomery	118	48	59.4
Carbon	60	47	21.5	Montour	43	18	58.2
Centre	155	75	51.0	Northampton	143	88	38.5
Chester	218	123	43.6	Northumberland	132	68	48.5
Clarion	184	89	51.7	Perry	125	82	34.4
Clearfield	237	142	40.1	Philadelphia	-	-	-
Clinton	81	39	51.9	Pike	57	5	91.3
Columbia	125	80	36.0	Potter	125	59	52.8
Crawford	277	136	51.0	Schuylkill	178	96	46.1
Cumberland	172	99	42.5	Snyder	87	61	29.9
Dauphin	140	80	42.9	Somerset	249	127	49.0
Delaware	31	10	67.8	Sullivan	49	28	42.9
Elk	56	11	80.4	Susquehanna	164	70	57.4
Erie	209	146	30.2	Tioga	148	44	70.3
Fayette	194	128	34.1	Union	63	44	30.2
Forest	44	14	68.2	Venango	152	90	40.8
Franklin	193	85	56.0	Warren	117	53	54.8
Fulton	72	34	52.8	Washington	240	87	63.8
Greene	179	108	40.8	Wayne	135	71	47.5
Huntingdon	161	92	42.9	Westmoreland	295	90	69.5
Indiana	226	131	42.1	Wyoming	63	34	46.1
Jefferson	191	120	37.2	York	354	292	17.6

causing no population pockets, which because of their isolation sometimes require a one-room school. Further, roads are relatively good and closely spaced admitting ready transportation. The real reasons are personal and social.

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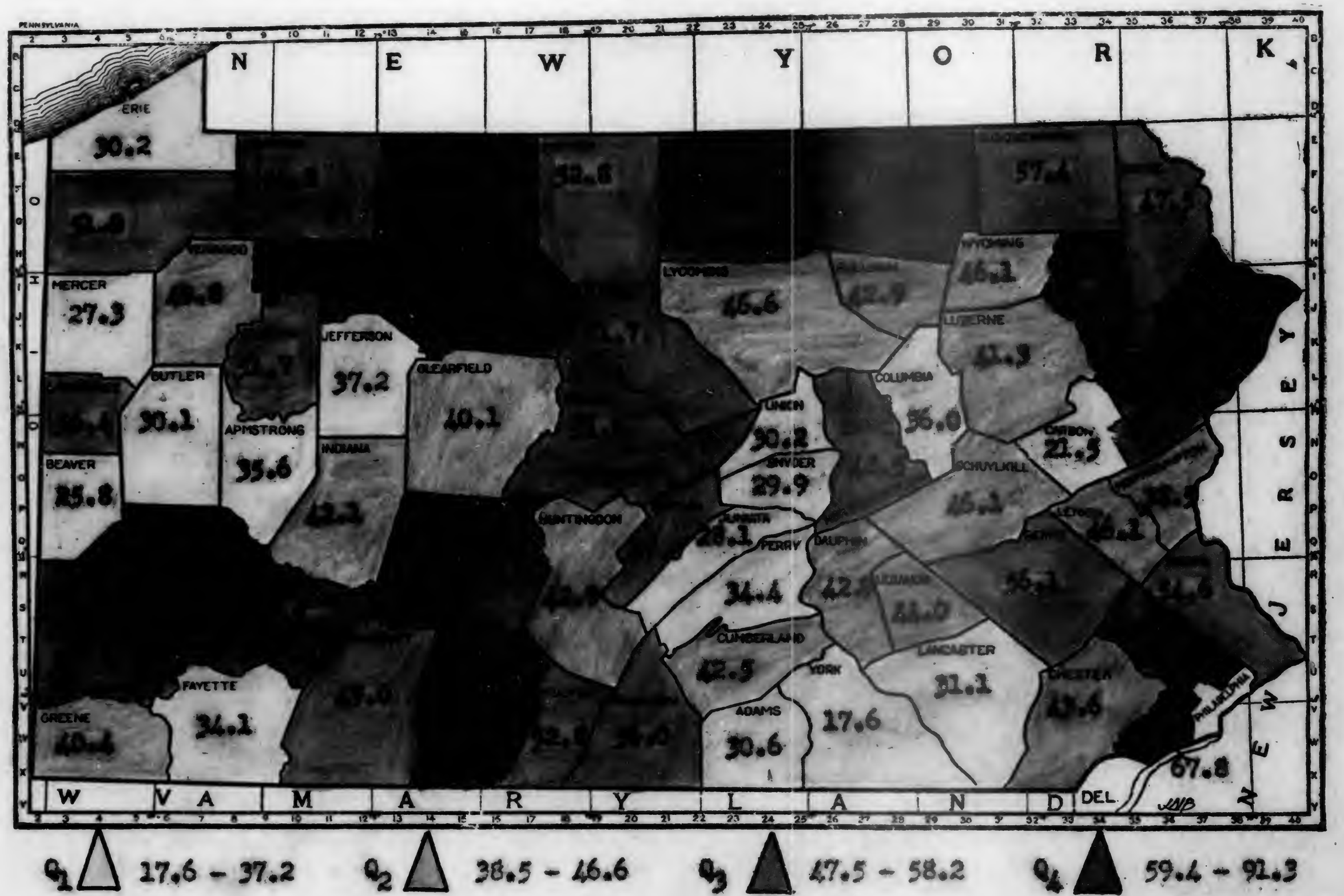

Figure 87. Per Cent Decrease in One Teacher Schools in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1920-1938.

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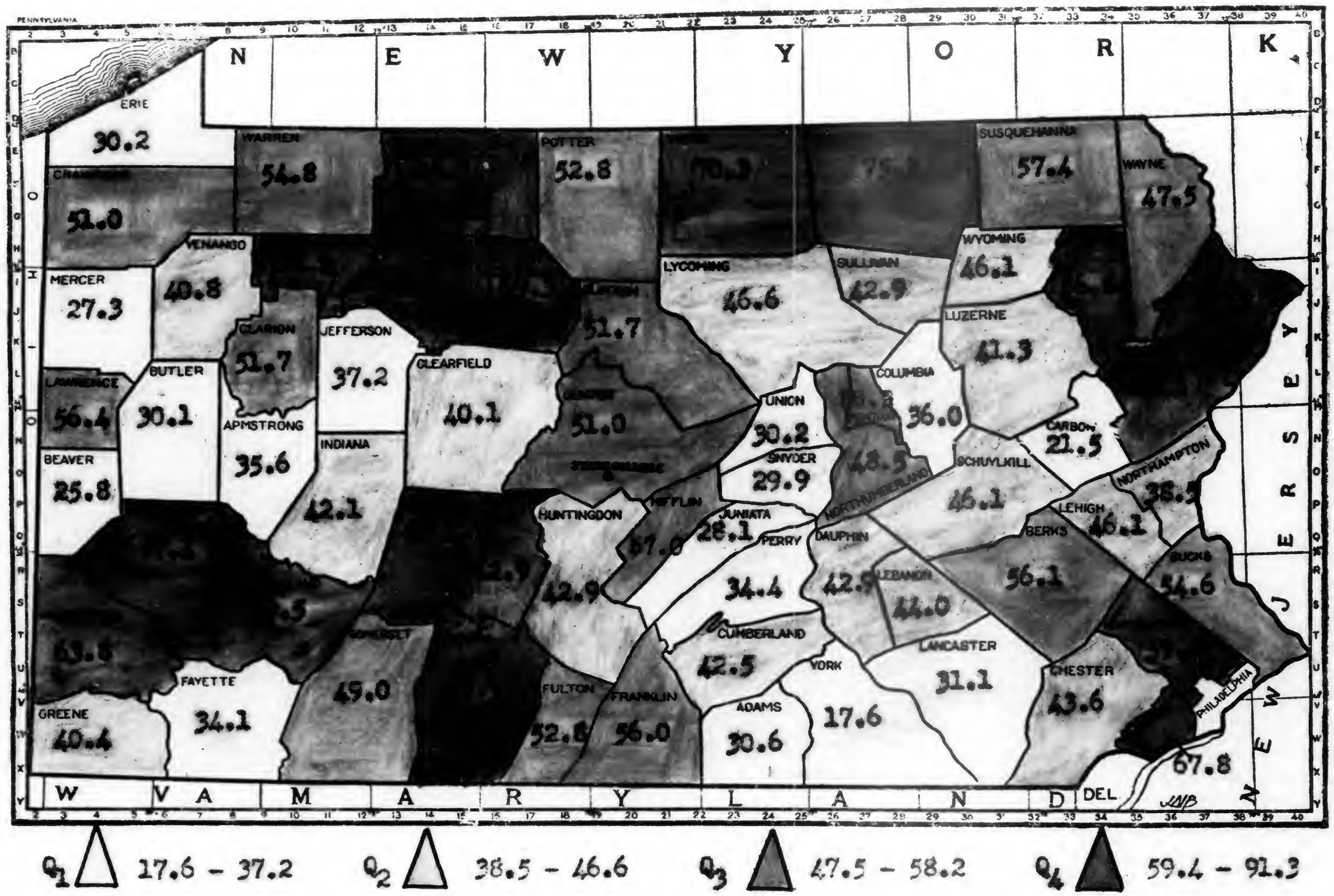

Figure 87. Per Cent Decrease in One Teacher Schools in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1920-1938.

Figure 88 indicates the per cent of one-room schools that have been consolidated into other units, whereas the former figure simply indicates those which have been eliminated. Generally speaking these two figures illustrate the same phenomenon. However, because of a decrease in population, especially in some of the forested counties and in certain depleted coal counties, the picture is somewhat different. In these places schools have simply been abandoned without consolidation having been effected. Again the distribution falls between York County at the lower extreme, with but 4.5 per cent consolidations and Pike on the upper with 91.8 per cent of its schools consolidated. The upper rim of the soft coal section is the largest single grouping of counties where minimal consolidation has taken place. This area, as seen from the population maps in Chapter III has been undergoing violent population shifts. The depression came and these same counties experienced a marked influx of population and the school facilities were hard pressed. But school authorities feel that this is but a temporary situation;they are willing to permit a continuance of the condition until readjustment thru consolidation can be made under more normal conditions. Thus consolidation has been sharply slackened in these areas of flux for exactly opposite reasons -- first emigration and then inward migration.

But, there are areas where the retardation in consolidation has not been hampered by population and economic considerations. We have called these personal and social. The major personal reason is the type of leadership in the office of the County Superintendent. The major social reason is the attitude of the Pennsylvania German farmers who favor a minimum of public education, and who want schooling administered on a local basis

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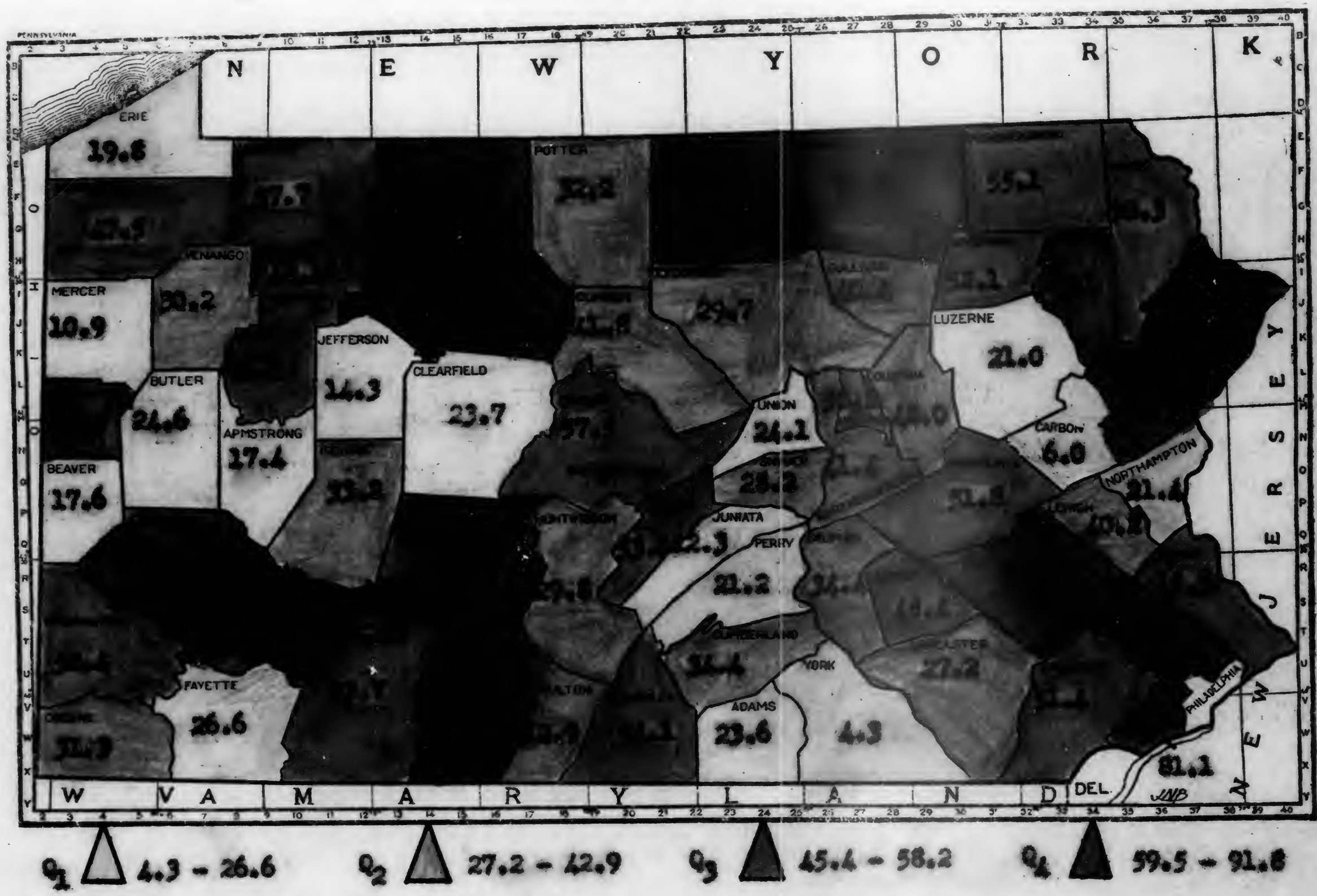

Figure 88. Per Cent of One Room Schools that Have Been Consolidated in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

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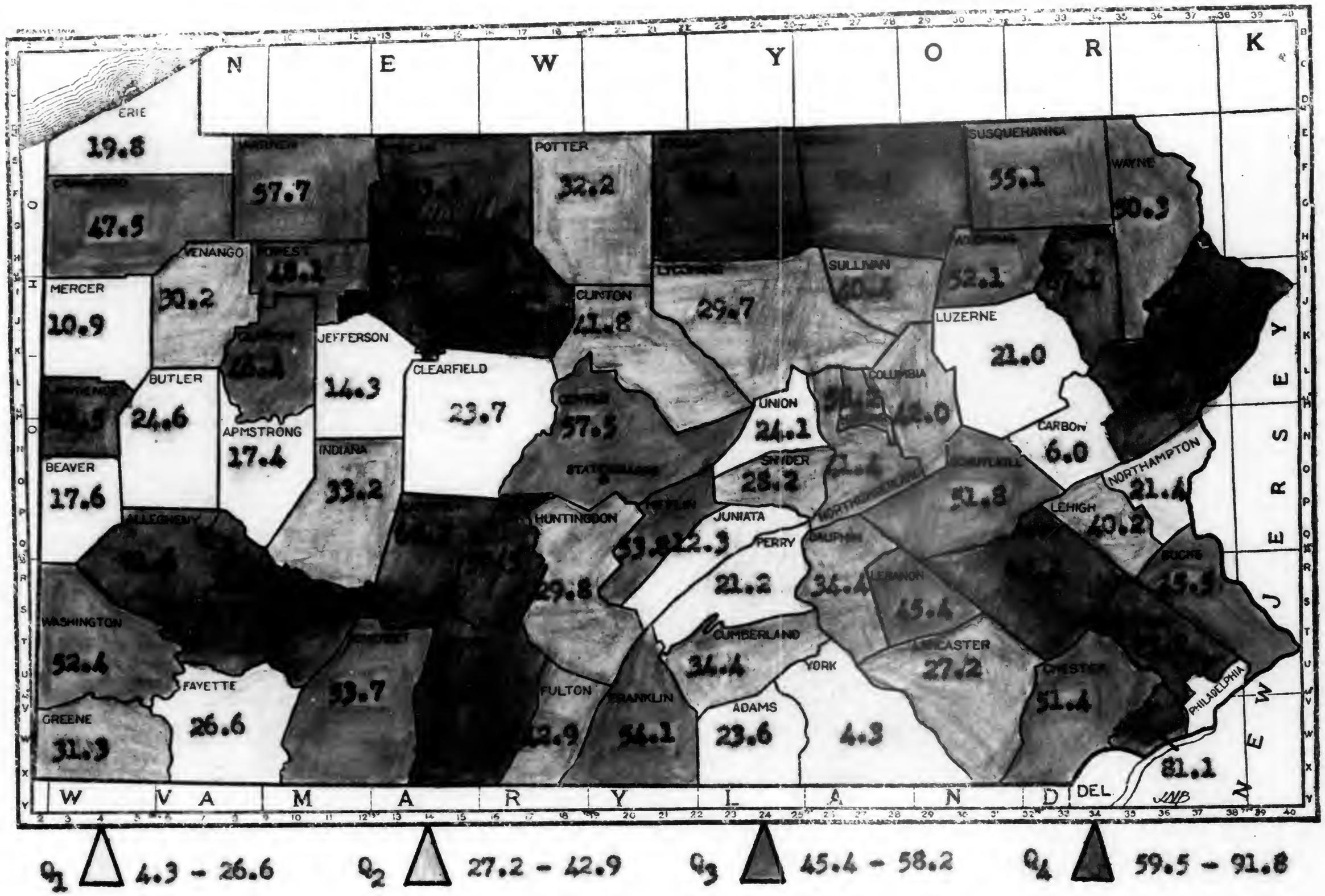

Figure 88. Per Cent of One Room Schools that Have Been Consolidated in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

where they can dictate the policy. This has been illustrated in a number of litigations between the Department of Public Instruction and Pennsylvania German farmers who have refused to send their children to consolidated schools. The farmers say that these "new fankled" schools "puts in dere hetts mischief and mocks dem at home batt."

Figure 89 shows the distribution of one-room schools in the commonwealth. This figure shows slightly over one-half (50.1 per cent) of all the public school buildings in use.[9] There are as many one-room schools as there are two-room, three-room, consolidated, junior high schools, and high schools public and private combined.

Two areas of concentration are immediately noticed -- the southeast, and the northwest. The heaviest area in the southeast is the Pennsylvania German belt from Northampton to Adams Counties while in the northwest the counties in the northern edge of the soft coal region show heaviest concentration. This density of one-room school buildings does not follow very closely the population densities of either the farm or rural classes.

In many neighborhoods and communities the one-room school is the most important social institution. Programs are held there; entertainments, spelling bees, and box socials. Frequently agricultural extension meetings, 4-H Club groups, and occasionally granges convene in these schools. It is also the institution around which is organized the P.T.A. often the primary source of social contacts in the local area.

The average size of one-teacher schools in the state is 25.4 pupils. A few of these schools have over 50 pupils while 18 have less than 5.[10]

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9. Advisory Comm. in Ed. - op. cit. p. 114.
10. The School Load in Pennsylvania - Dept. Pub. Inst. Hsbg. Bull. 75 No. 18 p 40-41.

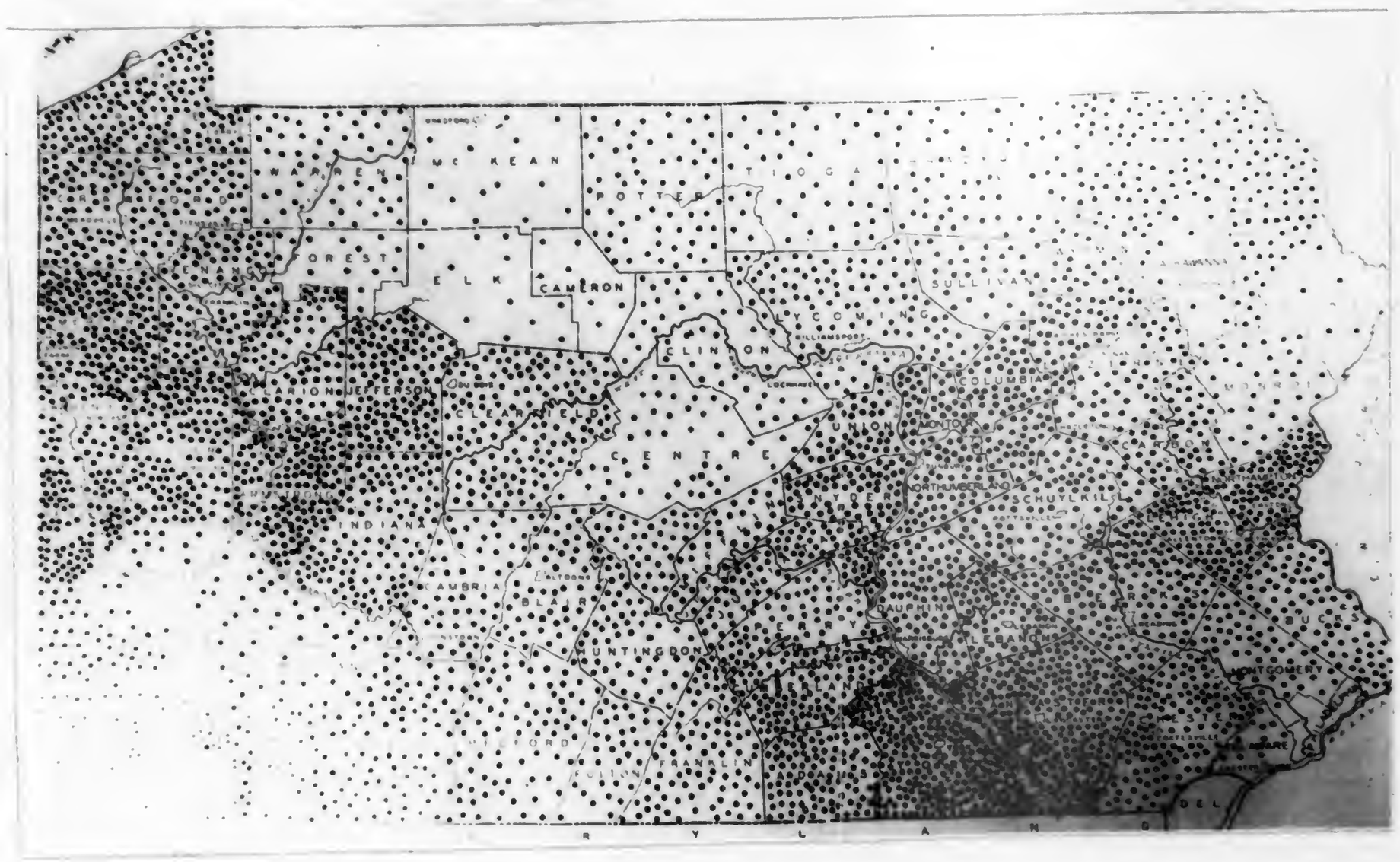

Figure 89. One Teacher Schools in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

Figure 89. One Teacher Schools in Pennsylvania, 1939.

A state law provides for the closing of one-room schools having ten or less pupils. However, there are over 500 in this category still in use. In Bradford County alone there were 46 such schools in 1939. But gradually these are being closed. Frequently the church or some other rural group takes over the building as a neighborhood social center. This is to be encouraged where facilities are lacking.

The existence of one-room schools is not necessarily undesirable. There are many places with sparse or isolated populations in which no other kind would be practicable. Many of them are performing excellent educational and social functions in the community.

However, as soon as feasible many one-room schools should be consolidated into larger units, which will permit rural children increased educational opportunities. Already great progress has been made in this direction, as we have seen. Further progress will be dependent upon sufficient population, overcoming transportation difficulties, increased state aid for poorer districts, and changed attitudes toward the kind of education desirable.

b.) Consolidated Elementary Schools.

A "consolidated school" in Pennsylvania is one "formed by uniting two or more public elementary schools or two or more public elementary schools with the grades of other public schools, which prior to such union were maintained in separate buildings, and after such union are maintained in one school organization taught by two or more teachers."[11]

In 1939 there were 675 such schools in the state distributed as shown in Figure 90. These 675 schools represented 4190 small schools which had been combined. In other words an average of 6.2 schools went into each

11. Department of Public Inst. The Language of Modern Education Bulletin 17, Harrisburg 1939 p. 15.

consolidation.

One-half of these consolidations have taken place in the last ten years. There has been considerable difference in the willingness with which neighborhoods have permitted their local one-room schools to be combined into larger units. On the one hand such counties as York and Carbon have scarcely begun to reorganize their school districts. This has been due not only to the folkways of the people but to the narrow vision of the county school leadership. On the other hand such counties as Berks and Allegheny each have had over 230 small schools consolidated into larger units.

The location of consolidated schools in Pennsylvania is shown in Figure 91. The heaviest concentration appeared in the heavily populated parts of southeastern Pennsylvania and in the Pittsburgh-Greensburg area. The upper Allegheny Plateau shows relatively fewer consolidations, not simply because less consolidations took place in proportion but because there were fewer schools to consolidate. This is an area of sparse population. In spite of this general statement, however, counties with the same general physiographical and demographical characteristics show considerable variation in the extent to which schools have been consolidated. Again, the reasons for this are tied up intimately with the county leadership. In McKean and Tioga Counties, in the northern tier, consolidation is widespread. On the other hand, Potter County, which lies between them and which has a comparable social and economic situation, has thus far shown little progress. Probably York County, however, is least progressive in this respect. Here the rural population is heavy but only four consolidations have been effected to date. This is due not only to school leadership but to the prevailing attitude of the Pennsylvania German farmers who

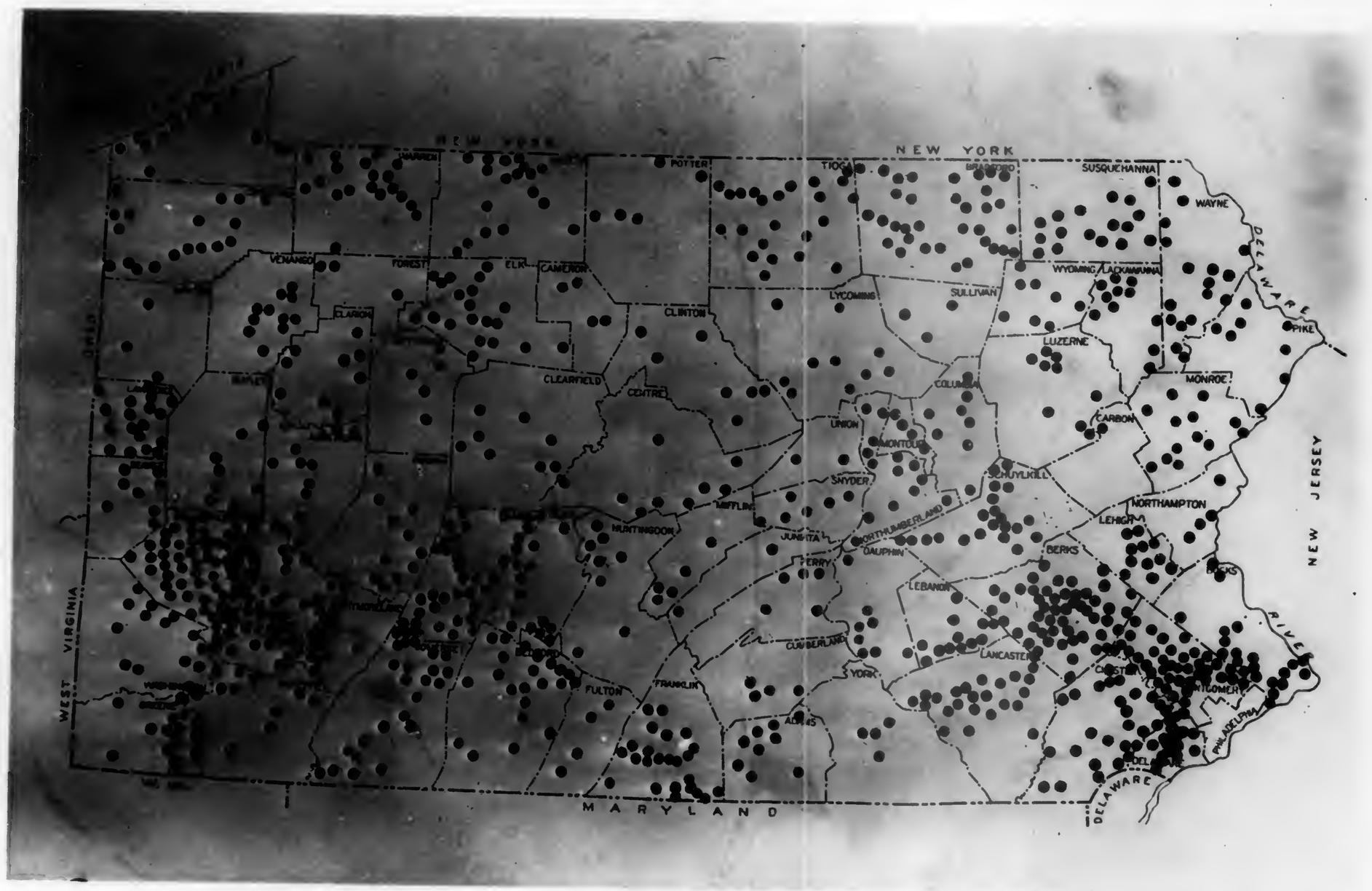

Figure 91. Location of Consolidated Schools in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

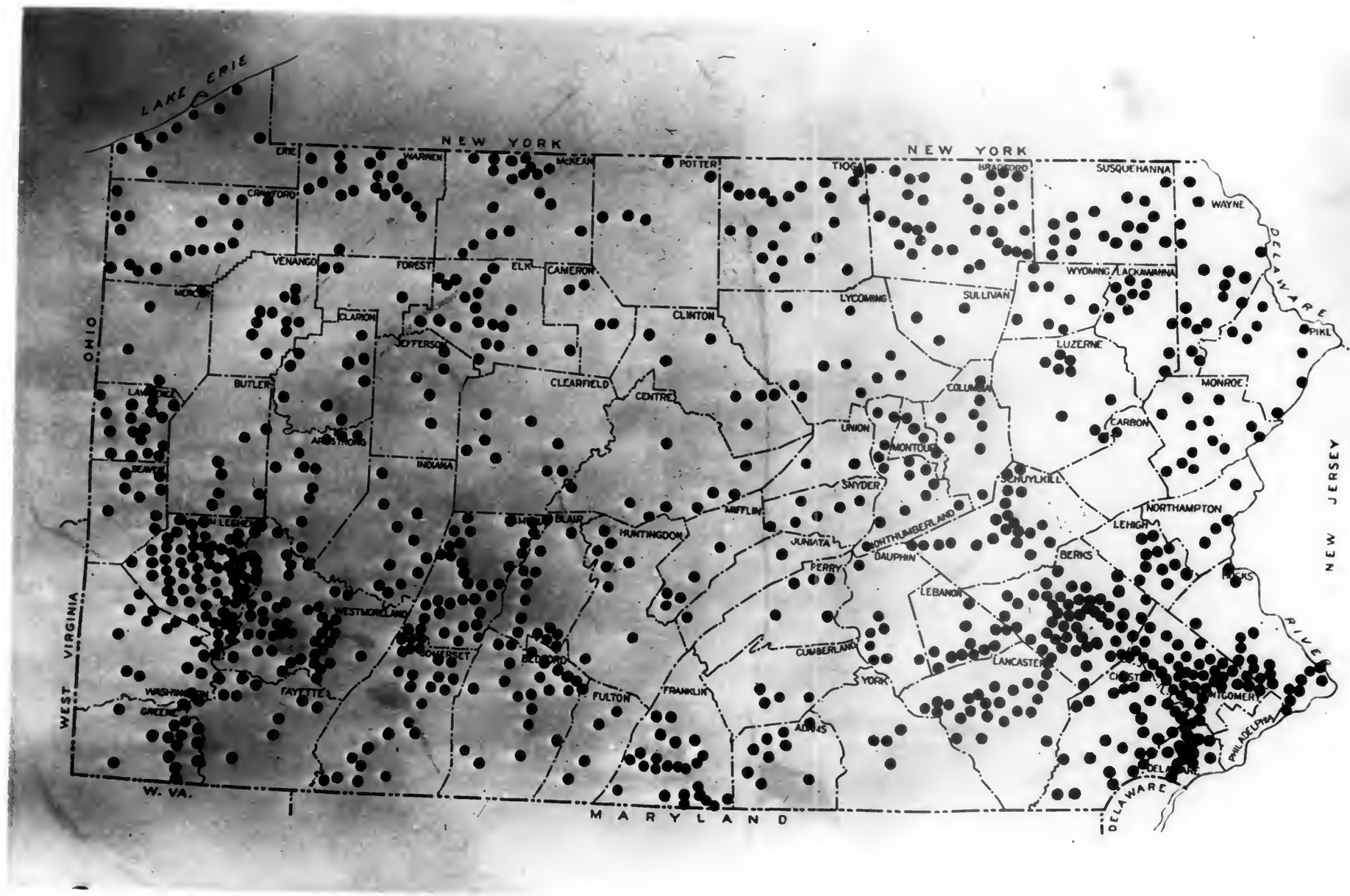

Figure 91. Location of Consolidated Schools in Pennsylvania, 1939.

are concentrated in the area.

Of particular significance in this map is the lack of consolidations which have been effected throughout the hard coal region. Here we have a dense population and a relatively large number of children in the total population. Activity in reorganizing public education has not gone forward here to any marked degree.

Over a million and a half pupils attended elementary school in the commonwealth. This was three-fourths of the entire enrollment, the others being high school students.

Pennsylvania ranked 10th among the states in length of school term in 1938 — 179.6 days. The schools were attended by each pupil for 141.1 days, 18th high among the states.[12] In this phase of the elementary school program the commonwealth is relatively well off.

In terms of the training of the teaching staff the situation is not so favorable, for but 19.6 per cent of the total elementary teaching corps has had three or more years of college training. In this the state ranks 31st.[13] Nearly three-fourths (74.6 per cent) of all elementary teachers had two or less years of college training, ranking 34th in the United States. Doubtless an undue proportion of these latter teachers were working in rural territory because of the high standards of city systems which they cannot meet, and also because the cities are able to outbid poor rural districts for well trained teachers. In the main, the preparation of these teachers takes place in the fourteen State Teachers Colleges operated by the state.

The training of elementary teachers in Pennsylvania is shown by Figure 92. This shows the per cent of elementary teachers that had been graduated

12. Advisory Comm. on Ed., op. cit. p. 25.
13. Ibid, p. 91.

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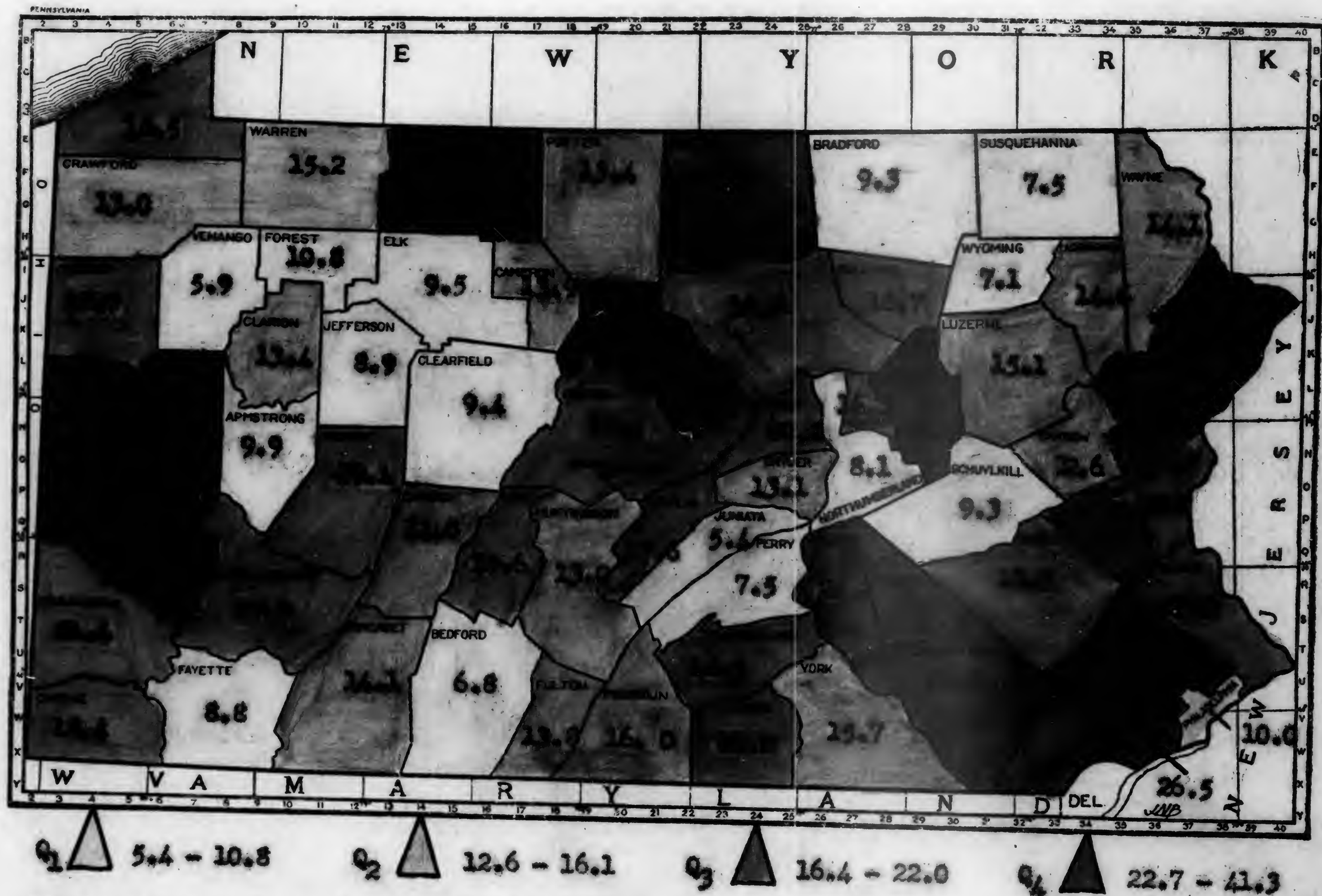

Figure 92. Per Cent of Elementary Teachers in Pennsylvania Who Are College Graduates, by Counties, 1938-39.

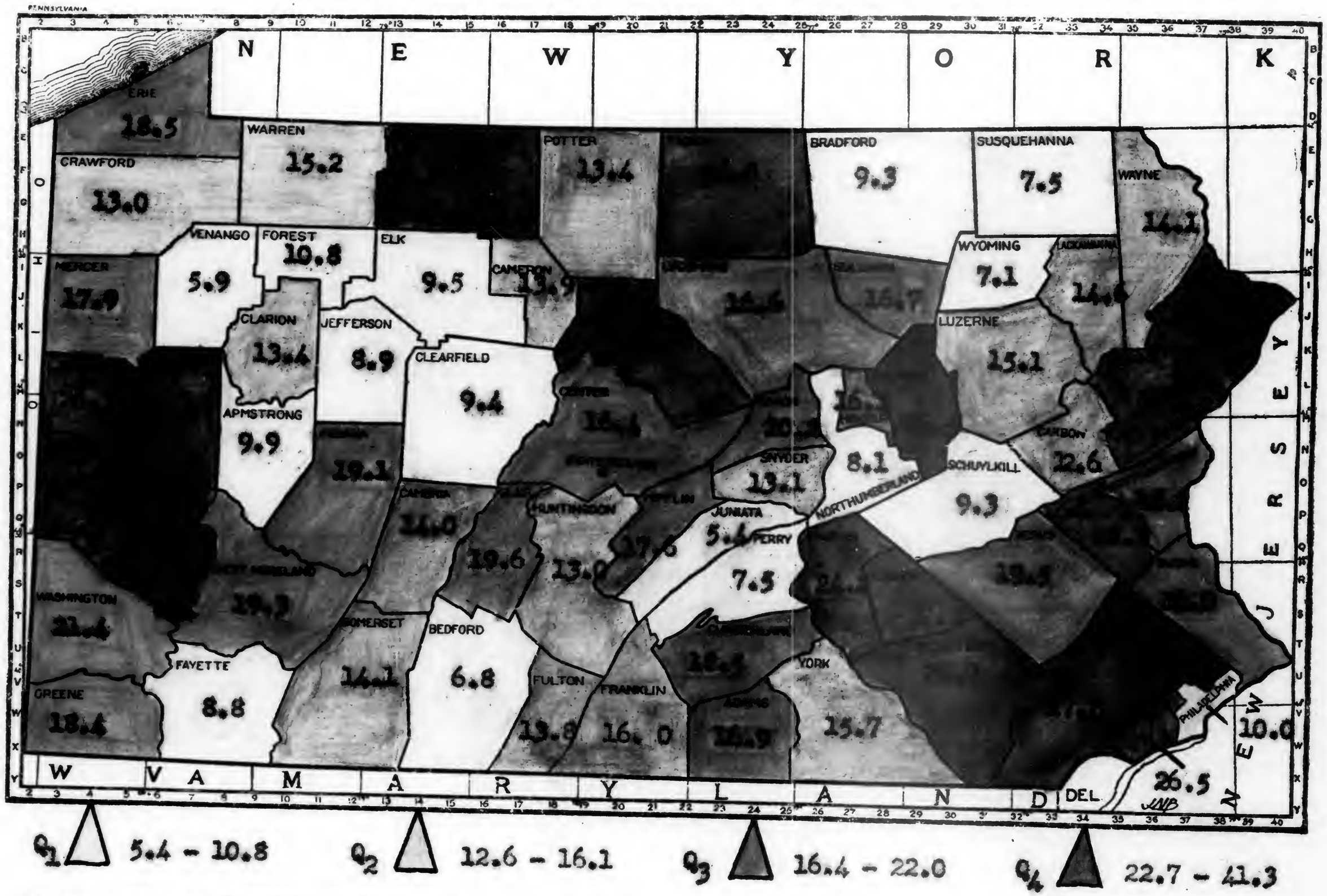

Figure 92. Per Cent of Elementary Teachers in Pennsylvania Who Are College Graduates, by Counties, 1938-39.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

from college in 1939. We see that the Pittsburgh section and southeast Pennsylvania stood highest with the upper Allegheny Plateau in the lowest position. This is roughly the same area where consolidation has gone forward least rapidly. It is common knowledge that the proportion of non-graduates teaching in elementary schools is much higher in the one-teacher school as contrasted with the consolidated school. All but one of the counties in which the fourteen state teachers colleges were located fell above the median, most of them in the highest quarter. The average for the state as a whole was 18.8 per cent. In other words, 81.2 per cent of the elementary teachers at the present time are not college graduates. The range was from a high of 41.5 per cent in Beaver County to but 5.4 per cent in Juniata County. This situation is a result of the system of training in state teacher colleges; up to the present, a two year certificate enabled one to teach. But there is concerted action to change this condition by requiring four years of training.

The status of elementary teachers with respect to salary is shown in Figure 95. These data are for fourth class districts during the academic year 1937-1938. The range of median salaries was from $850 in Montour County to $1,207 in Delaware County. Eastern Pennsylvania contains a majority of the counties in the upper 25 per cent. Teacher salaries were especially high in southeastern Pennsylvania. Most of the counties in the Allegheny Plateau, and in the Allegheny Mountains fell below the average for the state. As a matter of fact, most of the counties in the lowest fourth were found in this area. The effect of oil in McKean and Venango Counties, of steel and soft coal in the southwest, of hard coal in the northeast, and of heavy

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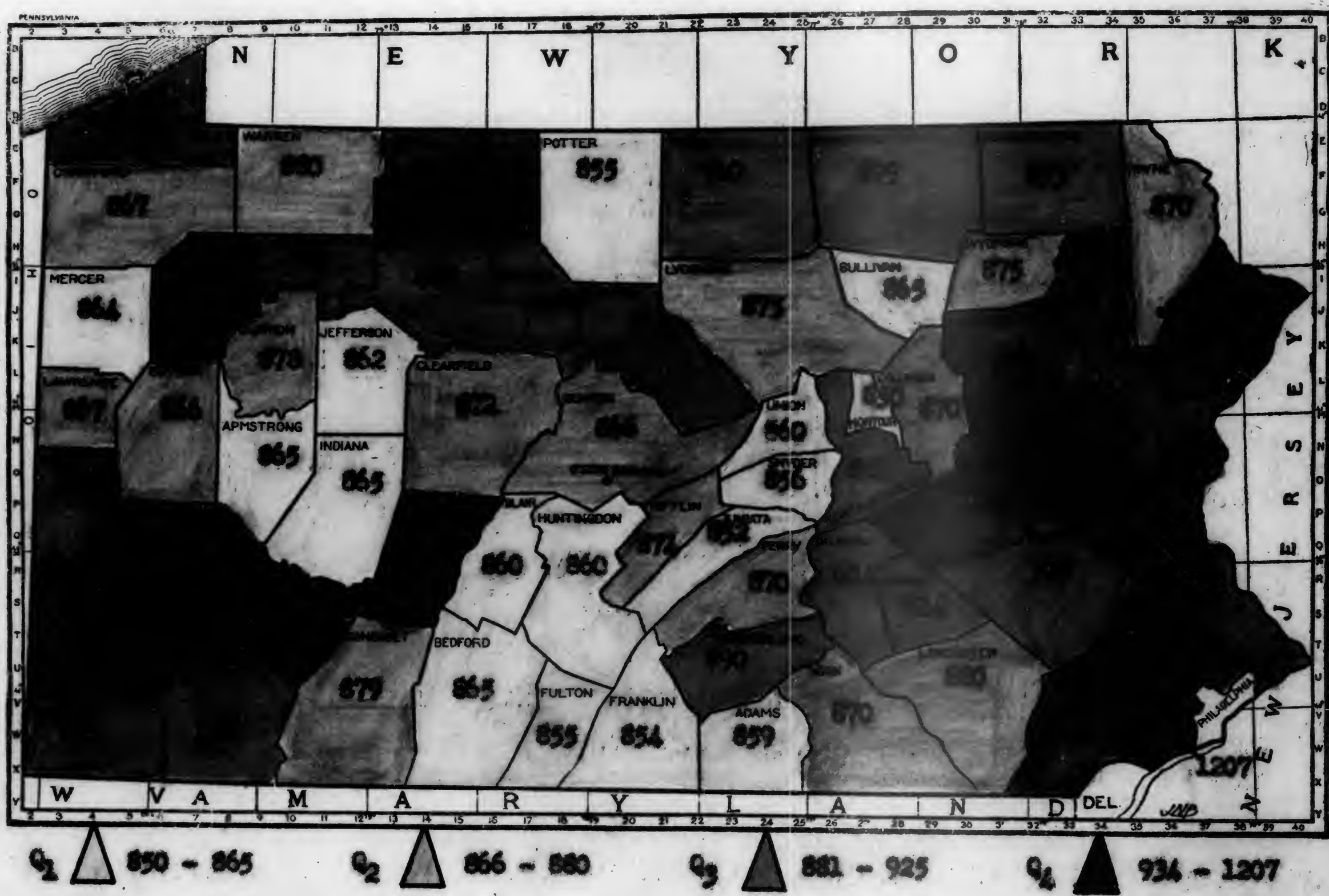

Figure 93. Median Salary of Elementary Teachers in Fourth Class Districts of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938.

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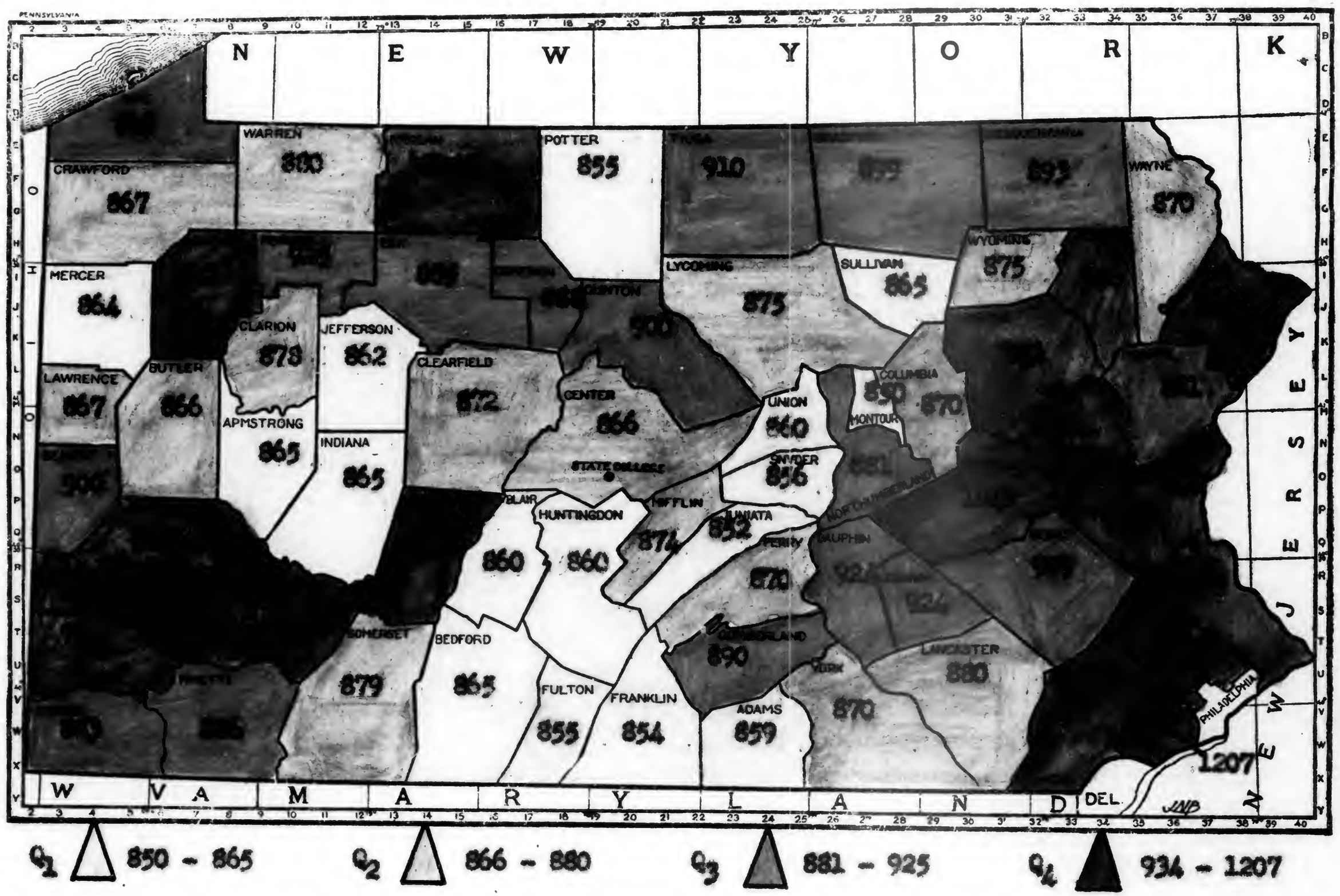

Figure 93. Median Salary of Elementary Teachers in Fourth Class Districts of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938.

industry and manufacturing in the southeast is shown here. In the main, the most rural counties suffered in comparison; teachers in heavily populated, wealthy counties received $150 to $500 more salary per year than those in rural territory. In all, 43 counties paid their elementary teachers $900 or less for the school year 1937-1938. The counties paying such low salaries correspond, in general, with those having a sparse population, low gross cash income per farm, low per capita income tax return, and low volume of retail sales per capita. The minimum legal salary for all fourth class elementary teachers is now $1000 with a required annual increment of $50 for four years. This minimum was supposedly effective in the 1938-39 school year.

c.) Secondary Schools.

No social trend in America has been any swifter or more significant than the rise of secondary education. The trend in Pennsylvania has just about equalled that of the country as a whole, a doubling of high school enrollment every decade for the last 50 years. At the present time there are one half million youngsters in the state attending schools at the secondary level. For purposes of this study "secondary school" and "high school" carry the same meaning.

Pennsylvania high school youth are taught by a group of teachers who have received better than average training. Over a fourth of them (27.5 per cent) have studied beyond the baccalaureate degree, while 58.8 per cent of them have had three or four years of training. With respect to training the high school teachers of the commonwealth rank 9th in the United States.[14]

In all, there are 1271 public high schools in the commonwealth at the present time (1940). They range in size from 7 to 5536 pupils. Distributed

14. Advisory Comm. on Ed., op. cit., p. 92.

according to size it is found that 280 of these high schools have less than 100 pupils, 570 have from 100 to 299 pupils, while 621 have over 300 pupils. It is the first two groups of schools which generally serve rural communities--not only in terms of providing educational services for children but in providing also a center for community activities.

From the above we see that a high school of slightly less than 300 pupils is the median size, since there are 650 secondary schools under this figure and 621 over it. It is obvious that the larger schools were to be found in counties with urban centers. Philadelphia had 44 high schools over 300 and Allegheny County had 85. Four rural counties had no high schools with over 300 pupils. Crawford County had 17 small high schools, Lancaster 16. Three counties had no small high schools. Eleven counties, all with large rural-nonfarm populations, had more than 10 high schools in the intermediate class. In 1926 153,112 students attended high schools in fourth class districts.

The location of these public secondary schools is shown in Figure 94. Many of these schools are developments of the last 20 years and, therefore, have been placed where the people are. There appears to be a close correspondence between the consolidation of high schools and the location of cities, towns and villages in Pennsylvania as viewed in Figure 9. Thus, the hard coal section, the Pittsburgh steel section, and the industrial southeast have the greatest numbers of these educational agencies. In contrast, central Pennsylvania and in part the northern Allegheny Plateau show sparseness with respect to this factor.

A comparison of this map with Figure 91, showing the location of consolidated schools, reveals some interesting contrasts. The most noteworthy

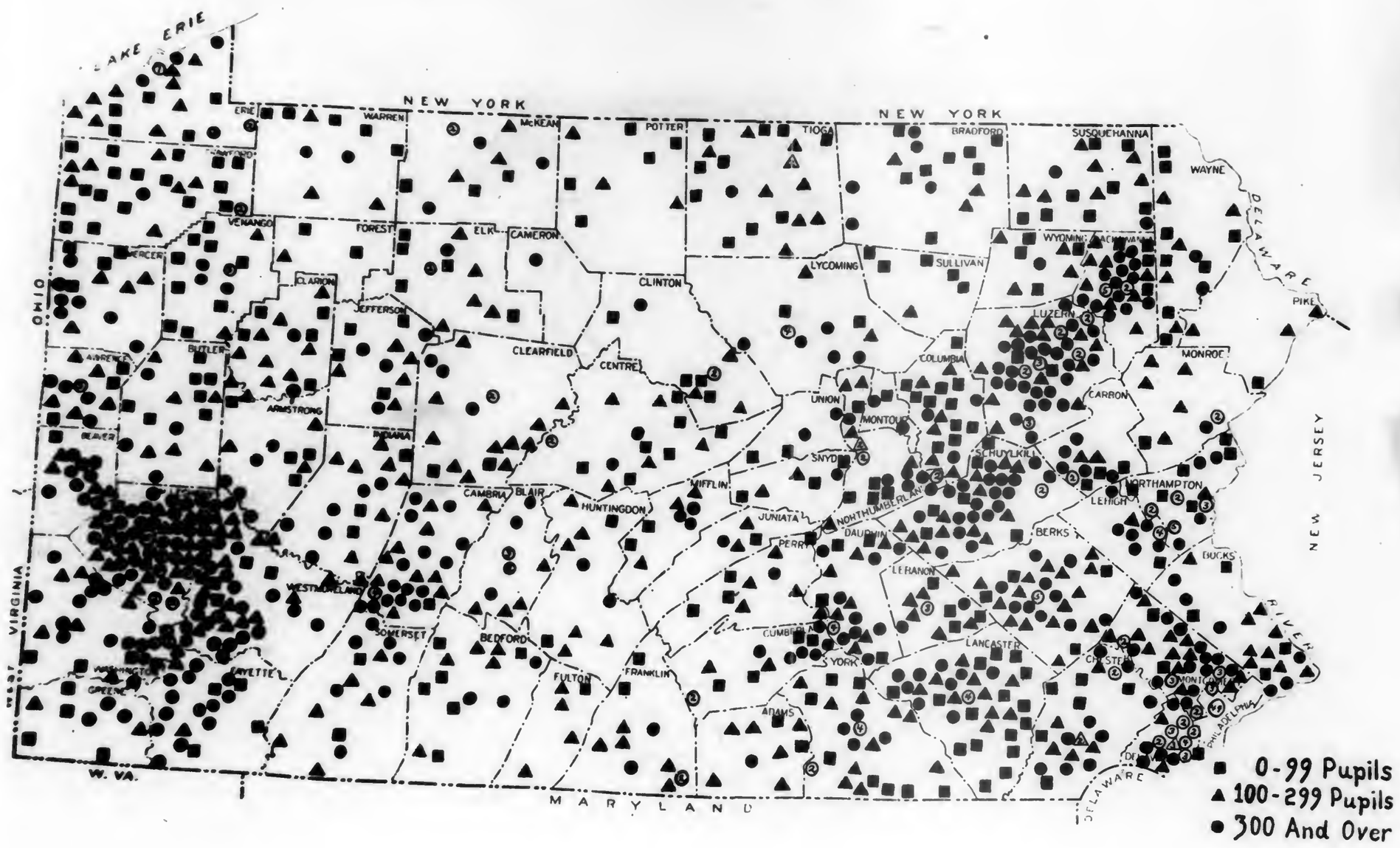

Figure 94. Location of Public Secondary Schools in Pennsylvania, 1939.

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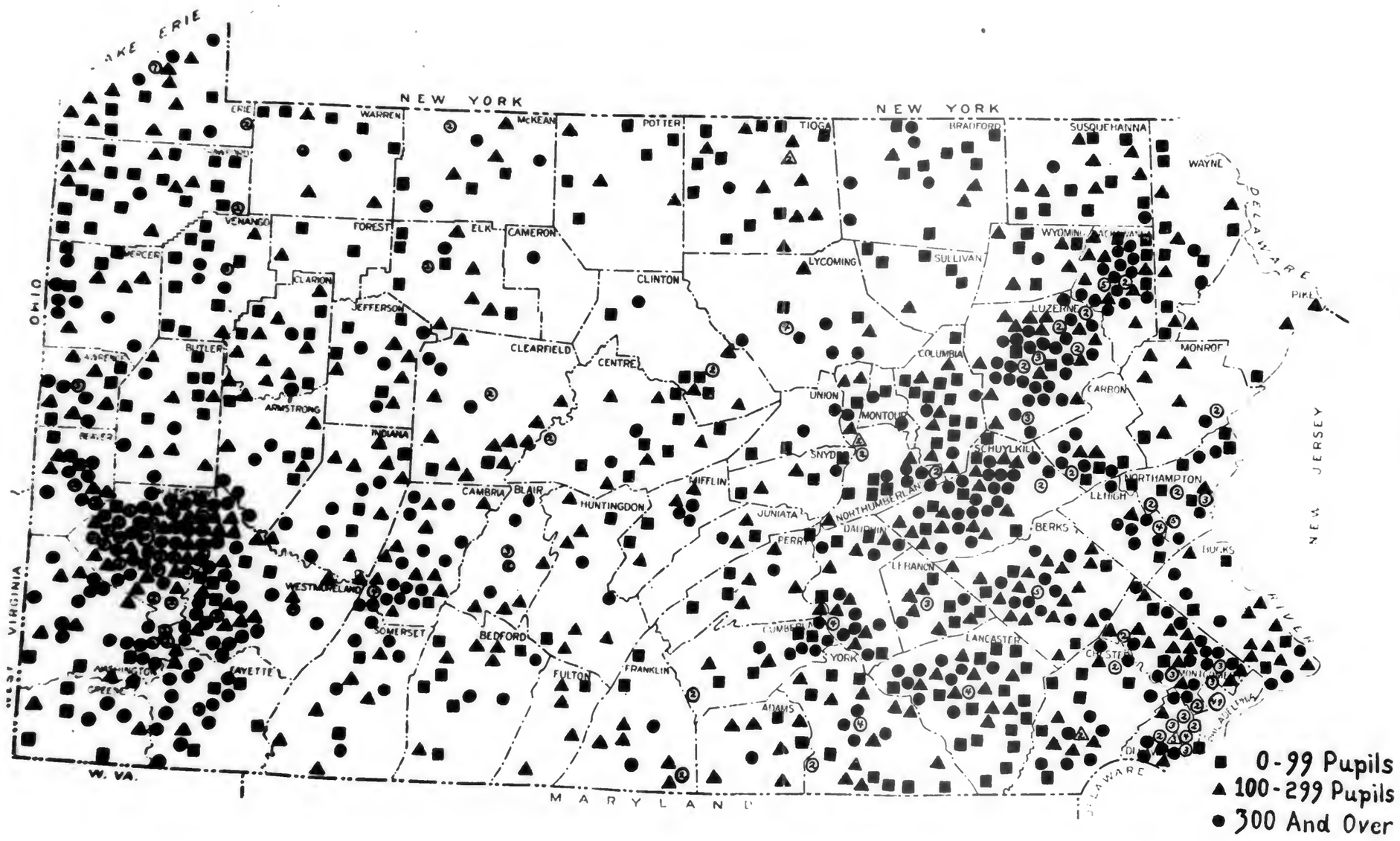

Figure 94. Location of Public Secondary Schools in Pennsylvania, 1939.

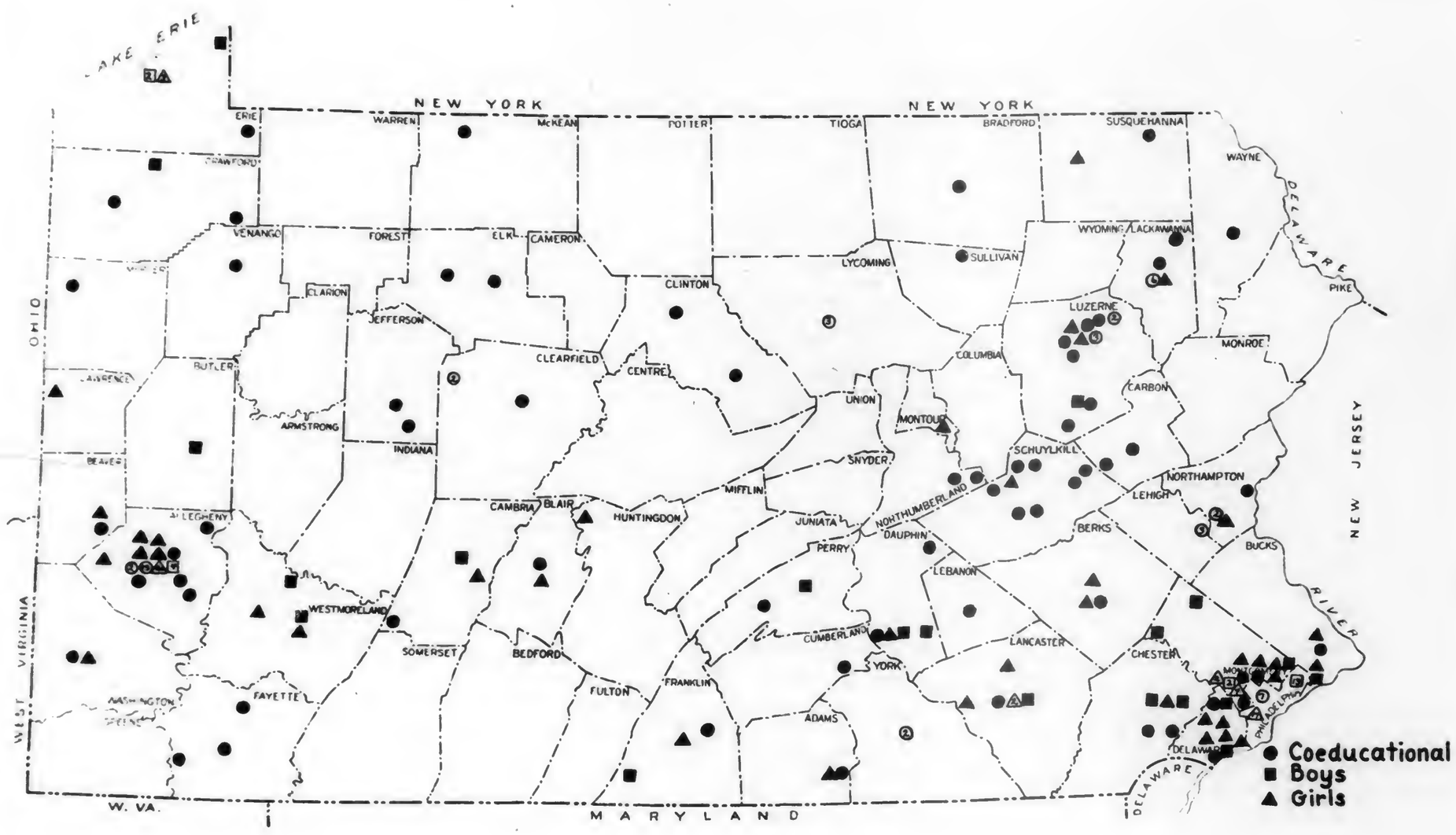

Figure 95. Location of Private Secondary Schools in Pennsylvania, 1939.

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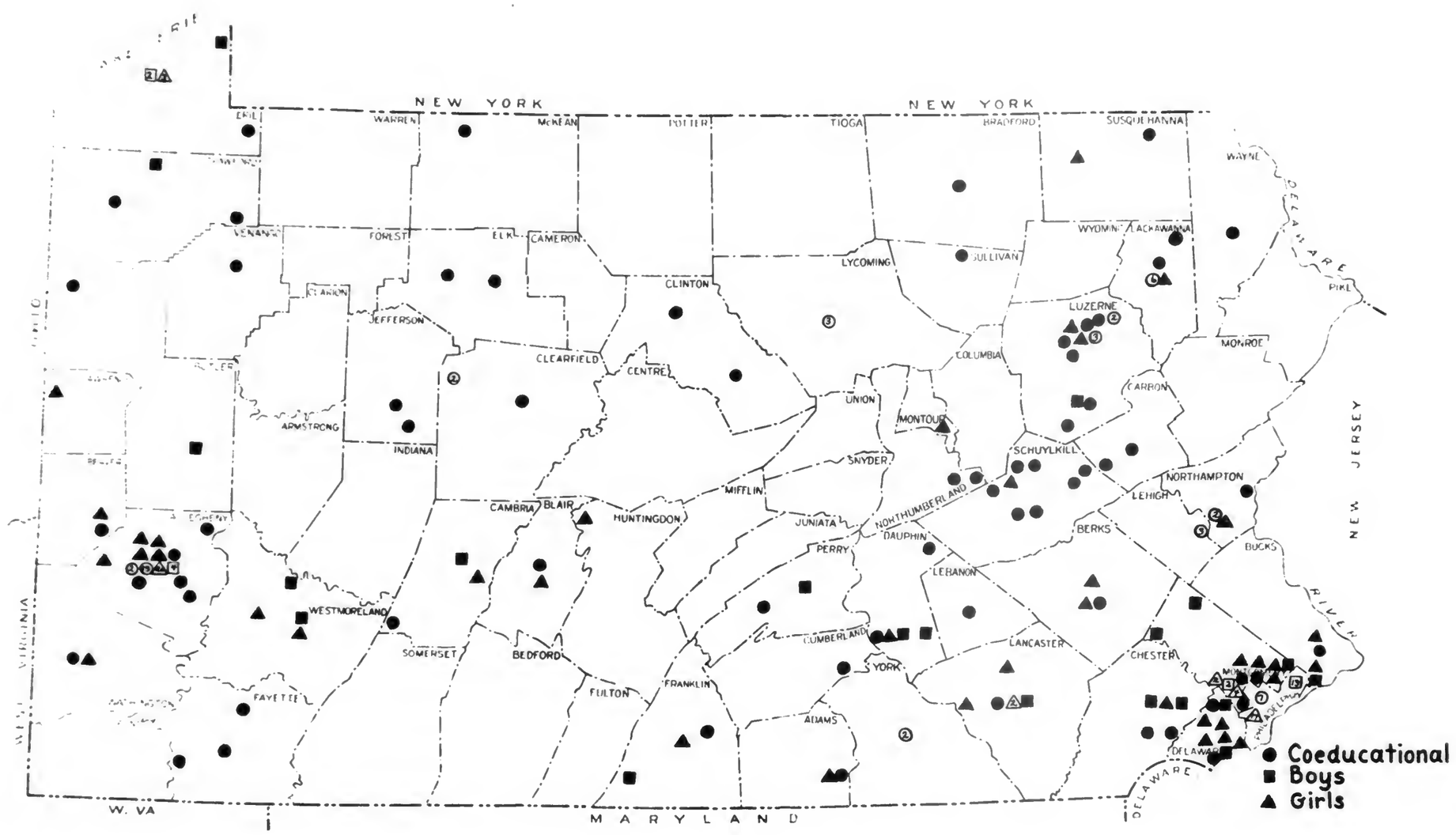

Figure 95. Location of Private Secondary Schools in Pennsylvania, 1939.

contrast is to be found in the hard coal area and in the counties to the southwest of it. Here we see a large number of secondary schools and few elementary consolidated schools. Likewise, York County is well supplied with high schools and ill supplied with consolidated schools.

Besides the public high schools discussed above there were 237 private high schools in the commonwealth in 1940. Of these 110 were coeducational, 87 were girls high schools, and 40 were for boys. Nearly all of these were Catholic high schools and in a state as heavily populated with Catholics as is Pennsylvania special mention of these schools is deserving. Most of the schools were located in urban centers, and, therefore, for the purposes of this study, are less important than the public schools. However, there are some instances, such as McSherrystown in Adams County, where the Catholic high school, in a very real sense, is the social service center for the entire community.

Figure 95 shows the distribution of private high schools. It is clear that their patterning follows closely the distribution of foreign born population shown in Chapter III.

The other major class of private schools are preparatory institutions which appeal primarily to wealthy students. Secondary schools of the Catholic type are to be found in the hard coal area, the steel section and, to some extent, in the manufacturing area of Philadelphia. However, a number of schools in this latter area are protestant or non-denominational institutions appealing to a select class.

A comparison of this map with Figure 94 indicates that the job of educating high school pupils is primarily a public task. For, in proportion, there are relatively few private secondary schools.

What proportion of persons of high school age are in school? No complete answer is available but some indication of this proportion can be secured by determining from the United States Census the per cent of those 16 and 17 years of age who are in school. In 1930, 48.6 per cent of persons of these ages were attending school over the entire state. Doubtless there has been considerable increase since that time for recently the compulsory age limit has been raised to 18 years of age. From Figure 96 it is seen that the per cent of 16 and 17-year old persons enrolled in school is high in the northern tier of counties and through the rural counties of central Pennsylvania.[15] There is an inverse relationship between industrial opportunity and the per cent of persons 16 to 17-year old enrolled in school. This is true for the five hard coal counties, the six most important soft coal counties, and for eight industrial counties. Many youth of these ages work in the mines and the mills. But this situation has been mitigated somewhat now that industrial working permits cannot be secured before 16 years and then only if thru examination the youth is found to be unable to profit from further school attendance. It is also interesting to observe the low proportion of 16 and 17-year old persons attending school in the Pennsylvania German area. The map indicates an unbroken sequence of counties extending from Northampton County on the east to Adams County on the south central. As seen earlier, this is the area where a high proportion of Pennsylvania Germans reside. No statistical data are available but reports from the Department of Public Instruction indicate that the practice of Pennsylvania German farmers of removing youngsters from school at the minimum age when a working certificate may

15. Source: 1930 Census of the United States.

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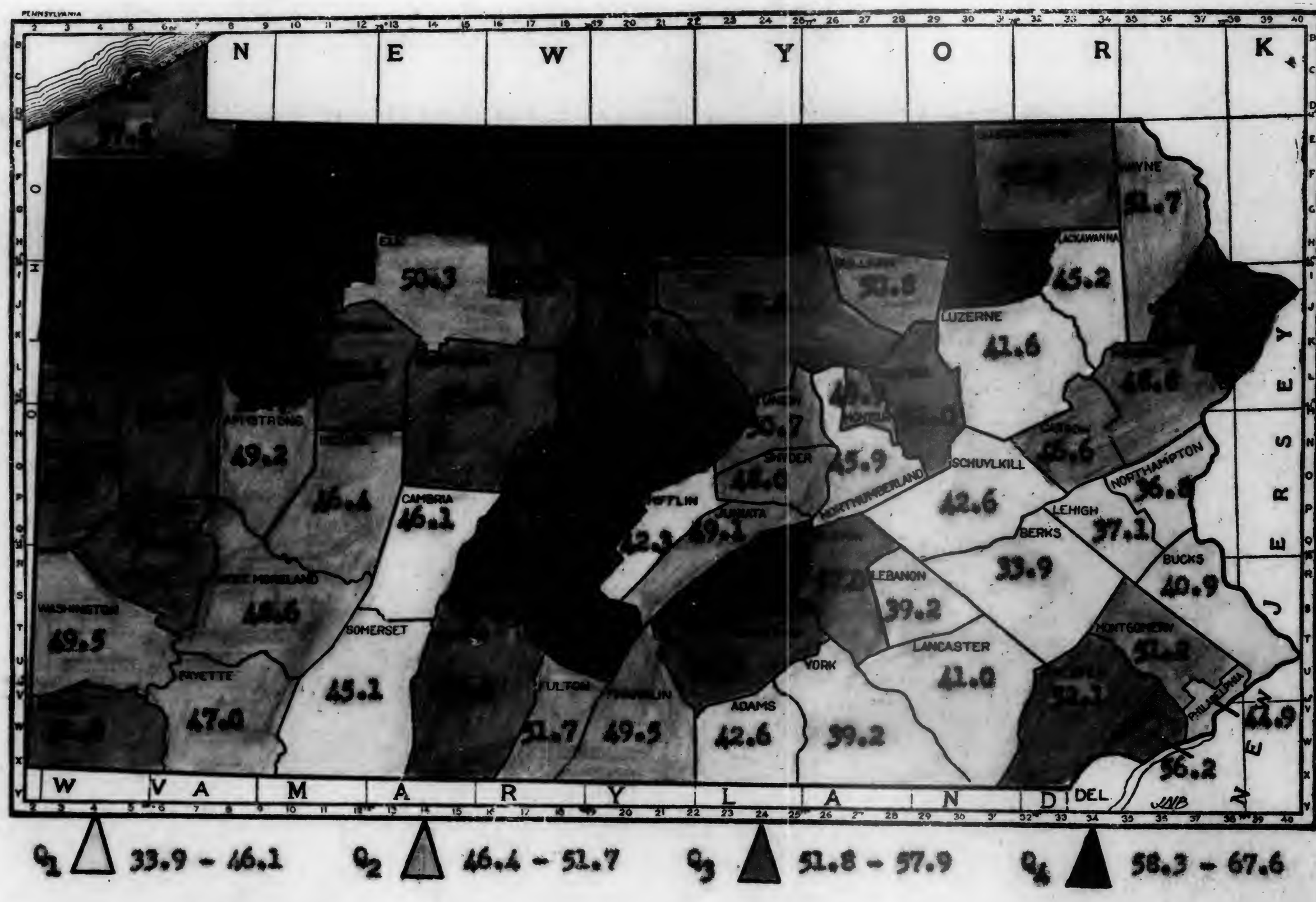

Figure 96. Per Cent of 16 and 17 Year Old Persons Enrolled in Pennsylvania Schools, by Counties, 1930.

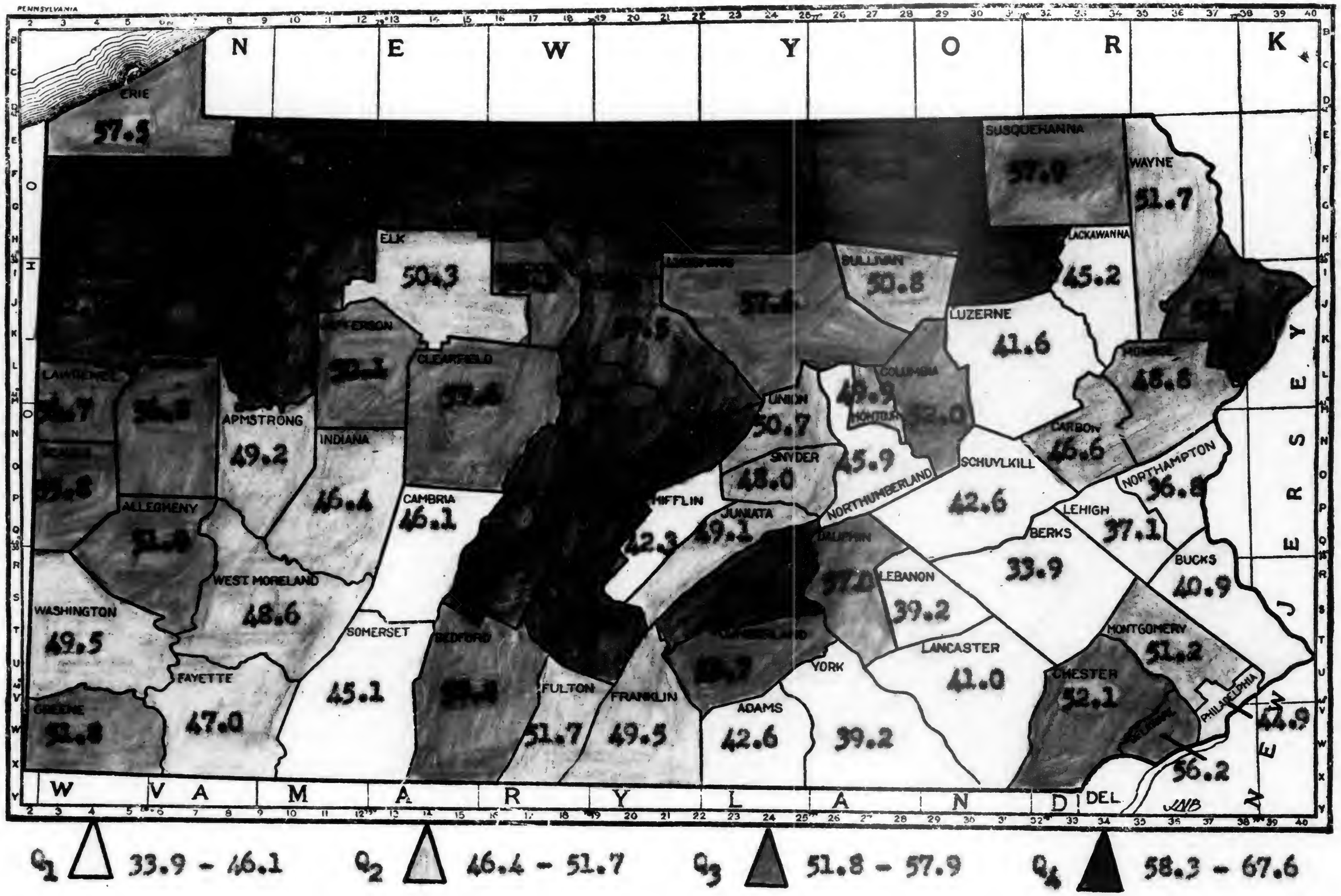

Figure 96. Per Cent of 16 and 17 Year Old Persons Enrolled in Pennsylvania Schools, by Counties, 1930.

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be secured is prevalent throughout this area. Such working certificates for farm work or house work apply at age 15 according to a 1937 amendment.

In 1936, 75.8 per cent of the total school enrollment was composed of elementary pupils. The figure for the United States was 77.3. This means that 24.2 per cent of Pennsylvania's school population were in high school (grades 8-12). (The Western states of Oregon and Washington had more than 30 per cent in high school whereas Alabama and Mississippi had less than 12 per cent in high school.)[16] For fourth class districts alone 21.4 per cent of the total school population was composed of secondary pupils.

Figure 97 shows the per cent that the high school enrollment is of the elementary school enrollment in Pennsylvania by counties. The range was from 4 per cent in Montour County to 38 per cent in Allegheny County. The median was 23. The figures are for 1938. Again, the patterning of these data over the state is irregular and inconsistent, being affected by many factors, such as the folkways and mores of the family, economic opportunity, variety and richness of curricular offerings, ready accessibility of high schools, and the effectiveness of attendance officers.

A few counties are affected adversely by such a figure because frequently pupils in one county attend high school in another. For example, the low proportion of high school pupils in Montour County is because many of its secondary school children attend school in Columbia and Northumberland Counties.

The soft coal section of the South Allegheny plateau shows the greatest uniformity. In this area the ratio of secondary to the elementary enrollment is fairly high. No generalizations can be drawn between rural and urban

16. Advisory Committee on Education. op. cit., p. 30.

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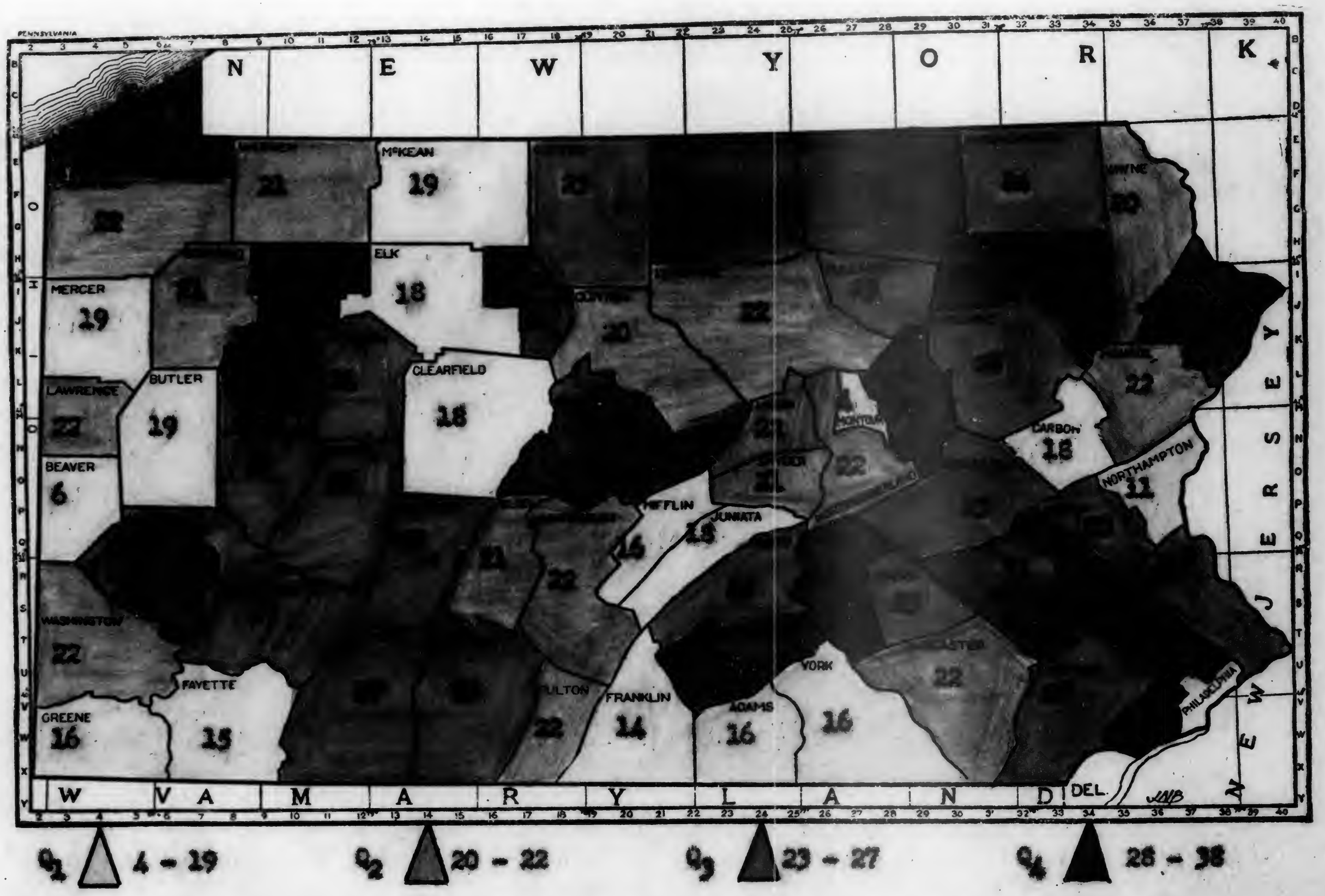

Figure 97. The Per Cent That the High School Enrollment is of the Elementary School Enrollment in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938.

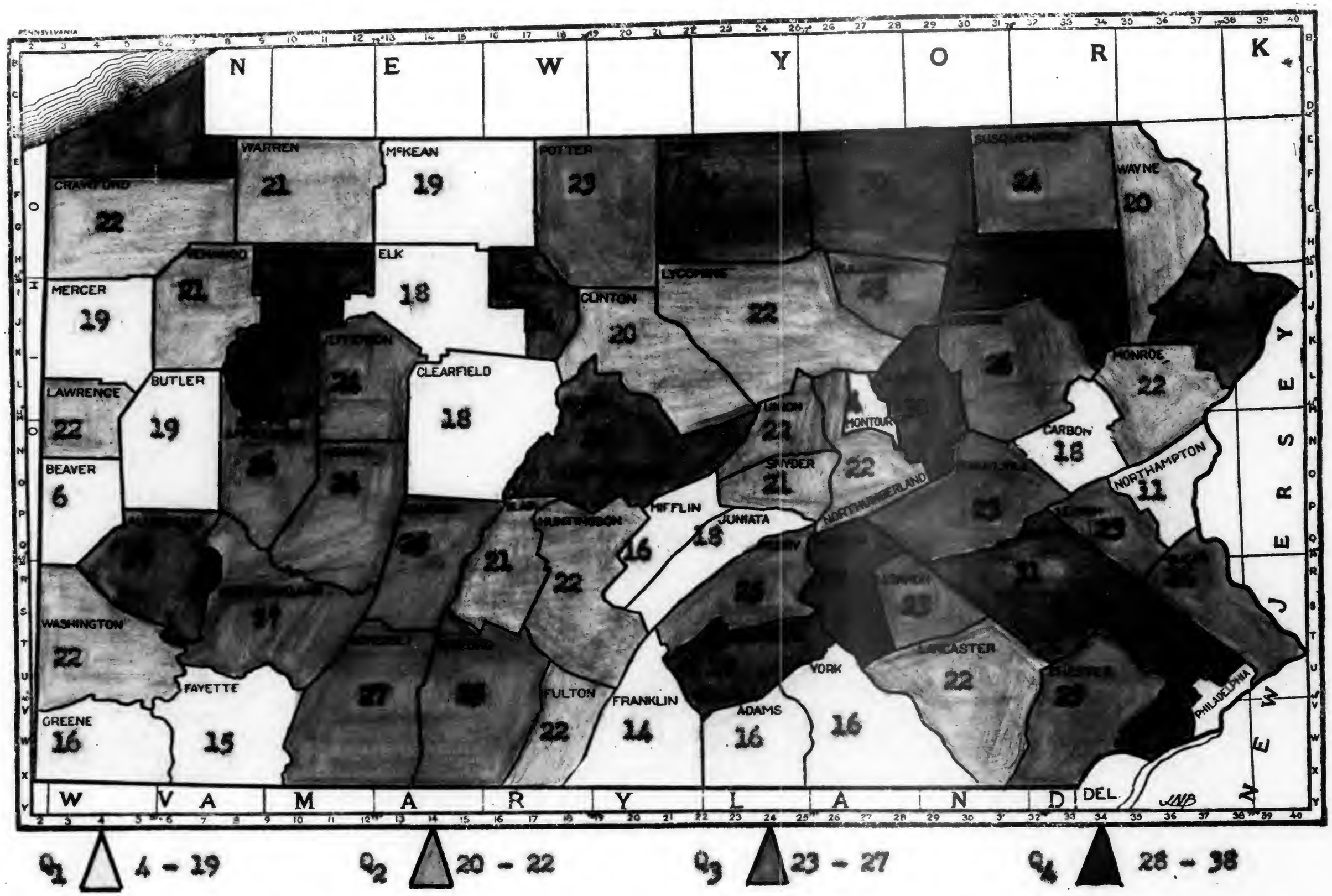

Figure 97. The Per Cent That the High School Enrollment is of the Elementary School Enrollment in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

counties in this respect for there is wide variation within each of these classifications.

Figure 98 shows the per cent that the high school enrollment is of the rural enrollment by counties in fourth class districts of Pennsylvania. Cameron County retains her fourth class pupils best with 54.6 per cent of the total enrollment in high school. At the other extreme is Montour County with but 5.4 per cent in high school. This latter picture is hardly representative of Montour County, however, inasmuch as considerable numbers of Montour County rural youth attend high school in adjacent Columbia and Northumberland Counties. The average for the state as a whole is 21.4 per cent. The figure reveals a highly mixed pattern for this factor. Both the high and low counties can be found in all sections of the state indicating that this phenomenon overrides both geographic, economic, and demographic conditions. The type of school leadership in the county, the educational policy of the county, and the folkways and mores which have come to be accepted in the county are doubtless important determining influences.

How well do Pennsylvania high schools hold their youth? The ratio of fourth year high school students to first year high school students in Pennsylvania was 51.7 per cent in 1936. The average for the country was 54 per cent. The schools of the commonwealth are not holding their older students as well as most of the rest of the states, 34 had better records.[17] This persistence to graduation of pupils who enter high school is one of the significant indexes of the quality of secondary education in the state. Many pupils withdraw as soon as the age of compulsory attendance is passed. A report made in the state on 11,282 youth leaving school showed that 41 per

17. United States Office of Education. Loc. cit.

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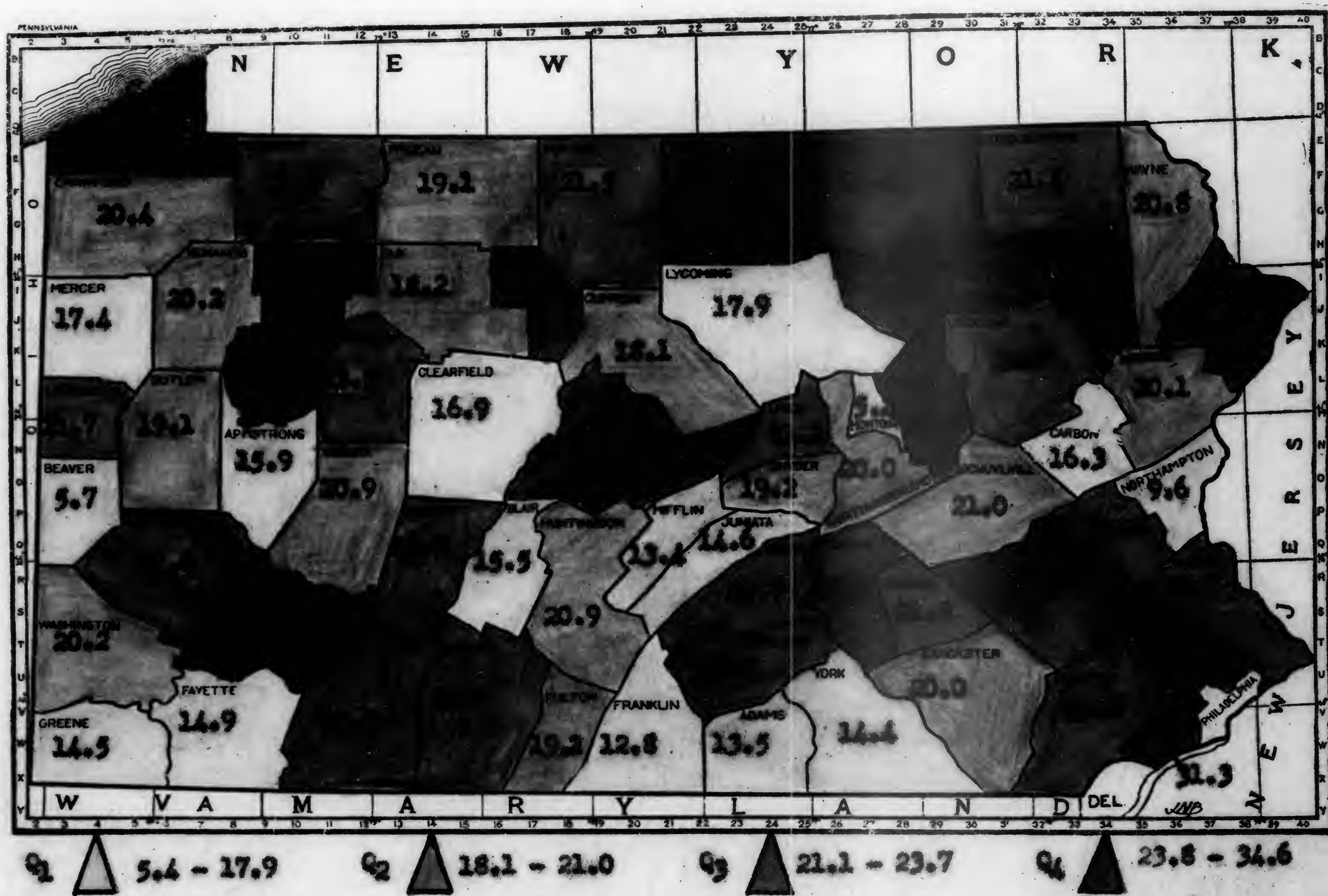

Figure 98. Per Cent That High School Is of Total Enrollment in Fourth Class Districts of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1936.

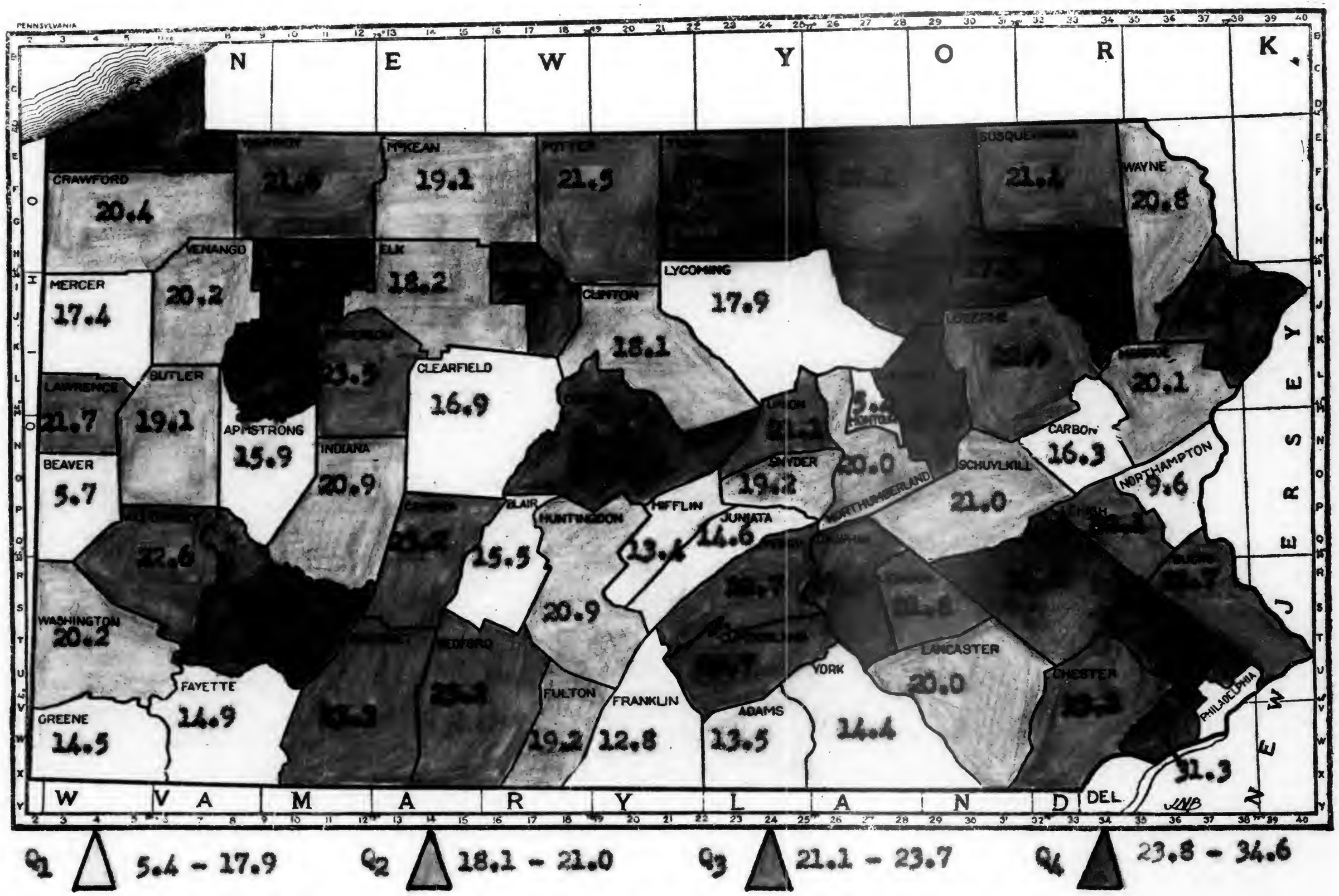

Figure 98. Per Cent That High School Is of Total Enrollment in Fourth Class Districts of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1936.

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cent of these went to work, 14 per cent gave financial difficulties, 13 per cent graduated, 13 per cent said they did not like it, 5 per cent were needed at home, 4 per cent were married, 3 per cent were ill, and 2 per cent said school was too difficult.[18] How much rationalization is in the above answers is difficult to say. It seems certain that two main causes were economic and the feeling that the curriculum no longer met their needs.

There is wide variation between counties with respect to the holding power of the school. Figure 99 shows the ratio between the twelfth grade and ninth grade enrollments in fourth class districts for the various counties of the commonwealth in 1938. No large blocks of counties stand out in any one quarter. In the main, the northern counties have the highest ability to hold their students but these have exceptionally low counties right beside them. It is noticeable that many of the counties with heavy population have low holding power but this does not always obtain. Probably, as shown above, the diversification that exists in the state is due as much as anything else to the educational policies and programs of the county, to the folkways and mores of the population which will vary from county to county as the type of population changes, and to the opportunity for employment. The range in per cents with respect to this factor was from 33 in Venango County to 87 in Forest County. The median was 57 per cent. In comparing the last two figures we find but seven counties in the first one-fourth on both factors, (a) per cent of 12th grade to 9th grade and (b) per cent of high school to elementary enrollment. Six of these

18. Unpublished study of American Youth Commission, Washington, D. C.

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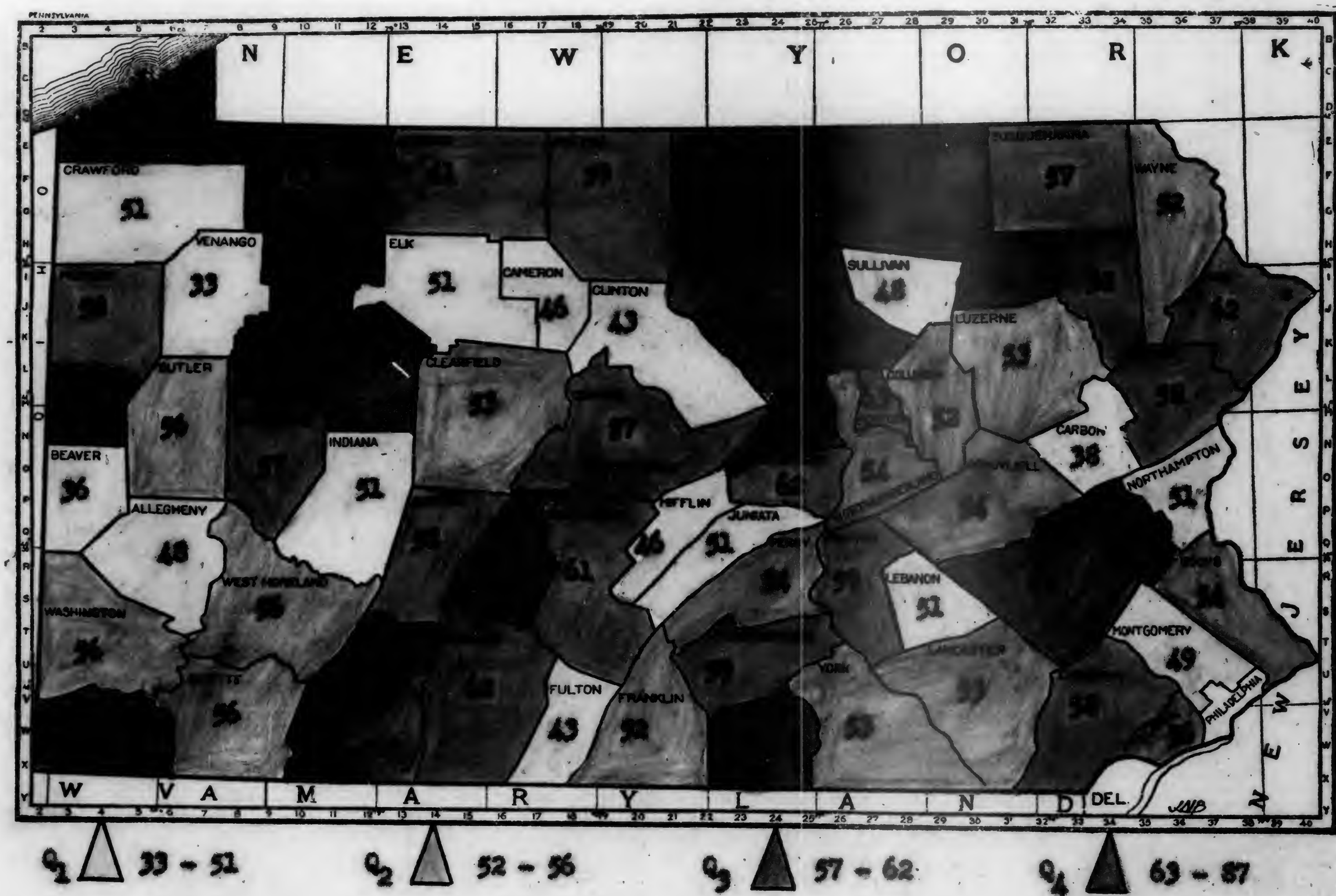

Figure 99. Per Cent Which Twelfth Grade is of the Ninth Grade, Fourth Class Districts in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1958.

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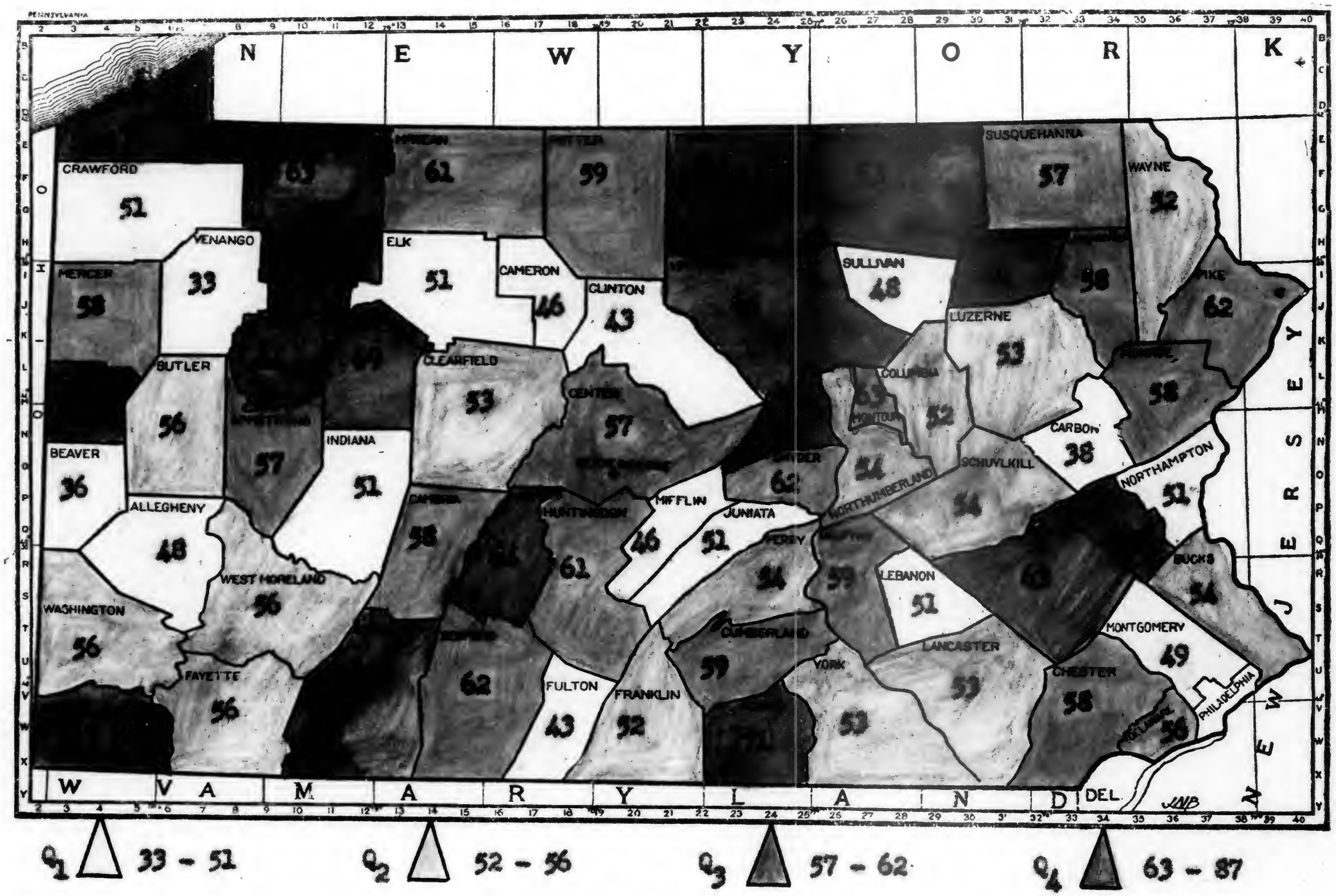

Figure 99. Per Cent Which Twelfth Grade is of the Ninth Grade, Fourth Class Districts in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938.

seven are in northern Pennsylvania and the seventh in Berks County in southeastern Pennsylvania.

The present school laws of Pennsylvania require a pupil to attend school until the age of 16 unless work permits are secured. For farm population these farm and domestic labor permits have been granted at age 14. Figure 100 shows the ratio of this factor per 100 fourteen and fifteen year old persons, by counties. The most striking thing it emphasizes is the prevalence of farm labor permits granted in the Pennsylvania German section. A block of 15 contiguous counties in the southeast comprising practically the entire Pennsylvania German territory falls in the first 25 per cent. This area is surrounded by second quarter counties in which Pennsylvania German population is somewhat less strongly represented. On the other hand, the northern tier counties have a low rate of labor permits granted to farm boys and girls, even though in this area these young people could be used to advantage on the dairy farms existing there. Four counties granted no farm labor permits at all. This is to be contrasted with the situation in Mifflin County in which 51.5 per cent of the 14 and 15 year old persons had received such permits. The situation is doubtless due to the prevalence of highly conservative Amish families throughout Big Valley, the best agricultural section of this county.

d.) Vocational Agricultural Education.

Of great importance to the farm population in the commonwealth is the development known as vocational agriculture, sometimes called Smith-Hughes work established under the Act by that name in 1917. In Pennsylvania this work started earlier, however. In 1912 under a state Showalter Act five departments of vocational agriculture were set up. It has grown until today

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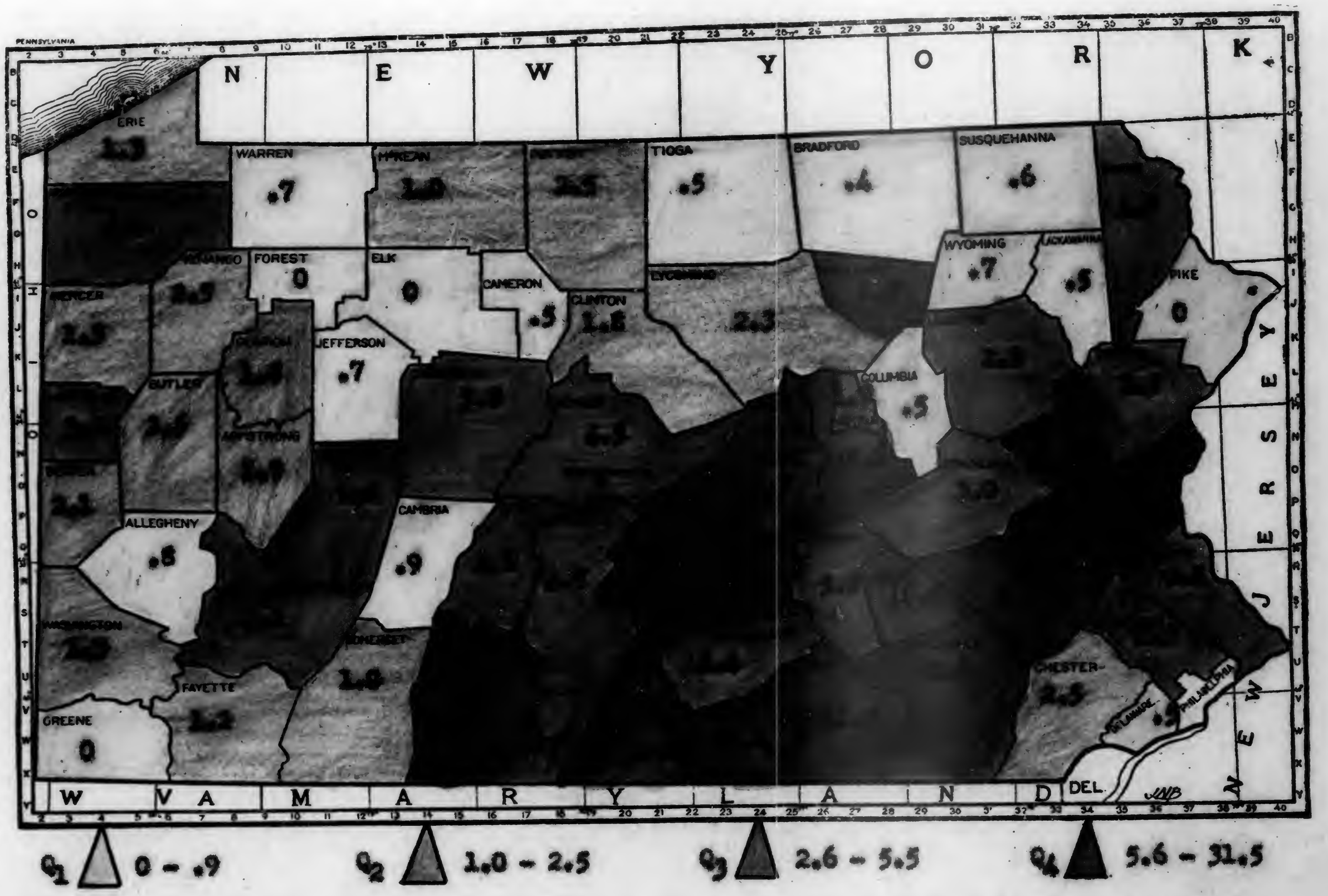

Figure 100. Number of Farm and Domestic Labor Permits Granted in Pennsylvania Per 100 14 and 15 Year Old Persons, by Counties, 1937.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

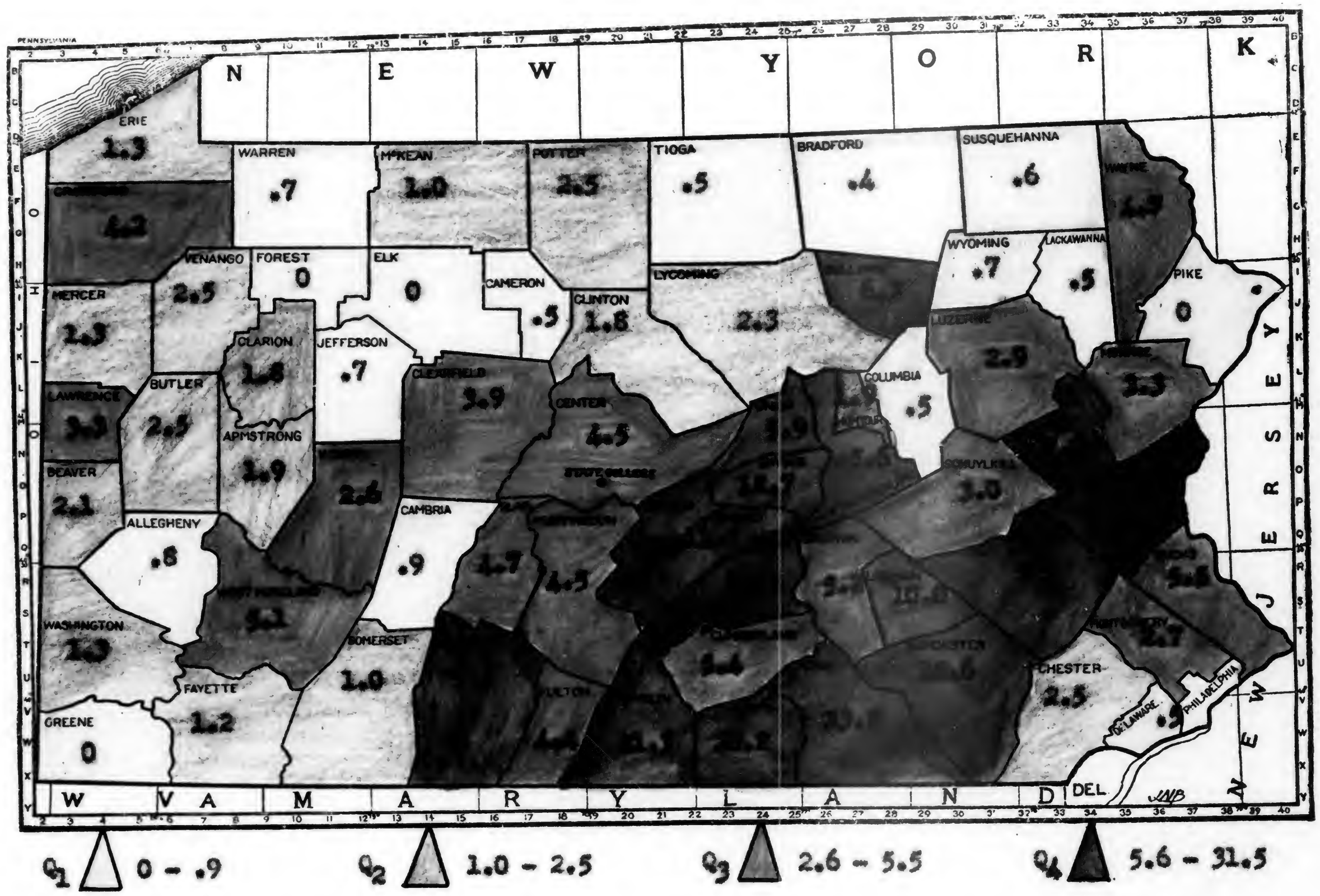

Figure 100. Number of Farm and Domestic Labor Permits Granted in Pennsylvania Per 100 14 and 15 Year Old Persons, by Counties, 1937.

this work has spread through the state rather liberally. In 1939 there were 211 full time departments in the commonwealth in connection with secondary schools. These departments had a full time teacher and in a few instances employed an assistant. During the last year 9,077 students were enrolled in these centers.[19] Enrollment is limited by law to boys 14 years or over.

Fifty of the above places are in what are called "rural community vocational schools", a type of secondary center designed to prepare boys and girls primarily for the vocations of farming and homemaking. All pupils enrolling in these schools enter either the agricultural or homemaking course for two years, and spend but half time on academic courses. The last two years may be a continuation of this schedule or the pupil may elect a full academic course. No new schools of this type have been started in the last ten years. Such schools are declining each year.

The distribution of vocational agricultural centers is shown in Figure 101. The large dots indicate places where a local Smith-Hughes teacher works in that community. The triangles indicate those places where county agricultural supervisors have their headquarters, while the small circles indicate those communities where the county vocational supervisor teaches agriculture in the high school on a day-unit basis. Thus, the supervisor may teach in as many as six or eight centers at the same time, perhaps making rounds of the schools only once every two weeks. In other counties, however, he does no actual teaching but confines his activity to the supervision of the local teachers under him.

It will be seen that, for the most part, vocational agriculture covers the entire state. There are some sections, such as the strip extending

19. Data from the Department of Public Instruction, Harrisburg.

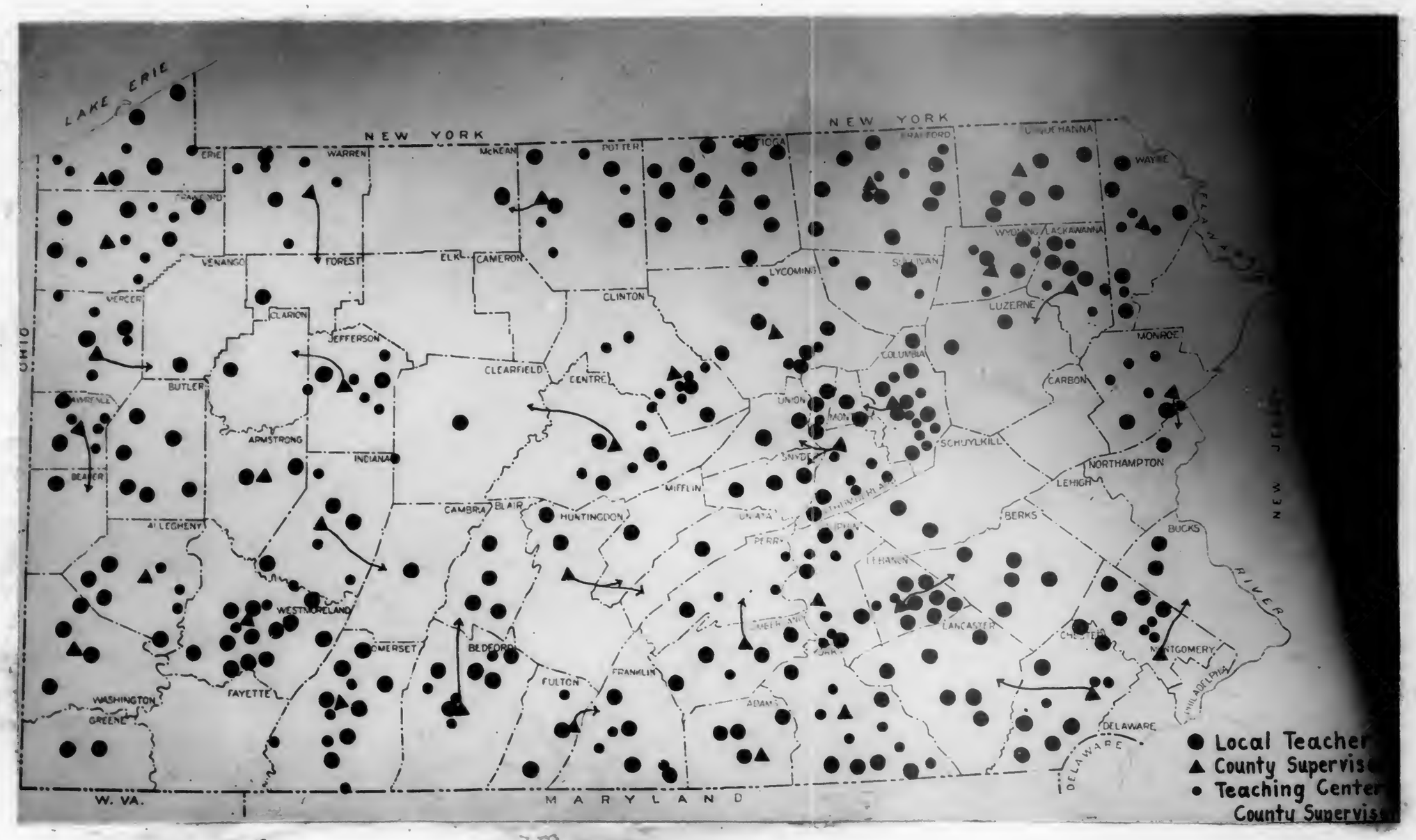

Figure 101. Location of Vocational Agriculture Units in Pennsylvania, 1938-1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

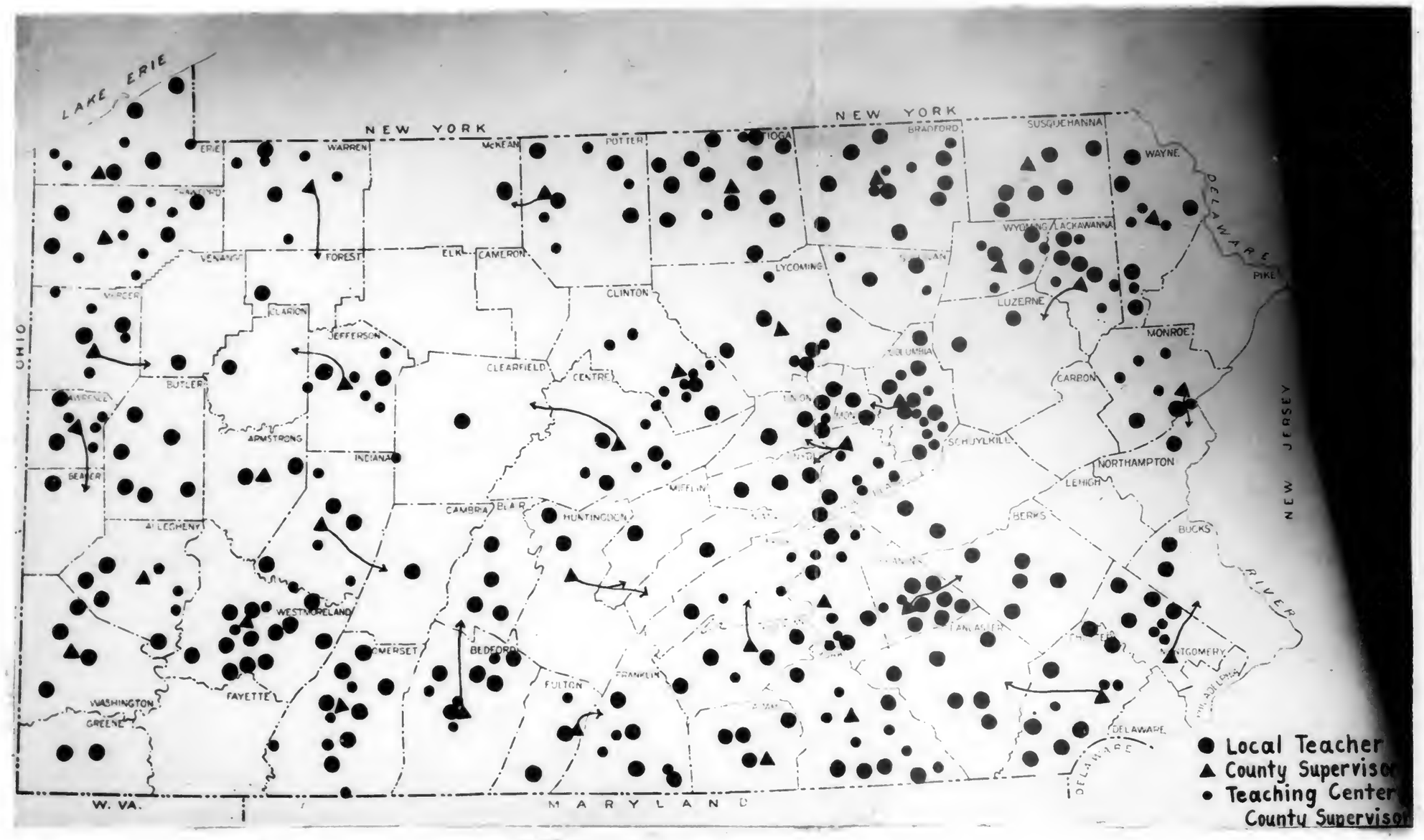

Figure 101. Location of Vocational Agriculture Units in Pennsylvania, 1938-1939.

from McKean south to Cambria in central Pennsylvania and the southern part of the hard coal area which is practically devoid of this service. In the main, most rural high schools in communities agriculturally important have vocational agriculture. Notable exceptions are fertile Lehigh County and the entire Quaker belt. Since it is feasible to teach agriculture only in those communities where agriculture is important, the distribution of vocational schools presents a very different picture from the distribution of all secondary schools (See Figure 94). The steel and coal sections show heavy agglomerations of these latter public institutions.

There are 34 County Vocational Agricultural Supervisors in Pennsylvania. Thirteen of these have jurisdiction over a single county. The other twenty-one supervise the work in two or more counties. In addition to their supervision work these county men teach classes in agriculture in secondary schools having no full time department. Some of these groups meet throughout the winter. These are known as "day unit" departments enrolling a total of 2589 boys.

Besides the regular secondary school program vocational agriculture offers two other kinds of services to farmers. The first is known as "part-time classes" for boys 18 to 25. In 1939 there were 104 such classes being taught in the state enrolling 2486 young men, most of whom are now at home on their fathers farms and who some day contemplate going into farming for themselves. These part-time classes meet for a minimum of 15 sessions a year. As with the adult classes described below the most popular course is Farm Management. The second post high school service is for adults known as "adult evening classes". Farmers, come in to the school house

for these classes one night a week for 10 weeks during the winter months. Discussions at these meetings, as with the regular classes of boys, commonly center around some phase of agriculture, as production, farm management, marketing, credit, taxation, local government, and community activities. In 1939 there were 34 such adult units enrolling 1550 persons. Thus we see that the entire program, counting all phases, reached a total of 15,504 persons during the last fiscal year. Future Farmers of America is the organization sponsored by vocational agricultural departments. They were organized in 1928 on a national scale.Last year 217 departments supported local F.F.A. chapters with a membership totaling 5,172 persons. These groups are voluntary organizations developed among the vocational agricultural students for the purpose of creating leadership, stimulating love of country life, vocational guidance, personality development, farm and home improvement, developing citizenship, fostering cooperativeness, improving scholarship, encouraging thrift, and stimulating rural recreation.

There are four classes of membership in the club based upon achievement: "the green hand", "future farmer", "state farmer", "American farmer".

Local chapters meet in state convention, which in turn is a part of the national F.F.A. organization. Some of the activities of the F.F.A. groups consist of holding regular meetings, tours, picnics, exhibit at fairs, participate in F.F.A. week at State College, State Farm Show, father and son banquet, and take part on grange programs.

What happens to these vocational agricultural students? The best answer is contained in a recent state wide survey[20] of 20,725 out-of-school boys who have had one or more years of vocational instruction. Of these 15.9 per cent were working with their fathers on an allowance, 15.2 per

20. Public Education - Dept. of Public Instruction. Harrisburg, Sept. 1939, p. 17.

cent were engaged in occupations related to agriculture such as feed mills, and selling fertilizer, 7.9 per cent worked on farms for wages, 7.1 per cent worked on father's farm for wages, 5.8 per cent were in partnership with father, 4 per cent owned their farms, and 2.7 per cent rented. In all a total of 68 per cent of the boys entered farming or an occupation closely allied to farming, with 28.8 per cent working with their fathers. A large majority of these agricultural students are going into agriculture.

Besides the above types of professional activities related to the school many teachers of vocational agriculture are active in community events including local fairs, flower shows, farm product shows, community councils, and other activities for the welfare of the entire population. These men are in a strategic position to render distinguished service in coordinating and developing rural activities which will aid in meeting the needs of the people in their areas.

e.) Vocational Home Economics Education.

The Smith-Hughes law which was accepted by Pennsylvania July 11, 1917 provided monies for the development of courses in home economics in connection with the secondary schools. But prior to that the state Showalter Act, passed in 1914, permitted the establishment of nine vocational departments with state reimbursements. The first year of operation of the Smith-Hughes Act, 1917-18, there were 131 vocational homemaking teachers in service.

There were 305 departments of vocational homemaking with a total enrollment of 16,195 pupils in 1939. A corps of 28 County Home Economics Educational Advisors supervise the work in their areas. Most of these persons (23) are responsible for two or more counties. In addition to their supervisory work they teach home economics in high schools not having

a separate department. As with Agriculture, discussed above, this plan is called "day unit instruction". In 1939 there were 2,822 students attending such classes in 109 centers in 28 counties. Practically all of these points were rural.

Further, adult classes in homemaking were taught by local teachers in 47 centers to a total of 9202 persons. The county supervisors also taught evening classes to 371 persons in 23 places. Most of this adult effort, however, was carried out with urban women notably in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and the larger centers. Especially was this true with local home economics teachers. Less than a thousand farm and village women availed themselves of this opportunity.

The concept of homemaking education as it is conceived in the state department emphasizes improvement of home and family living for both children and adults in school and out of school. It stresses the need for finding out the interests, needs, and abilities of all classes to do an effective work. Recent goals[21] for the organization of homemaking education in Pennsylvania point to the development of program on a community basis, to the recognition of individual interests and abilities, to the expansion of the older youth and adult program, to the improvement of supervision of work, to increased research in the field, and to the development of home economics work centers for teacher training.

The distribution of vocational home economic units in Pennsylvania show much the same pattern as we have seen with respect to vocational agriculture departments (Figure 102). Although there are more centers where vocational home economics is taught, as compared with vocational agriculture, this increase does not take place uniformly over the state.

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21. "Public Education" Dept. of Pub. Inst. Harrisburg, Jan. 1940, p. 13.

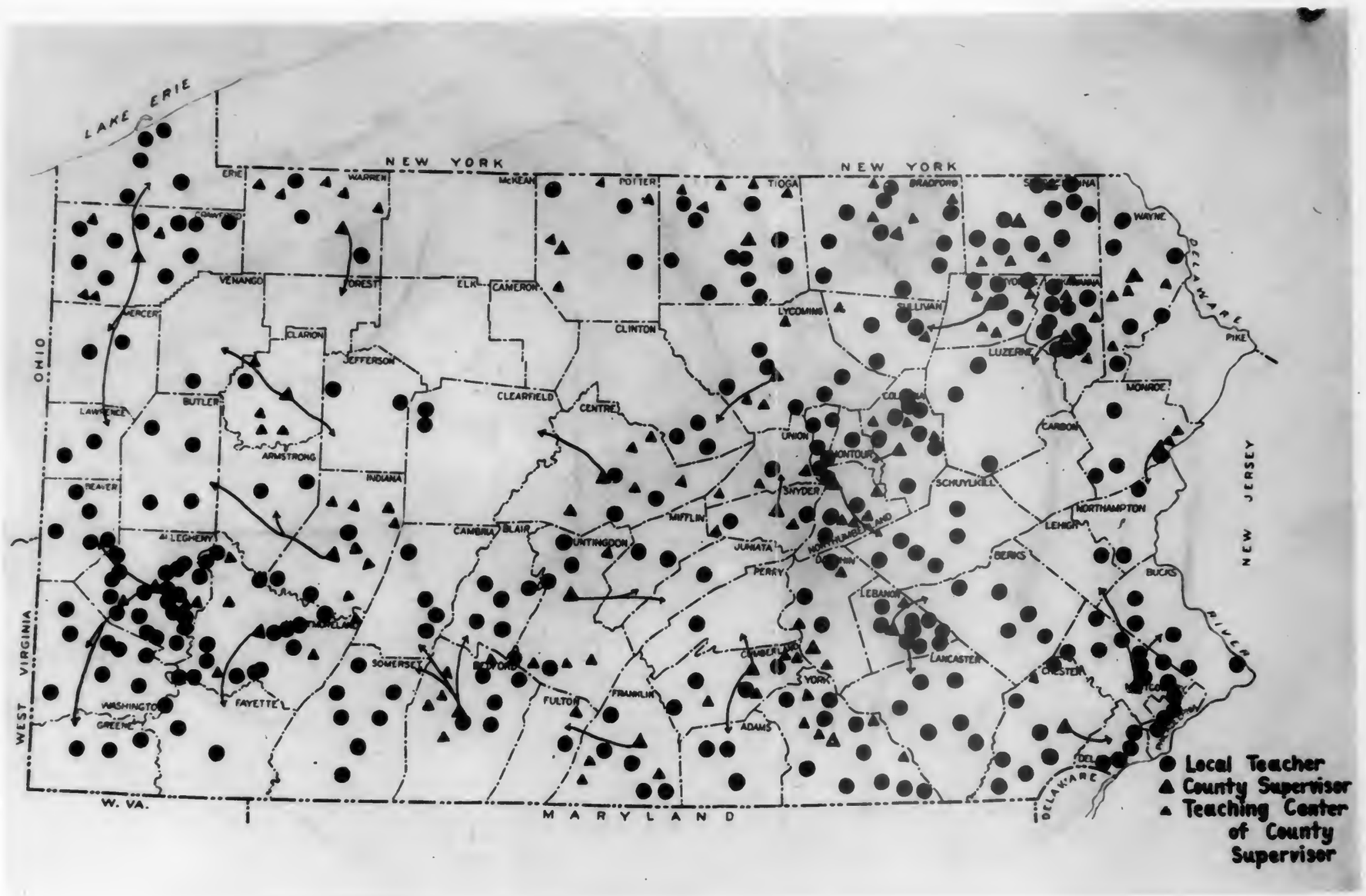

Figure 102. Location of Vocational Home Economics Units in Pennsylvania, 1958-59.

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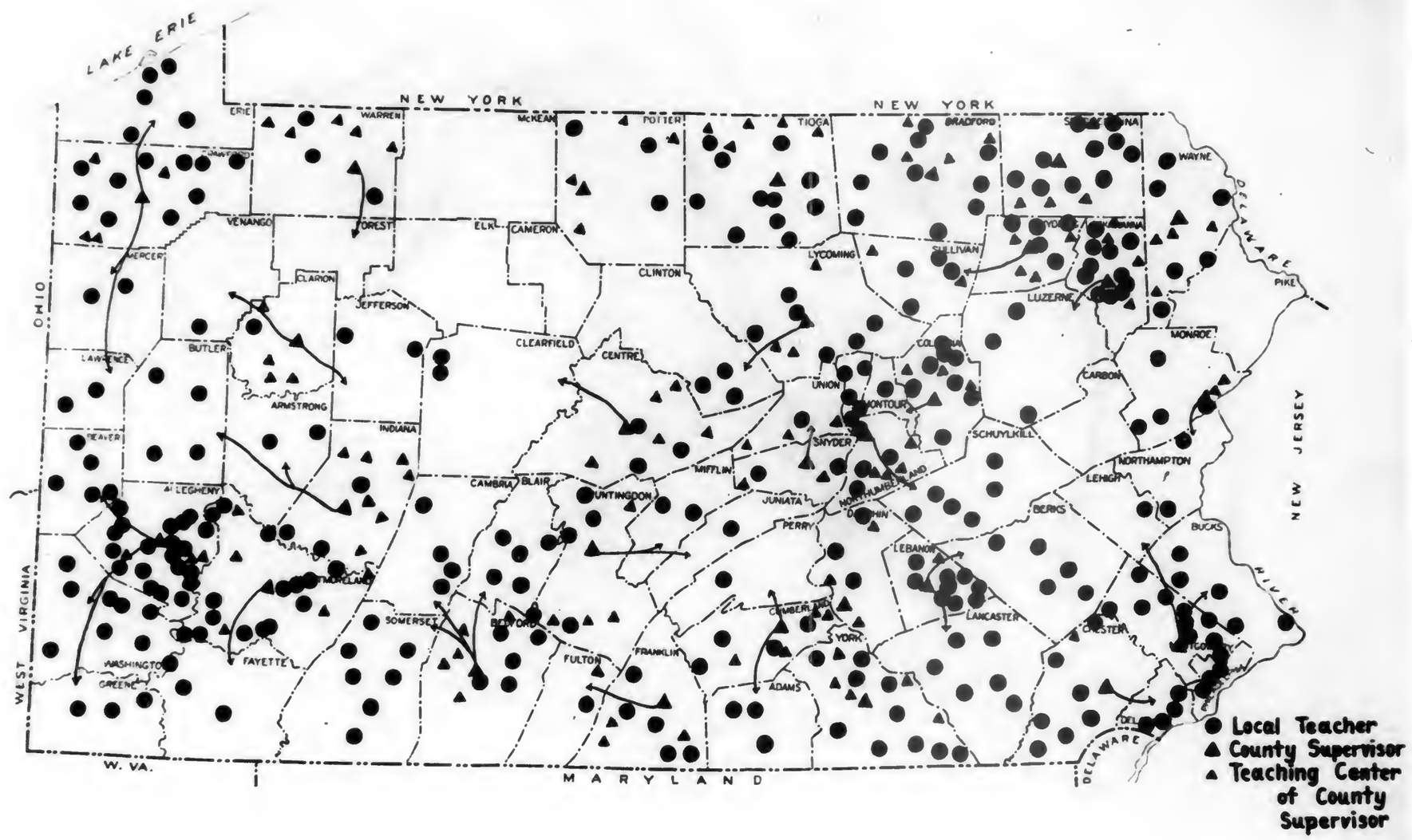


Figure 102. Location of Vocational Home Economics Units in Pennsylvania, 1938-39.

In the counties contiguous to Pittsburgh, for example, there is a much greater concentration of home economics work than vocational agricultural work. The same can be said of parts of northeastern Pennsylvania. Whereas there are no agricultural units in Fayette County, there are three vocational home economics centers.

On the other hand, home economics is taught in but seven places in Somerset County while agriculture is taught in 18 schools in the county. Comparably, Erie County has five vocational home economics departments and nine agricultural units. In the main home economics work is available to rural girls through out the state. There are a few counties where this training cannot be obtained. But new departments are being organized each year.

f.) Extension Schools and Classes.

The development of general adult education programs in connection with the schools has been an almost exclusive urban development. In 1939 only 28 school districts conducted extension schools and classes. Practically all of these districts included large cities. Only two were in centers under 2500 and these were in industrial areas.

In 1939-40, according to a report from the Chief of Extension Education of the state department of public instruction, there were 27 places in fourth class districts"which have organized or contemplate organization" of extension education classes. At least three fourths of these were in larger villages and towns under 5000 population. How many strictly rural persons this program touched is not known. It appears to be just beginning in rural territory, but up to the present time this movement has not affected farm and village people appreciably.

g.) Colleges and Universities.

Pennsylvania is well supplied with colleges and universities. Only New York, Illinois, and Ohio have more.[22] Counting all sizes and kinds there are 91 in the commonwealth.

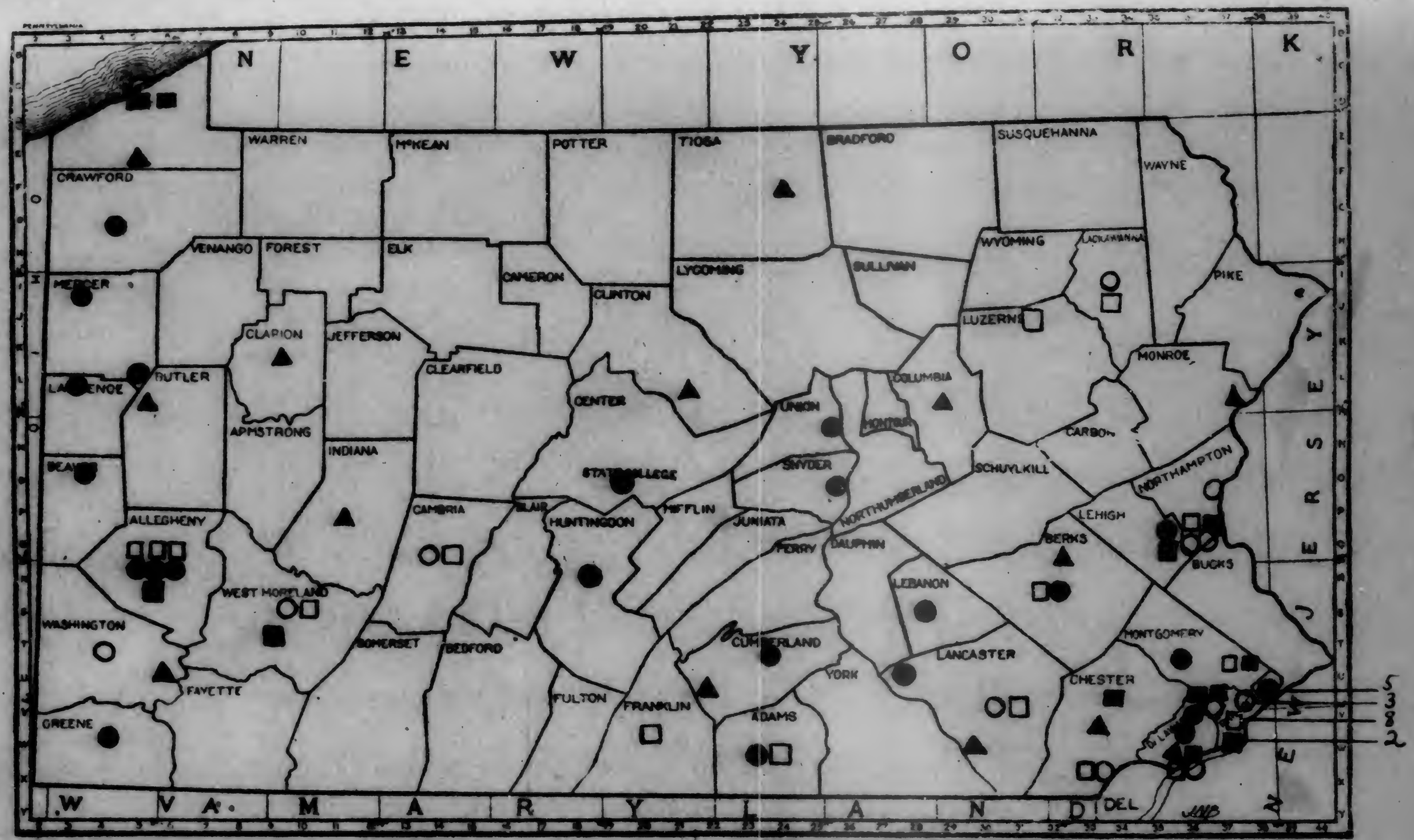
Figure 103 shows the distribution of these educational centers geographically and by type of organization. In 1940 there were 14 state teachers colleges, 27 coeducational institutions, 14 men's colleges, 13 women's colleges, and 23 theological seminaries. This number of theological seminaries does not include all colleges which offer theological training. Several colleges offer such work as a part of their regular program.

There is a heavy concentration of the colleges in Philadelphia and its hinterland, southeastern Pennsylvania. A secondary concentration is to be found in western Pennsylvania around Pittsburgh which has seven centers of higher education, second only to Philadelphia's 18. Each of the counties forming the western tier has one or more colleges.

The area in greatest need of such centers is northern Pennsylvania, especially in the Allegheny Plateau. The entire northern tier of counties has but one higher institution, a state teachers college in Tioga County. There is some tendency for colleges and universities to correspond with density of population. However, this does not hold for either the hard coal or soft coal regions. In these two areas Catholic colleges and seminaries predominate.

The ratio of college students in Pennsylvania to the total number of youth in the 18 to 21 years of age was 9.9. For the United States it was 11.7 per cent. The range was from 4.4 per cent in Mississippi to 22.6 per

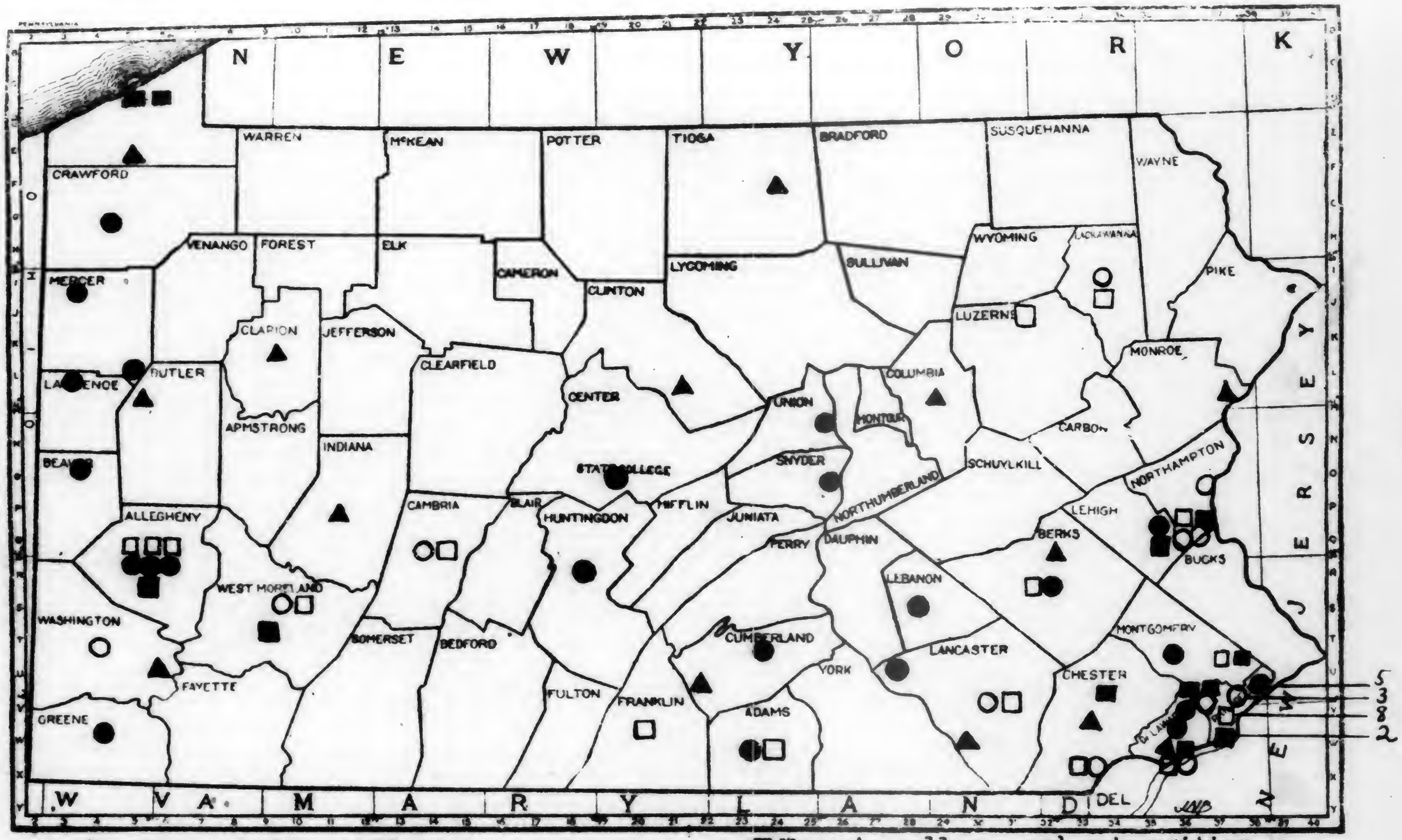
22. Advisory Comm. on Ed. op. cit. p. 182.



▲ State teachers colleges
● Coeducational colleges and universities
○ Men's colleges and universities
■ Women's colleges and universities
□ Theological seminaries

Figure 10. LOCATION OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN PENNSYLVANIA BY COUNTIES - 1959

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



▲ State teachers colleges
● Coeducational colleges and universities
○ Men's colleges and universities
■ Women's colleges and universities
□ Theological seminaries

Figure [illegible] LOCATION OF COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES IN PENNSYLVANIA BY COUNTIES - 1959

cent in Utah. The ratio of college graduates in 1934 to the freshman enrollment two years earlier was 64.7 per cent whereas it was but 44.5 per cent in the United States. Persistence to graduation is therefore commendable in Pennsylvania colleges.[23]

Three-fourths of the colleges in the state are private. The State Teachers Colleges are public supported as well as the Pennsylvania State College. In addition five schools in Philadelphia and one in Pittsburgh receive some state aid. All of these latter offer medicine. The rest of the higher institutions are operated on private funds. Most of these private schools are governed by religious bodies, the largest group of schools coming under catholic jurisdiction.

The proportion of privately supported higher institutions in comparison to public has not declined as it has with elementary and secondary schools. As a matter of fact private colleges and universities are on the increase.

The terms college and university are not meaningful when applied to higher institutions in the commonwealth. On the one hand a college may enroll more than 7000 students. At the same time there are universities that may have less than 500 students. Needless to say, there is considerable variability between institutions both as regards size and equipment, kind of work offered, and quality of teaching.

The adult citizens paid but $1.55 each for higher public education in the commonwealth in 1952. Only six states paid less while a few of the western states paid over $5.00 per adult for this purpose.[24]

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23. Ibid. pp. 164-167.
24. Keely and McNeely, The State and Higher Education. p. 257.

In summary, the data of this section lend weight to a number of the hypotheses in chapter one. We see, for example, that the kind, number, and quality of educational agencies vary greatly from one area to another. The reasons for these variations are related to certain environmental conditions such as roads, topography, population density, and ability to pay. Thus, we have noticed in the foregoing figures that the poorer, rougher, areas with bad roads and low standard of living have relatively greater numbers of one-room schools and few consolidated schools proportionately. In this same connection it is seen that the population characteristics influence the type and location of schools. Thus the Pennsylvania German area has not progressed as far with the centralization problem as their population density, roads, and economic resources would permit.

It is found further that the factor of leadership is important. Thus counties side by side reveal quite different patterns in the availability of school agencies. This is coupled frequently with the attitude of the county superintendent toward one-room schools,and toward consolidated schools, and toward education in general.

Certain areas of the state are in a "favored" position with respect to formal education. Thus in successive maps we find that the high income counties tend to have a larger per cent of children in schools, higher teachers salaries, and greater retentivity of high school pupils. On the other hand the Allegheny Plateau area suffers in these respects by comparison.

To the degree that the kind and quality of education reflects economic well-being, to that degree there appears to be some relationship to the proposed socio-economic areas. However, as to the actual location of the school agencies themselves, there appears to be only a little correspondence

with these delineated areas.

2. Agricultural Extension Service.

Another agency which is of particular interest to farm and village people is the extension service of the College of Agriculture. Agriculture has always had to face the problem of economic and social change. Today, perhaps more than ever before, there is a need for economic and social adjustment in agriculture and rural life. Success in meeting these changes satisfactorily depends upon keeping the farm population informed as to new developments, trends, and problems not only within agriculture itself but in the larger society of which rural life is a part. The responsibility of performing this educational function is the task of the agricultural extension service. Both the extension service and the Agricultural Experiment Station at the Pennsylvania State College operate directly in the interests of the farm families of the commonwealth. The experiment station is constantly conducting research to discover better methods of plant and animal production, better methods of marketing, and new information regarding farm family living which will increase the well being of residents in the state. The extension service, in turn, carries the results of these investigations, together with research results from other states, out to the farms and homes in the commonwealth. It is an educational service which extends from the college to the farm home through a system of supervisors, subject matter specialists, and county extension representatives. These latter men women serve the farms and homes directly thru the conduct of educational meetings, demonstrations, farm and home visits, distributing literature, office calls, and the like.

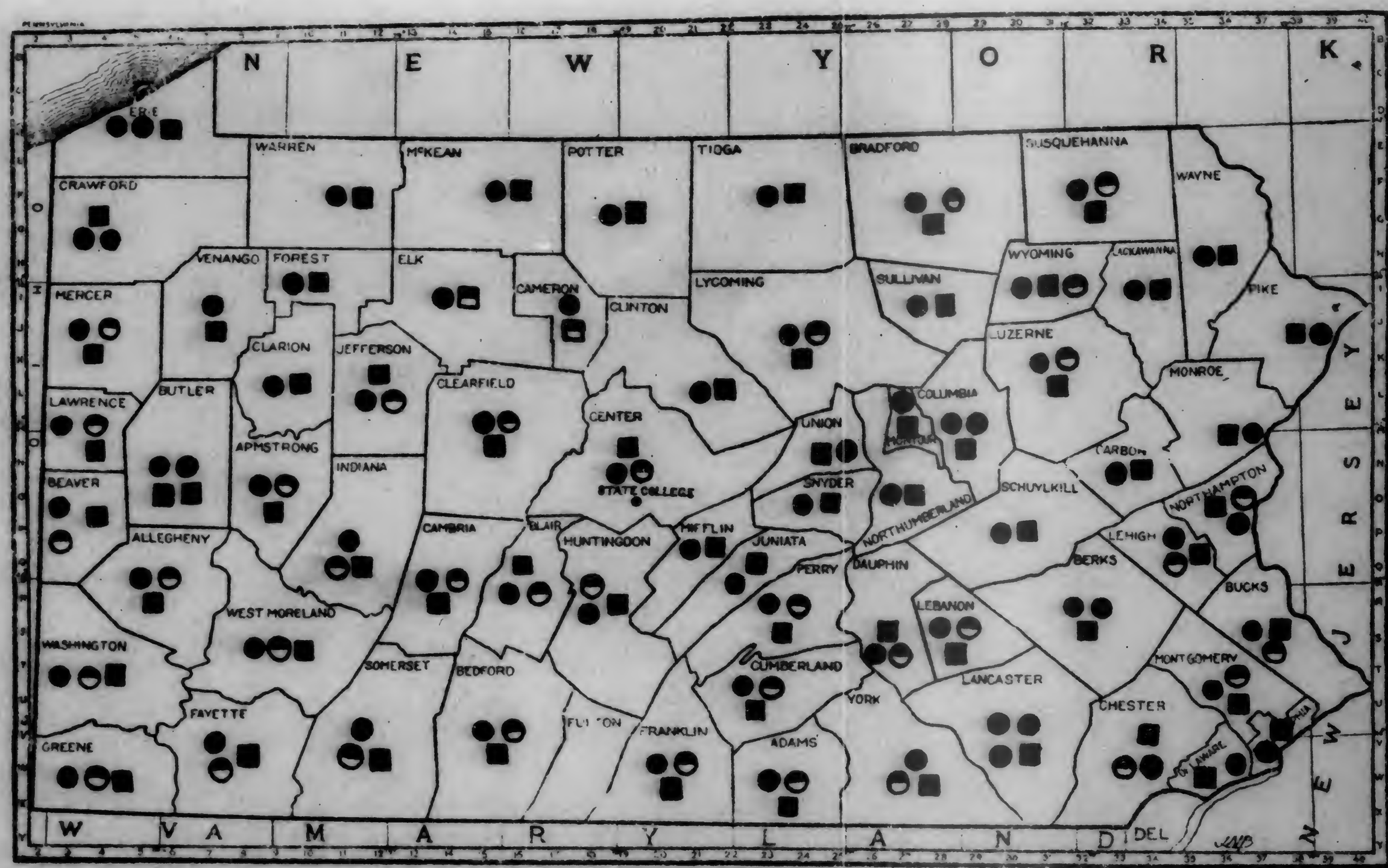
The first County Agricultural Agent in Pennsylvania was appointed in 1912. With the passage of the Smith-Lever Act in 1914 providing funds for this work the movement has spread rapidly. Smith-Lever Funds in 1914 to Pennsylvania amounted to $46,000; in 1939 these funds alone had expanded to $245,000. In 1939, a quarter of a century later, the staff of administrators, specialists, and field agents numbered 200 with a total outlay of about a million dollars for this educational work.[25]

a.) Adult Work.

The distribution of county agricultural and home economics representatives is shown in Figure 104. The state is entirely covered with the exception of Fulton County which is not organized for service. All counties have at least one full time farm agent and all but two counties have at least one full time home demonstration agent. In Cameron and Elk Counties one worker divides her time. A majority of the counties have additional assistants in the form of part-time agricultural workers. A few counties have additional full-time workers. In 1939 there were 86 agricultural agents and 65 Home Economics agents in the counties of Pennsylvania. Some effort has been made to distribute the number of these workers in terms of the number of farms and farm population available but this situation does not carry very far.

Each of these employees receives his full salary from the Pennsylvania State College of Agriculture and unlike many states receive no salary from the county. County offices and stenographic help are maintained by the county. These agents, both men and women, are considered representatives of The Pennsylvania State College in their respective counties.

25. Source: Central Office, Agricultural Extension Service. Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.

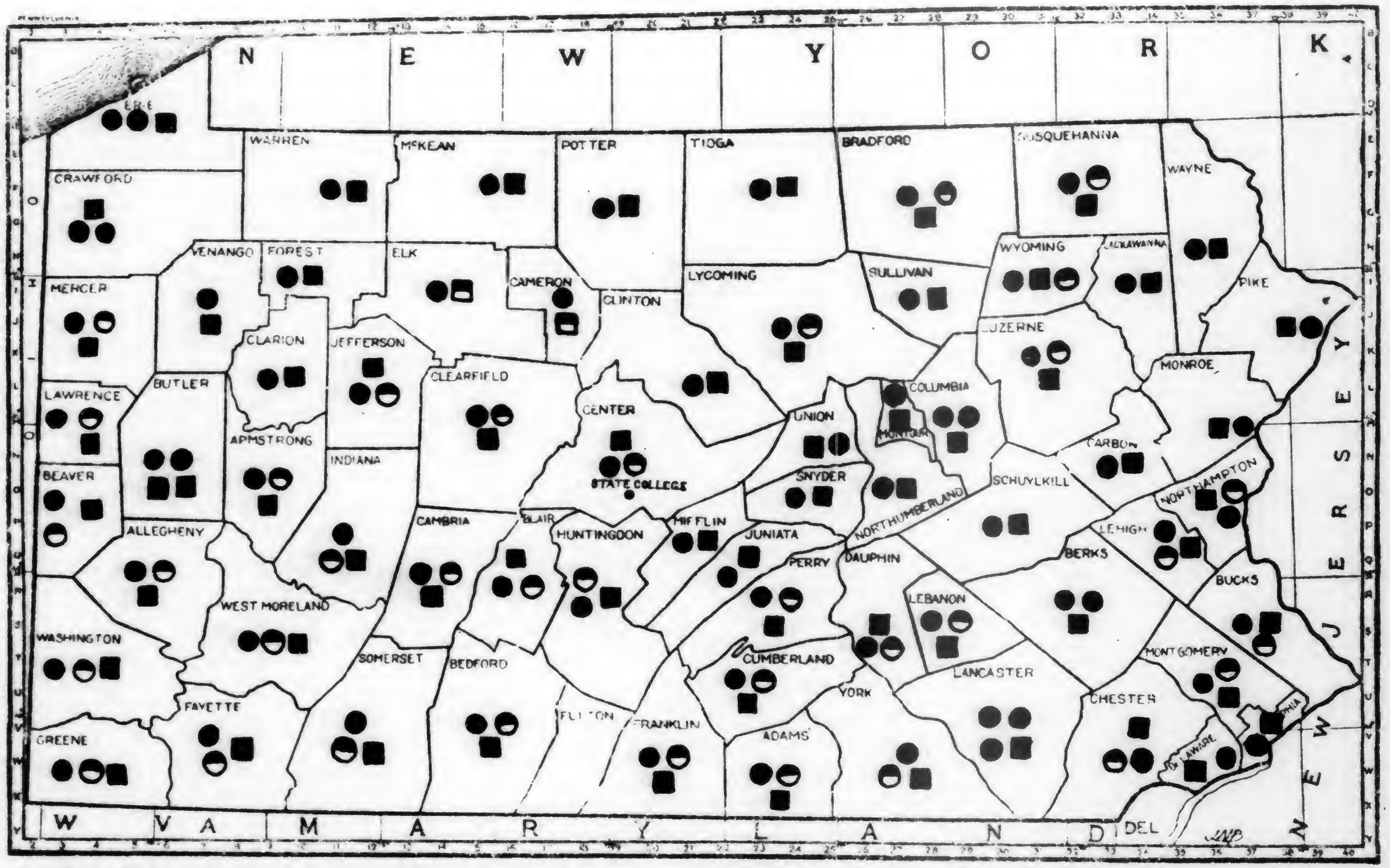


■ Full-Time Home Economics Worker ● Full-Time Agricultural Worker

◘ Part-Time Home Economics Worker ◒ Part-Time Agricultural Worker

Figure 1[illegible]. - Location of County Agricultural Extension Representatives in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



■ Full-Time Home Economics Worker ● Full-Time Agricultural Worker

◘ Part-Time Home Economics Worker ◒ Part-Time Agricultural Worker

Figure [illegible] - Location of County Agricultural Extension Representatives in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939

During 1939 a total of 7,627 demonstrations, 1917 roundups and tours, 19,860 club and general meetings, and 78 farm and home shows were held. This makes a total of 29,482 meetings conducted with a total attendance of 866,348 for the year.[26]

The unit of extension service in Pennsylvania is the "contact". This unit of measurement has been developed, over a long period of time, in such a way that large meetings such as county-wide annual meetings and dinners are adjusted to the smaller, yet more effective, demonstrations. In other words, units of service are counted not only on number of persons reached but upon the intensity of each contact as well. The contact attempts to get at the effectiveness of extension work as well as the volume of people serviced. The basis for the construction of this unit is the farm or home visit, each of which counts as one contact. In other words, one "contact" is equivalent to one improved practice on the farm or in the home.

On the basis of this type of enumeration Pennsylvania had a total of 468,090 improved practices during the fiscal year 1939. This includes both home economics and agricultural extension work. It amounted to an average of 7,092 contacts per county. Erie County with a total of 18,825 contacts was highest, whereas Cameron County with 1,996 units of service was the lowest.(Figure 105).[27] In general, near-eastern Pennsylvania counties had more extension work than the others. One strip of ten contiguous agricultural counties extended from Potter in the north to Lancaster in the south were all in the highest quarter.

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26. Source: Annual Report of Extension Service, 1939.
27. Ibidem.

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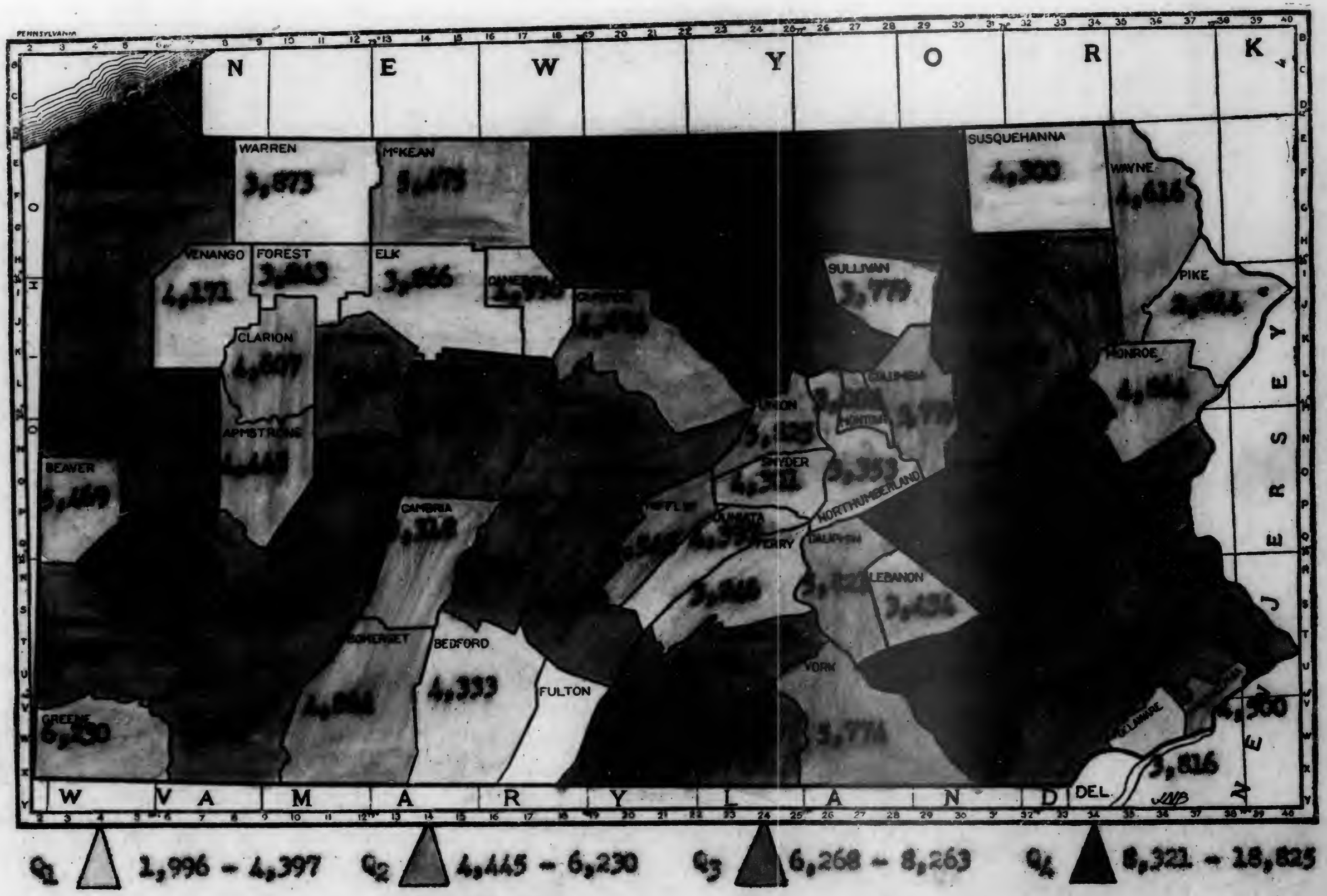

Figure 105a. Number of Improved Practices Per County in Pennsylvania, 1959.

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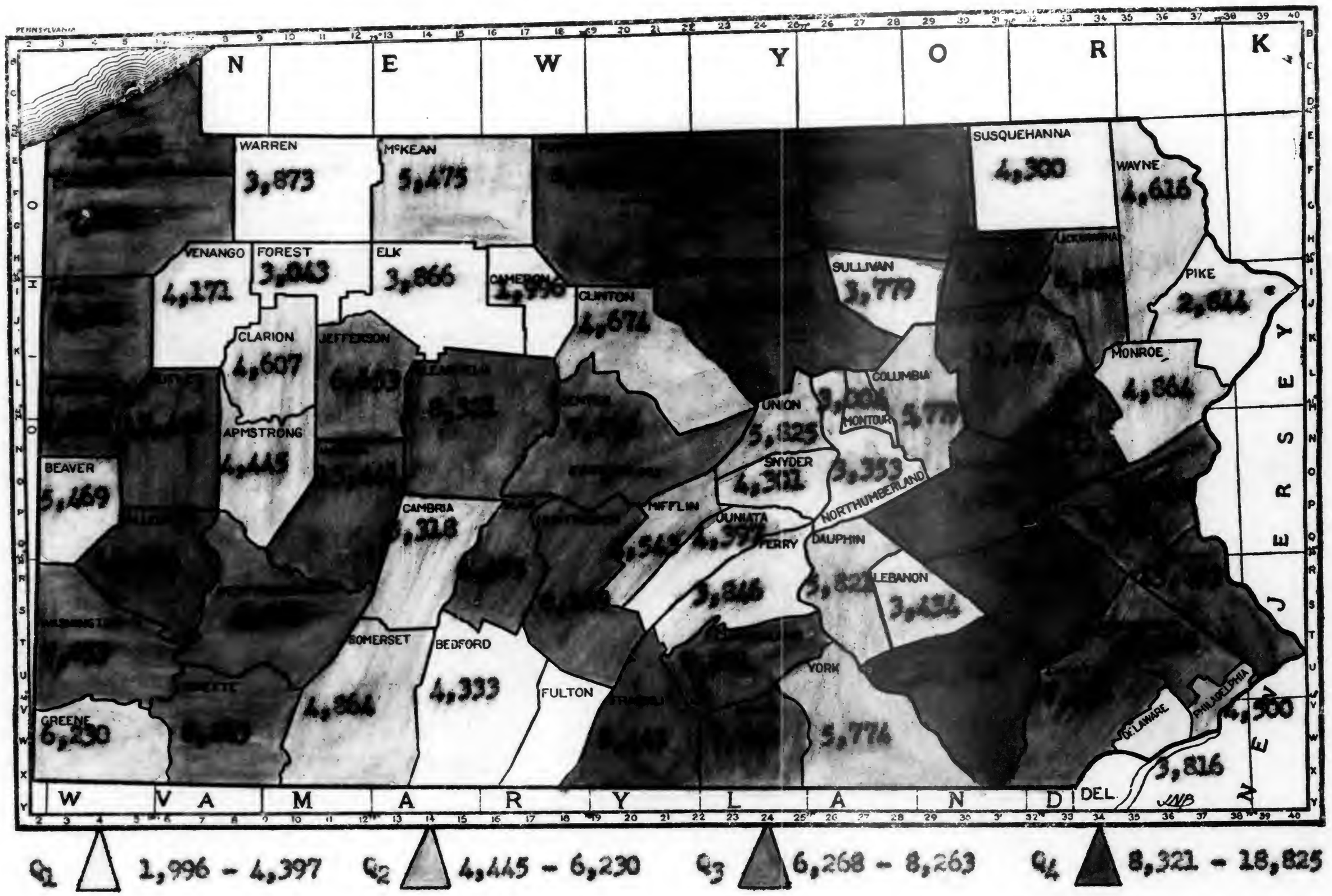


Figure 105a. Number of Improved Practices Per County in Pennsylvania, 1939.

However, mere numbers are no genuine index of the effectiveness of extension work in a county. For example such counties as Sullivan, Cameron, Elk, and Forest would have less extension work than the other counties because there are fewer farms and people than in such counties as Lancaster, York, and Erie.

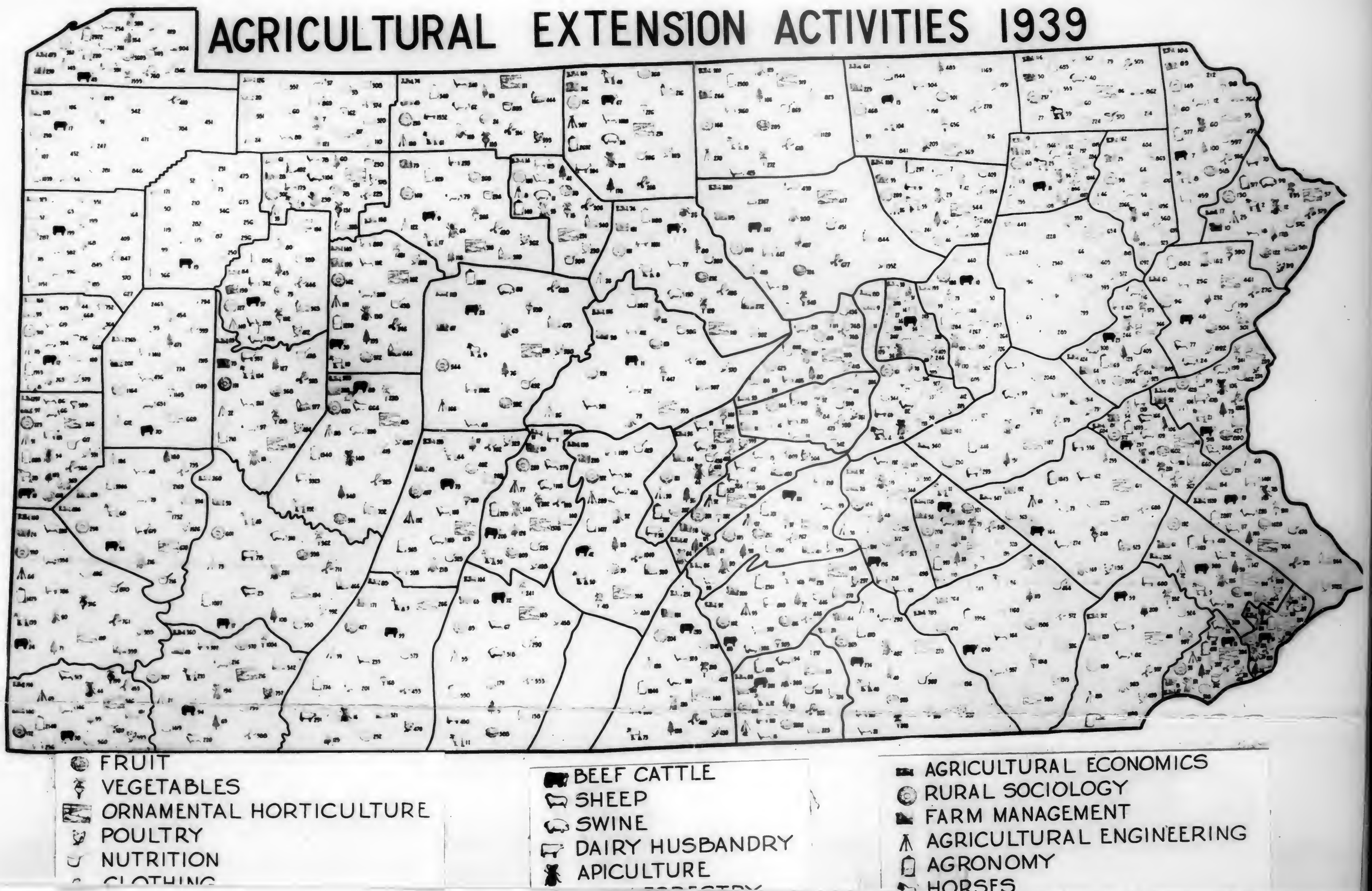
Figure 105b. shows this same situation pictographically. It shows the number of improved farm and home practices by lines of work in the counties of Pennsylvania for 1939. For example in Butler county 1184 improved practices in 1939 are recorded while in contiguous Armstrong county there were but 191 improved practices. Thus one is able to tell from this map exactly what, when, where and how much service was rendered. In short this figure constitutes a one page summary of the entire work for the year.

To prevent possible misinterpretation of facts the number of improved practices per county was divided by the number of farm families in the county. Figure 106 reveals that all but four counties in the fourth 25 per cent of the Figure 105a were removed from this quarter by the present analysis. On the other hand all but six of the first quarter counties in the former figure were relegated to a lower position in the latter map. Thus the situation is changed markedly.

For the state as a whole each farm family received 2.45 units of extension service in 1939. This is equivalent to about two and one-half improved practices for each farm family in the commonwealth. The range shows great extremes, from .75 in York County to 15.73 in Philadelphia County. In other words if we can use these figures as an accurate measure, the farm population of Philadelphia County was served 6.4 times as well

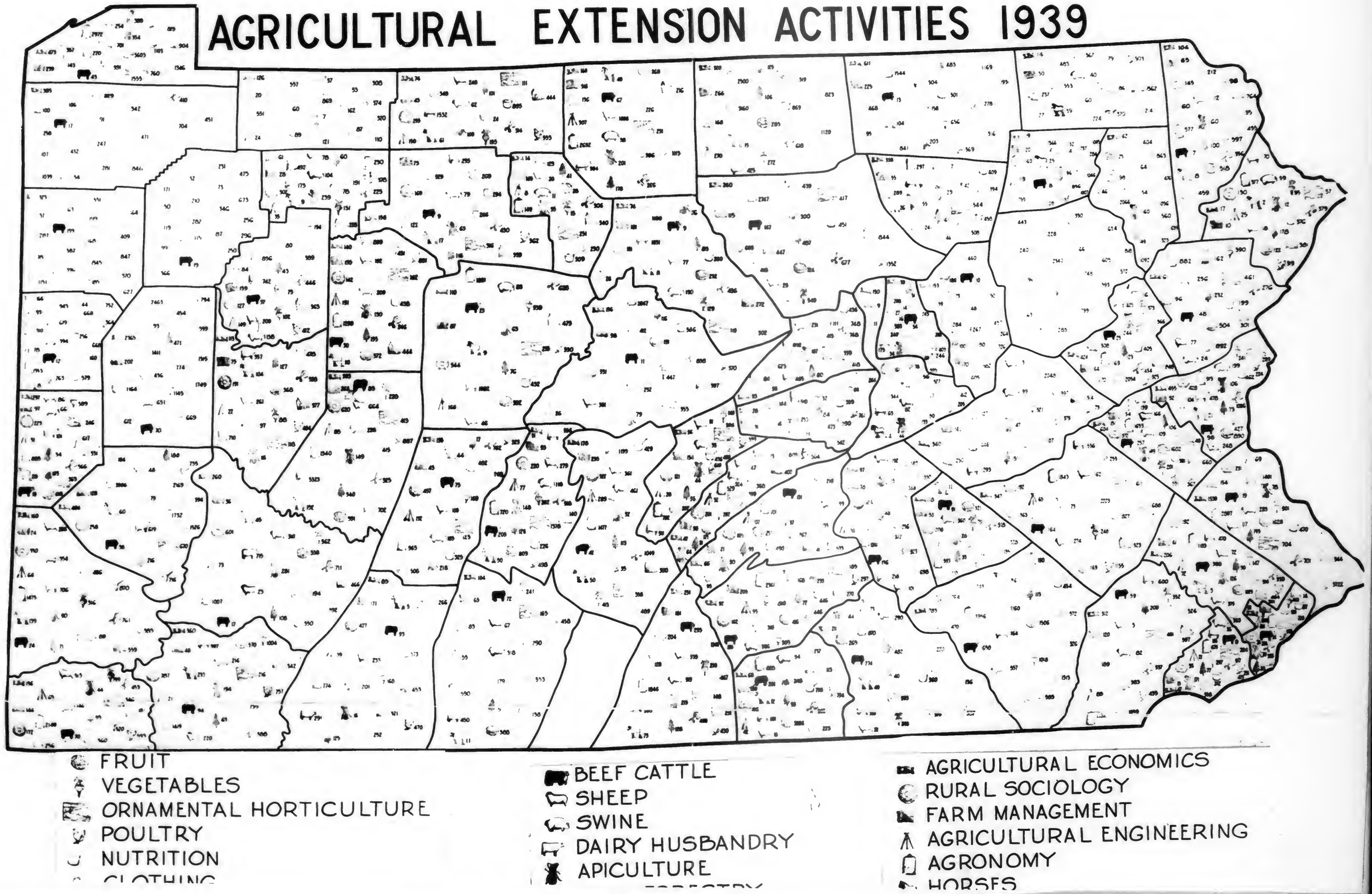
Figure 105b. Distribution of Improved Farm and Home Practices In Agricultural Extension Work by Lines of Work in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION ACTIVITIES 1939



INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION ACTIVITIES 1939



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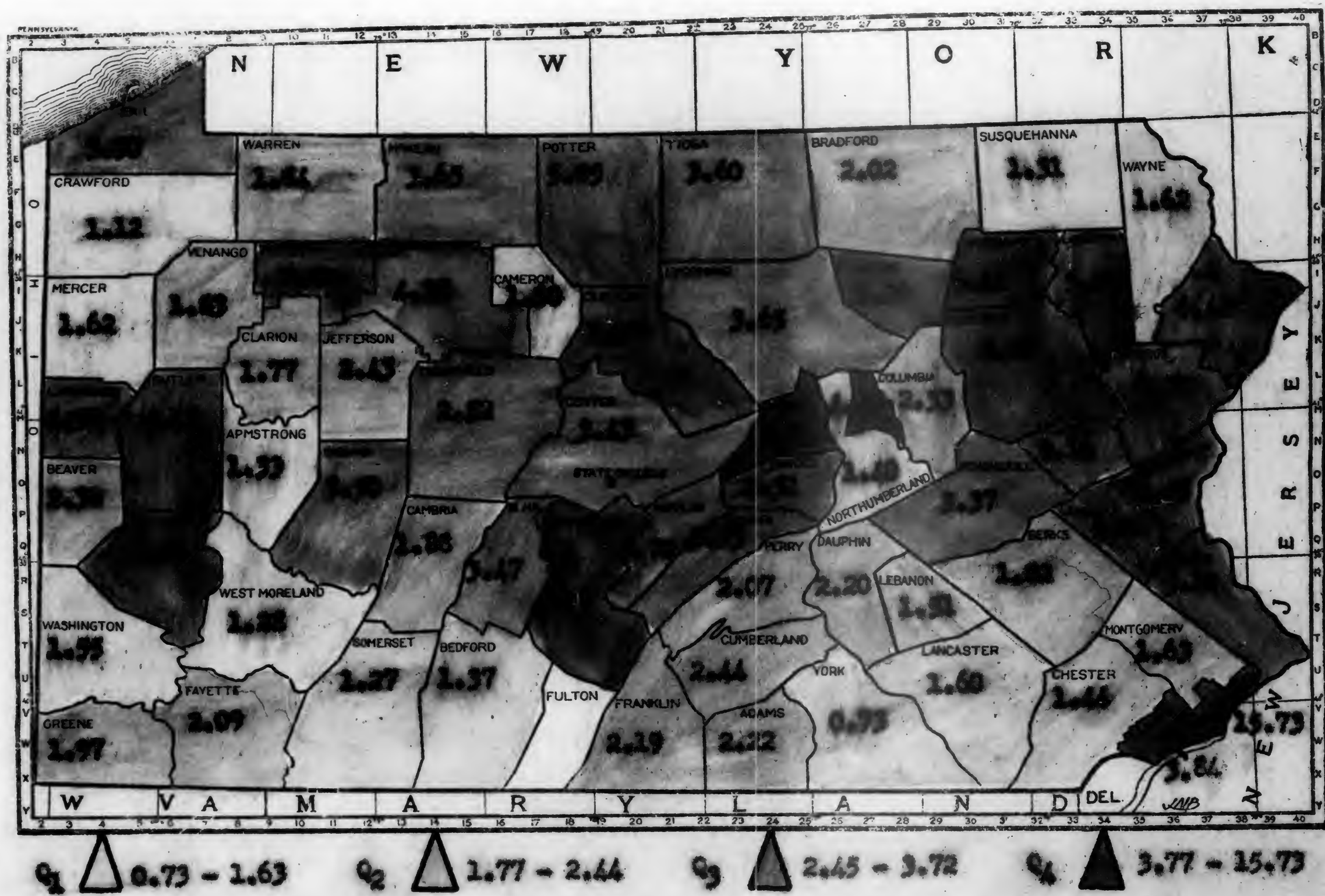

Figure 108. Number of Improved Practices Per Farm Family in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1952.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

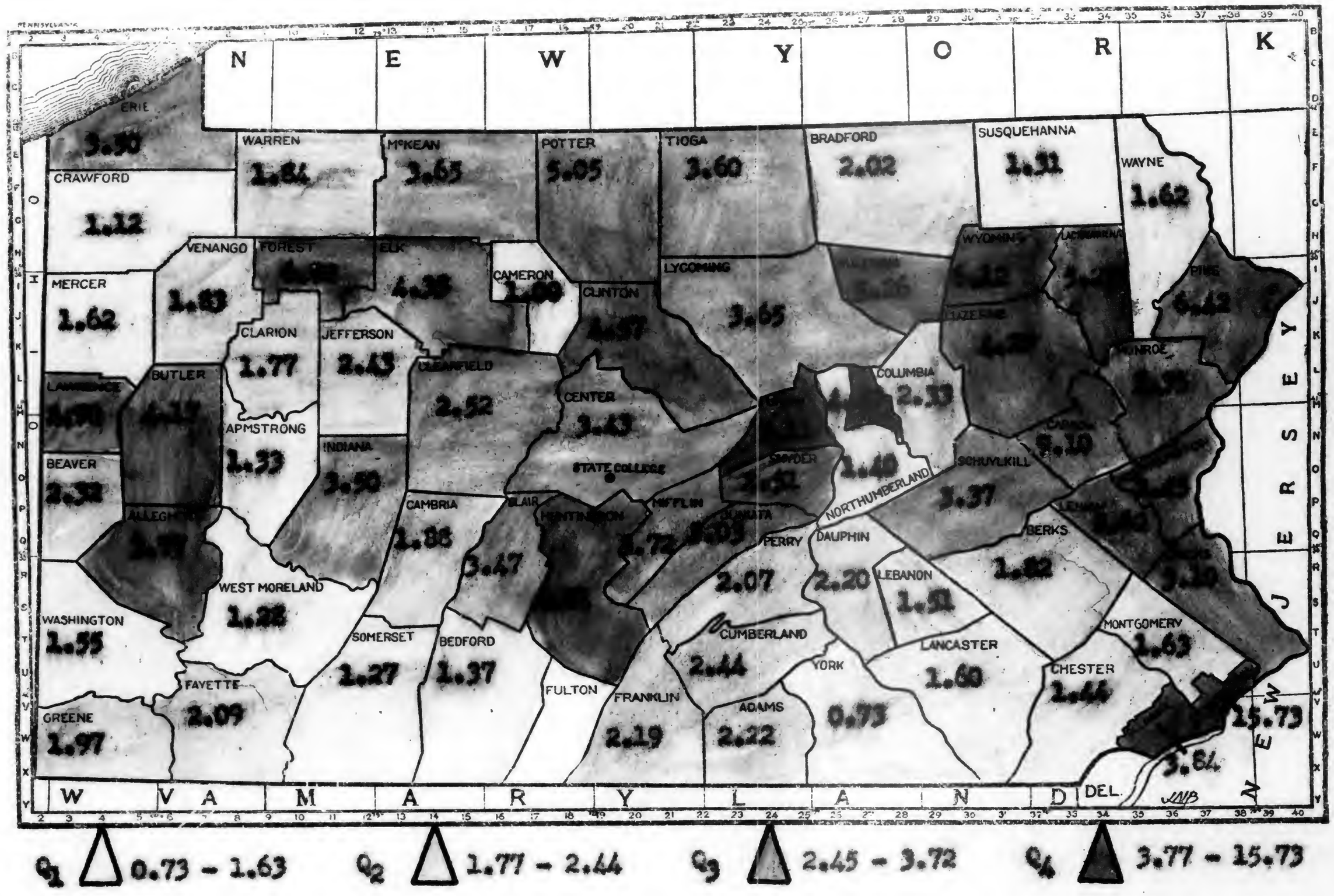

Figure 106. Number of Improved Practices Per Farm Family in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938.

as in York County. In a general way, central Pennsylvania from east to west is best served by the agricultural extension division while the southern tier of counties appear to be least well served.

A word of caution may be helpful at this point. Whereas the larger agricultural counties provide a greater opportunity for service, yet the task of getting around to all farms and of influencing all farmers and their wives in using improved practices is a relatively more difficult one than in counties where the agricultural population is more limited. Therefore, these data do not necessarily indicate the effectiveness of the extension worker. They merely show the effectiveness with which farm people are being served; and reveal also those counties which, because of the number of farm families, are undermanned and which merit increased field staff.

The importance of this fact is brought out when correlations between the size of the farm population by counties and the per capita service rendered are run. This reveals the figure -- .62. In other words the families in the counties with small farm populations are served over three times as well as the counties with large farm populations.

County farm agents work primarily with farmers although non-farm populations in certain places are aided with their problems. Fifteen classes of service are rendered under the following subject matter heads: Agricultural Economics, Rural Sociology, Farm Management, Agricultural Engineering, Agronomy, Animal Husbandry, Dairy Husbandry, Entomology, Apiculture, Forestry, Pomology, Vegetable Gardening, Ornamental Horticulture, Plant Pathology and Poultry.[28] There are one or more state specialists in each of these fields who work with the county representatives.

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28. Extension Project Summary - Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. 1934, p. 1.

This work is carried on through organized community programs in each county in connection with the County Agricultural Extension Association. This latter organization has been developed for the specific function of aiding the work of improving the conditions of agriculture and rural life. The governing body of the county association is the Executive Committee, a body of 10 or 20 men and women, chosen to represent various lines of work and various communities in the county. The group determines policy, helps with developing the county program, aids in securing and disbursing funds, and are important cogs in their home communities in developing an effective program of extension work. Methods employed are lectures, discussions, movies, demonstrations, circular letters, bulletins, office calls, and farm visits.

During 1939 the office of publications estimates that 50,000 research bulletins and 225,000 extension bulletins were distributed to families in the state.

The extension service makes a point of cooperating with other agencies, both public and private, whenever possible. The Grange, schools, federal agencies, cooperatives, and farm organizations receive educational aid at both the state and local levels.

The home economics program is designed to teach approved practices in homemaking, to give opportunity for personal development through continuing education, and to give training and leadership experience in local affairs.

The work in home economics is divided into three fields; nutrition and health, clothing, and home management. State specialists aid in developing each of these fields. The county home economics work is represented by lay women on the county extension executive committee.

Whereas the work of the men is largely with farmers, the program of home economics extension involves a great many village and open country nonfarm families. One of the strong motivations behind these group meetings is the desire for sociability. This group experience is an outlet for emotional energies, and provides a medium for attaining status and recognition, for new experience, and for establishing satisfying response patterns.

The location of the 784 adult home making extension clubs is shown in Figure 107. The small counties comprising the Allegheny Mountain range have a concentration of home economics groups. The eastern half of the state shows a heavier distribution of home economics groups than western Pennsylvania while a diagonal streak through central Pennsylvania from north to south shows a less dense scatteration.[29]

These adult groups are formed at the request of local leaders to the county home economics extension worker. She arranges a program of activity (usually throughout the winter months) which is consistent with the interests and needs of the members in the local community. The common practice is for these clubs to meet at a specified day and hour every two weeks. There are no dues in these local extension groupings and commonly no officers. The group is very loose knit and a conscious attempt is made to have it remain so in order that all persons in the community, farm or village, rich or poor, will feel free to attend these open meetings. In other words, these local clubs are simply aggregations of women who may attend these meetings at their own volition with no responsibility for continuous or regular attendance.

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29. Source: County Home Economics Agents.

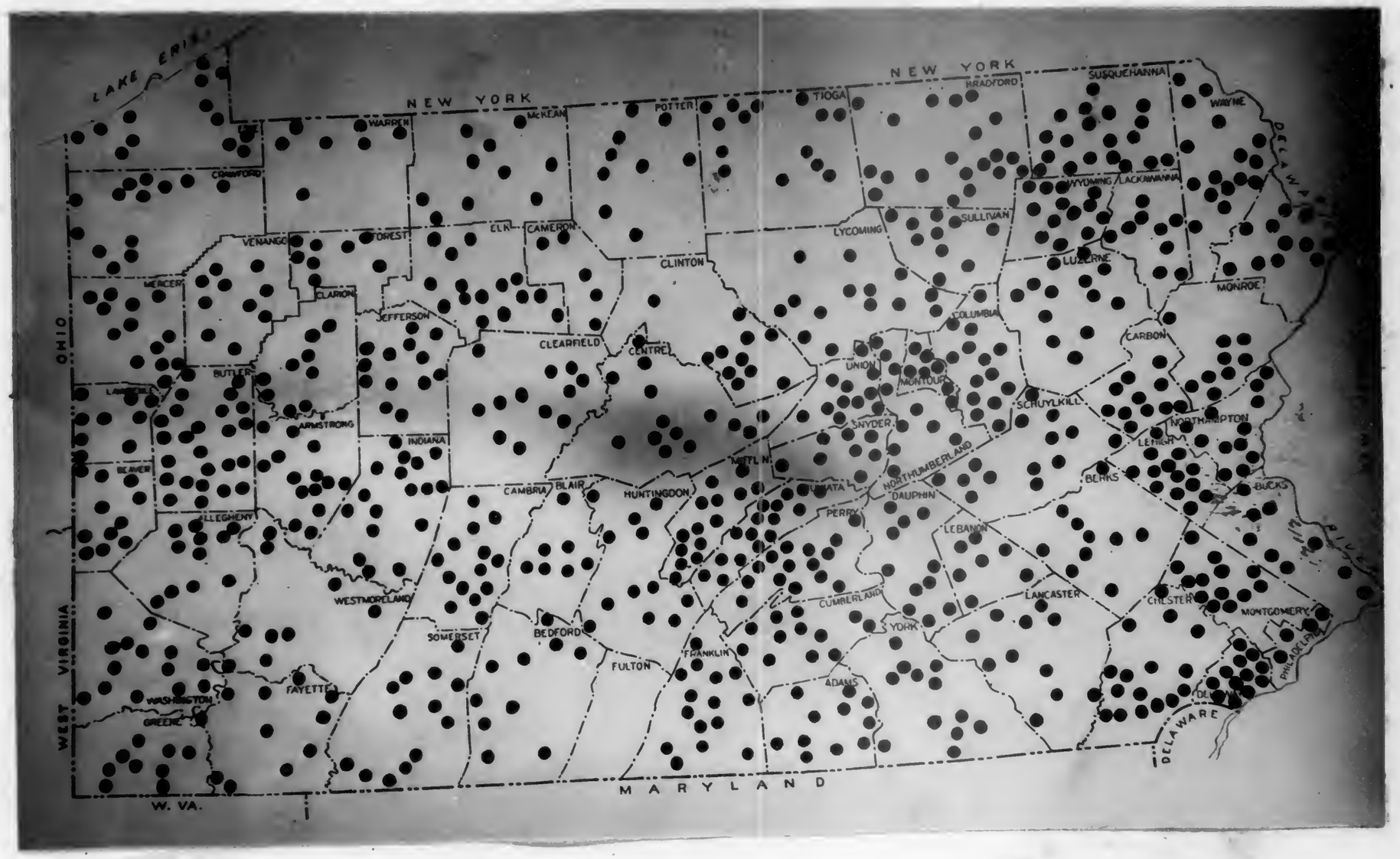

Figure 107. Location of Home Economics Extension Groups in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

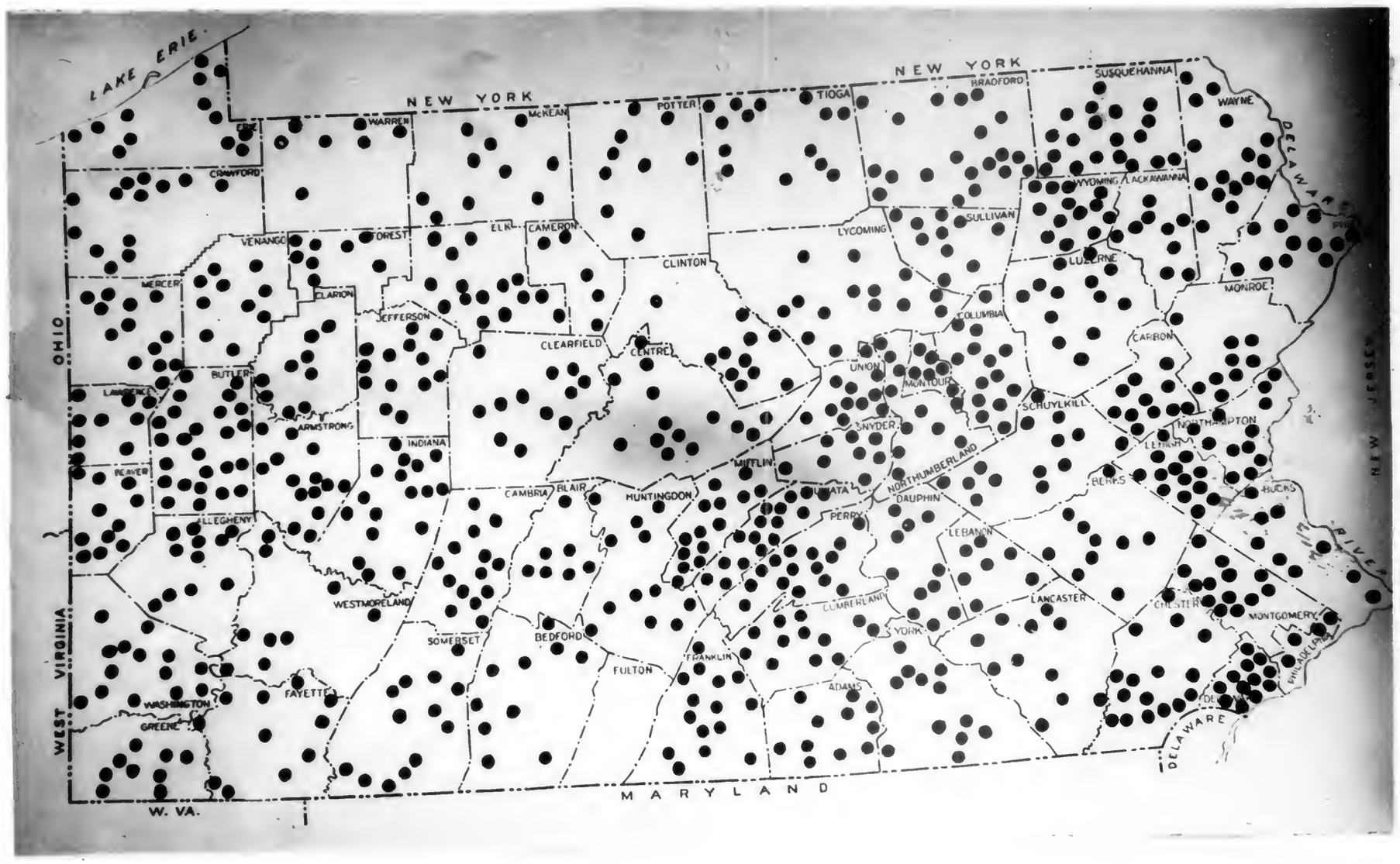

Figure 107. Location of Home Economics Extension Groups in Pennsylvania, 1939.

In general the distribution of home economics clubs is fairly evenly scattered throughout the state. Even the sparsely populated regions are well supplied. And this is as it should be for whether rural people are farm or village the need of adequate information on diet, clothing and home management is much the same. The average number of groups per county in 1939 was 12. The range was from 25 in Butler County (two workers) and 20 in Bradford county to 4 and 5 in Philadelphia and Cameron Counties respectively.

b.) Four-H Club Work.

(1) Boys Clubs.

The purpose of 4-H clubs is to provide training for head, heart, hands, and health of boys and girls to the end that they may become better farmers, homemakers and citizens of the community. Rural boys and girls between the ages of 10 and 20 are eligible. This is one of the important phases of agricultural extension work and is apparently gaining in importance. In 1939 there were 5,954 members of agricultural clubs. These clubs are organized, with officers, during the summer months. Although the nominal range in age is from 10 to 20, an analysis of the actual condition finds a preponderance of 4-H club youngsters from 10 to 14. The average age for 4-H boys and girls in Pennsylvania was 12.9 in 1937. Therefore, the analysis of the extent to which 4-H club work is reaching farm youth is figured on the number of farm children 10 to 14 years old in the total population by counties. Figure 106 shows the number of boy 4-H club members in Pennsylvania by counties.[30] It is seen that the southwest is generally high. A few counties such as

30. Source: 1939 Annual Report of Extension Service.

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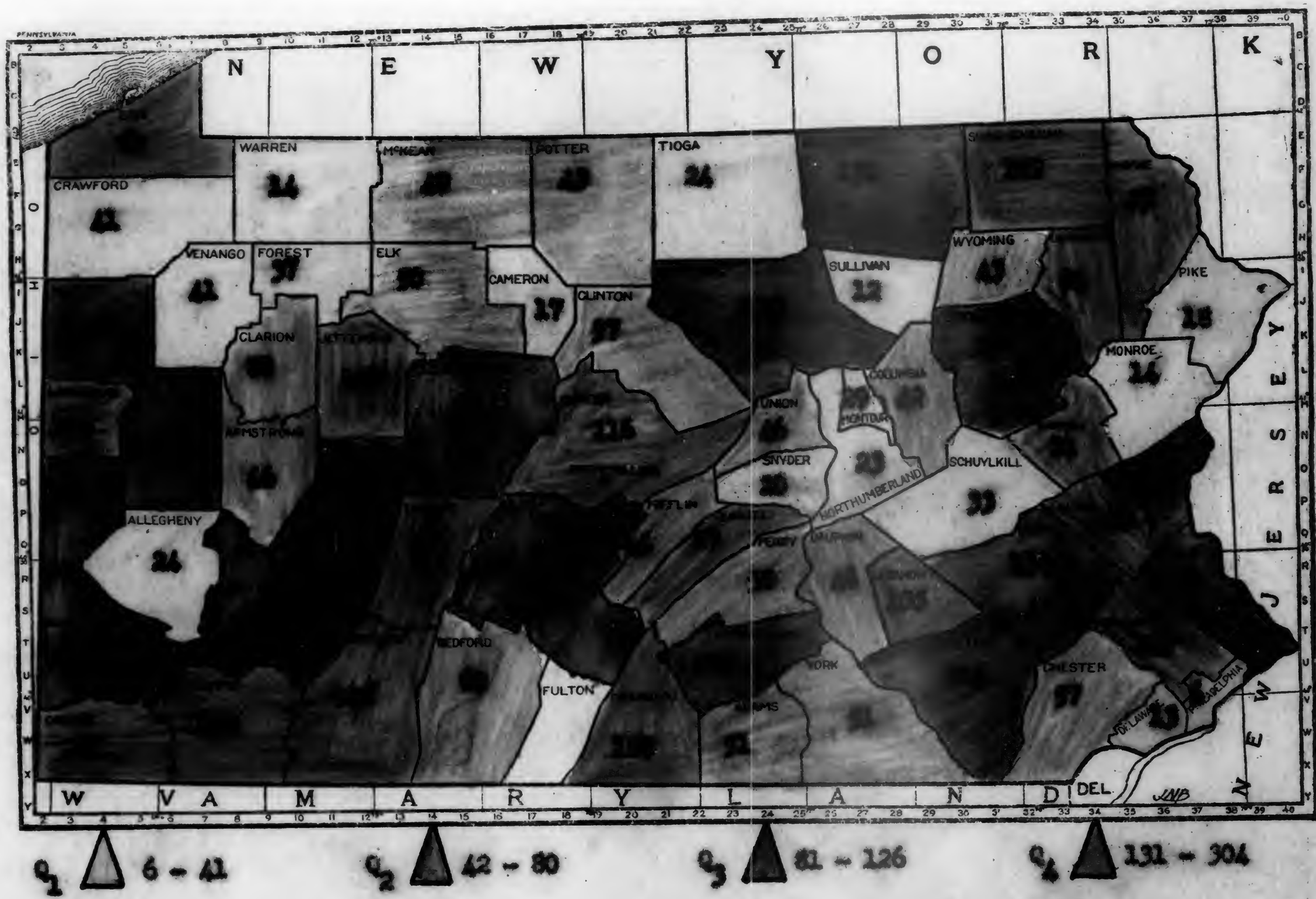

Figure 108. Number of Boy 4-H Club Members in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

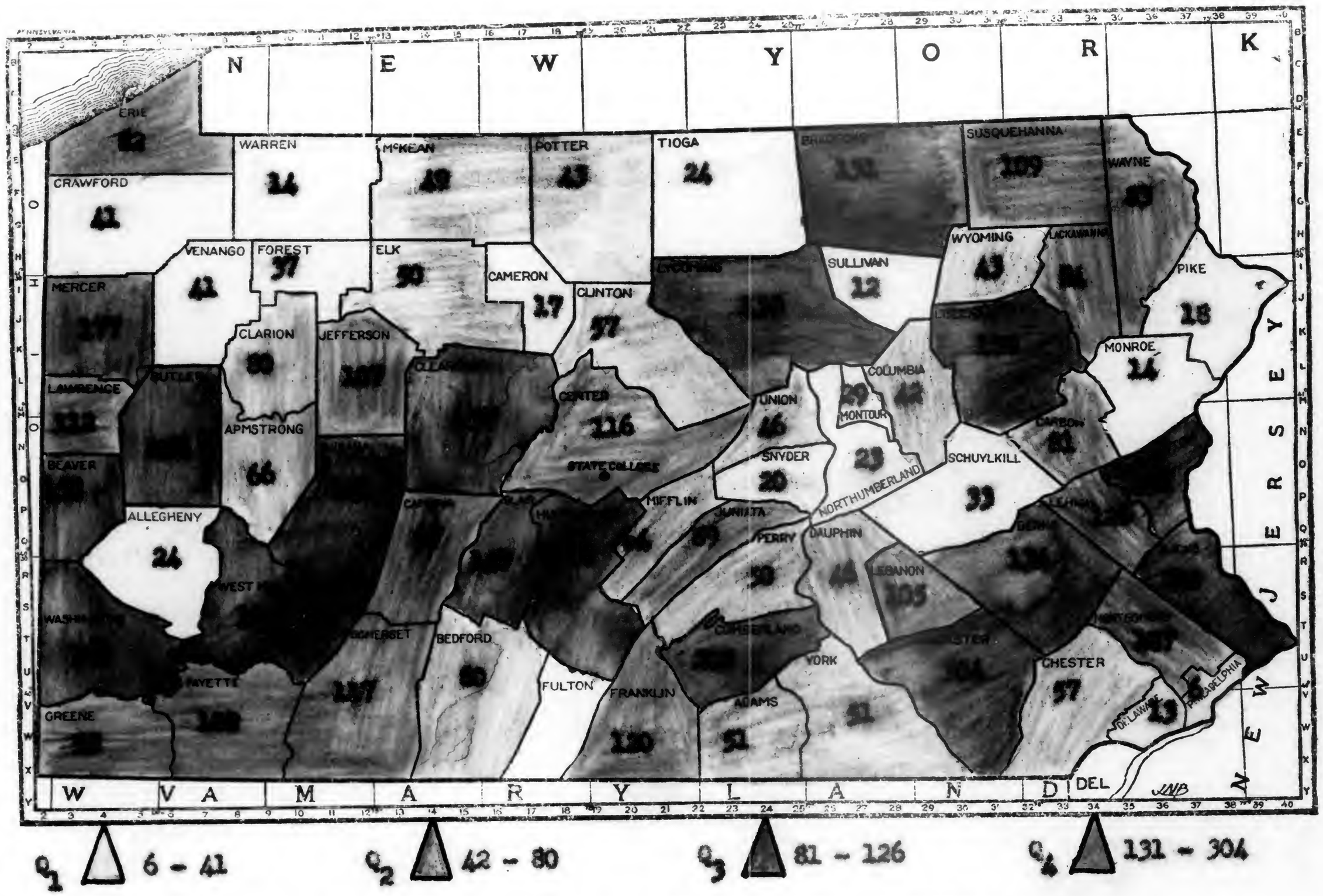

Figure 108. Number of Boy 4-H Club Members in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

Cumberland, Lancaster, Berks, Northampton, and Bucks in the southeast are high also. In general the two northern tiers of counties to the west of Bradford County are low in 4-H members. This is also true with east central Pennsylvania. The average number of boy 4-H members per county was 90.2 in 1939. The range was from 304 boys in Lancaster County to six in Philadelphia County.

The relation between 4-H club members and total farm boys is seen in Figure 109. This ratio is expressed in terms of number of club boys to 100 farm boys 10 to 14 years of age. In other words the present data serves as an index of how thoroughly the work is reaching potential 4-H members. It is seen that practically all counties in the upper Allegheny Plateau are including the highest proportion of farm boys in 4-H club work. On the other hand, the counties of southern Pennsylvania and especially those counties in Pennsylvania German territory are not reaching proportionately as large a number. The highest county was Forest in which there were 65.8 boys in 4-H club work per 100 boys 10 to 14 years of age on farms. York County at the other extreme had but three boys for every hundred farm boys 10 to 14. For the state as a whole the figure was 16 per cent.

The distribution of boys 4-H clubs in 1939 is shown in Figure 110.[31] During that year there were 675 such groups in the commonwealth. They spot the agricultural area of the state very well even though they do not follow the patterning of the agricultural population as a whole, for it will be seen that the sparsely populated Allegheny Plateau is almost as well provided with boys 4-H clubs as the more fertile and more heavily populated southeast. Only the southern tip of Clinton County has agricultural clubs and only two small collections of clubs are to be found in

31. Source: County Agricultural Agents.

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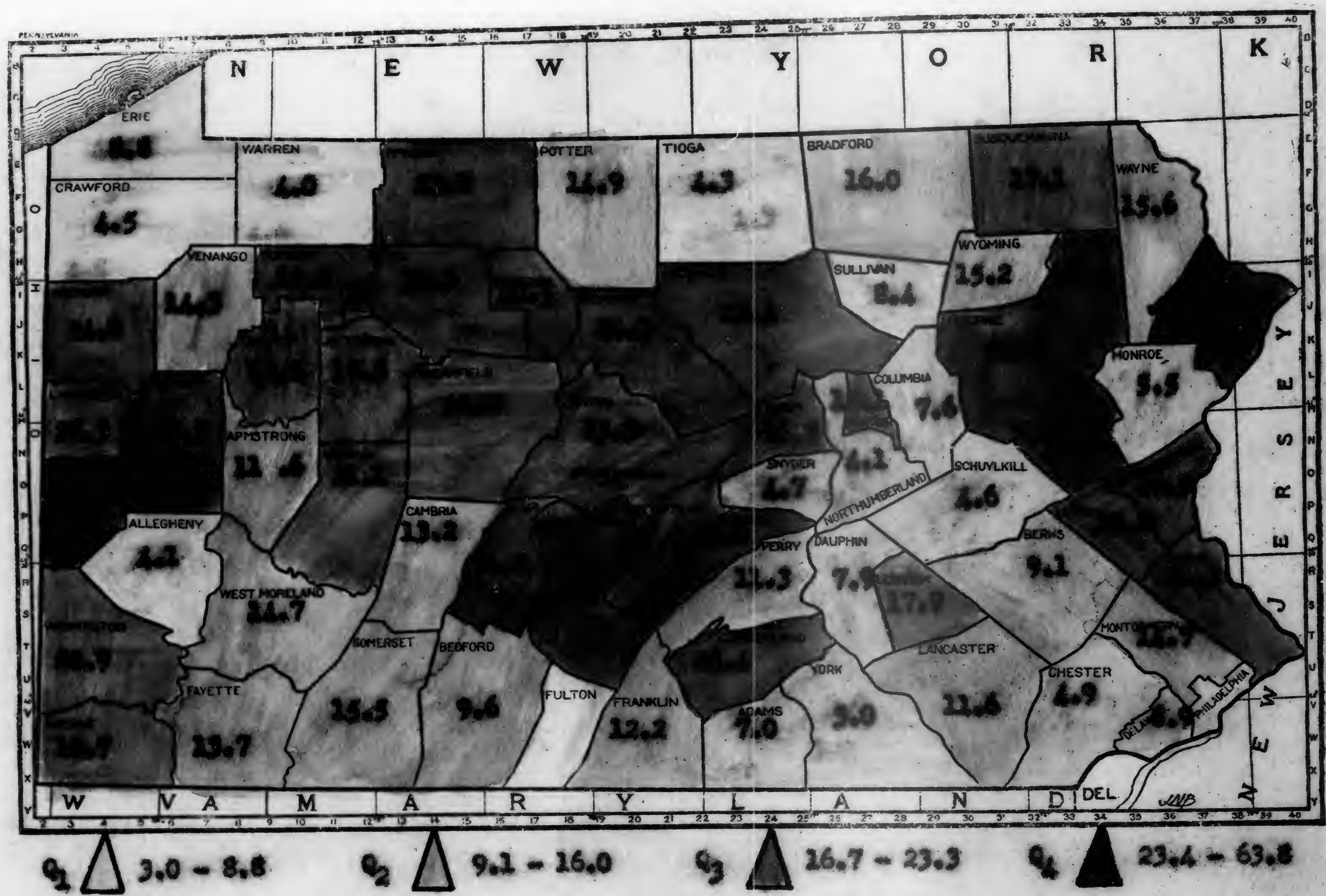

Figure 109. Number of Boy 4-H Club Members Per 100 Farm Boys 10 to 14 Years of Age in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

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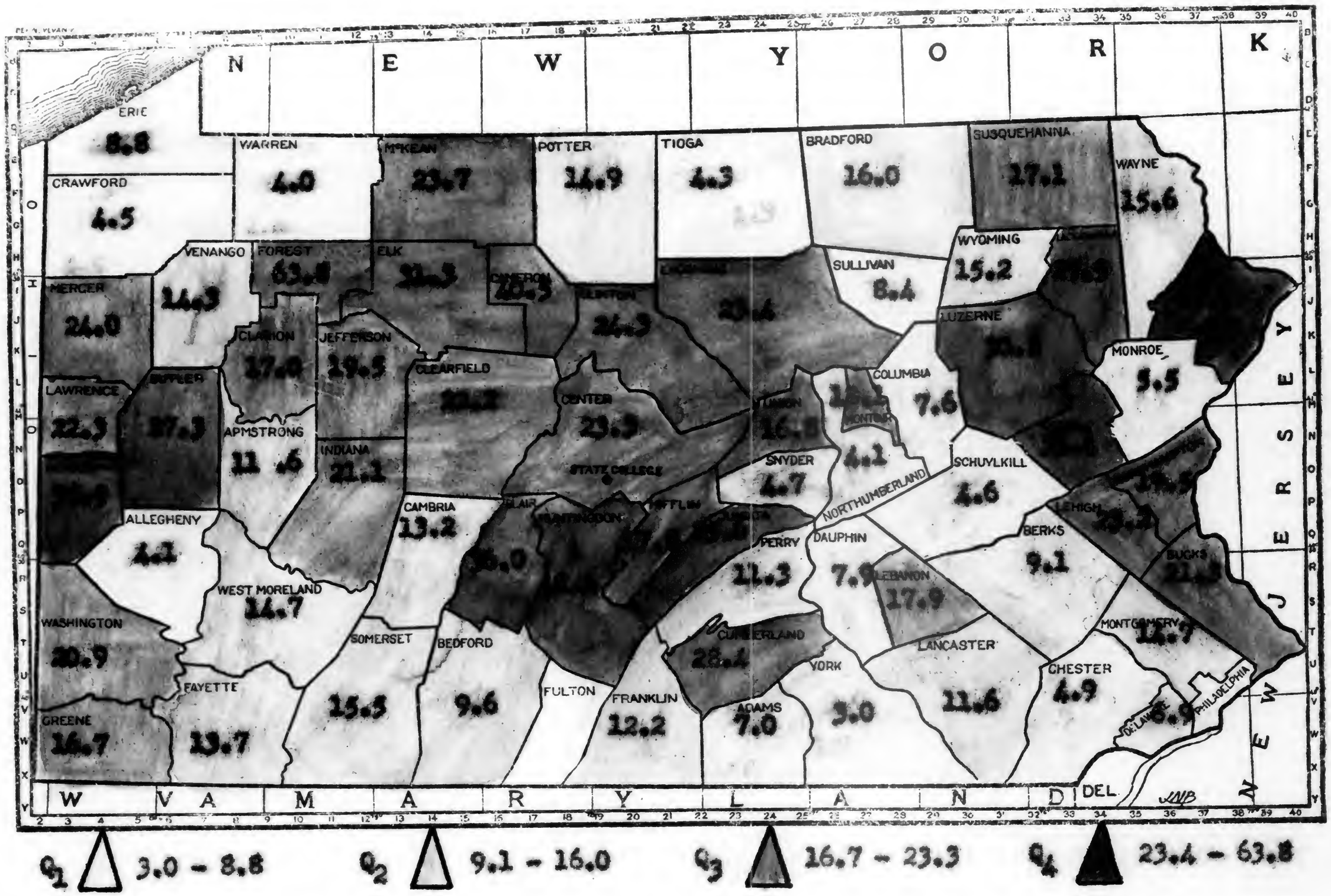

Figure 109. Number of Boy 4-H Club Members Per 100 Farm Boys 10 to 14 Years of Age in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

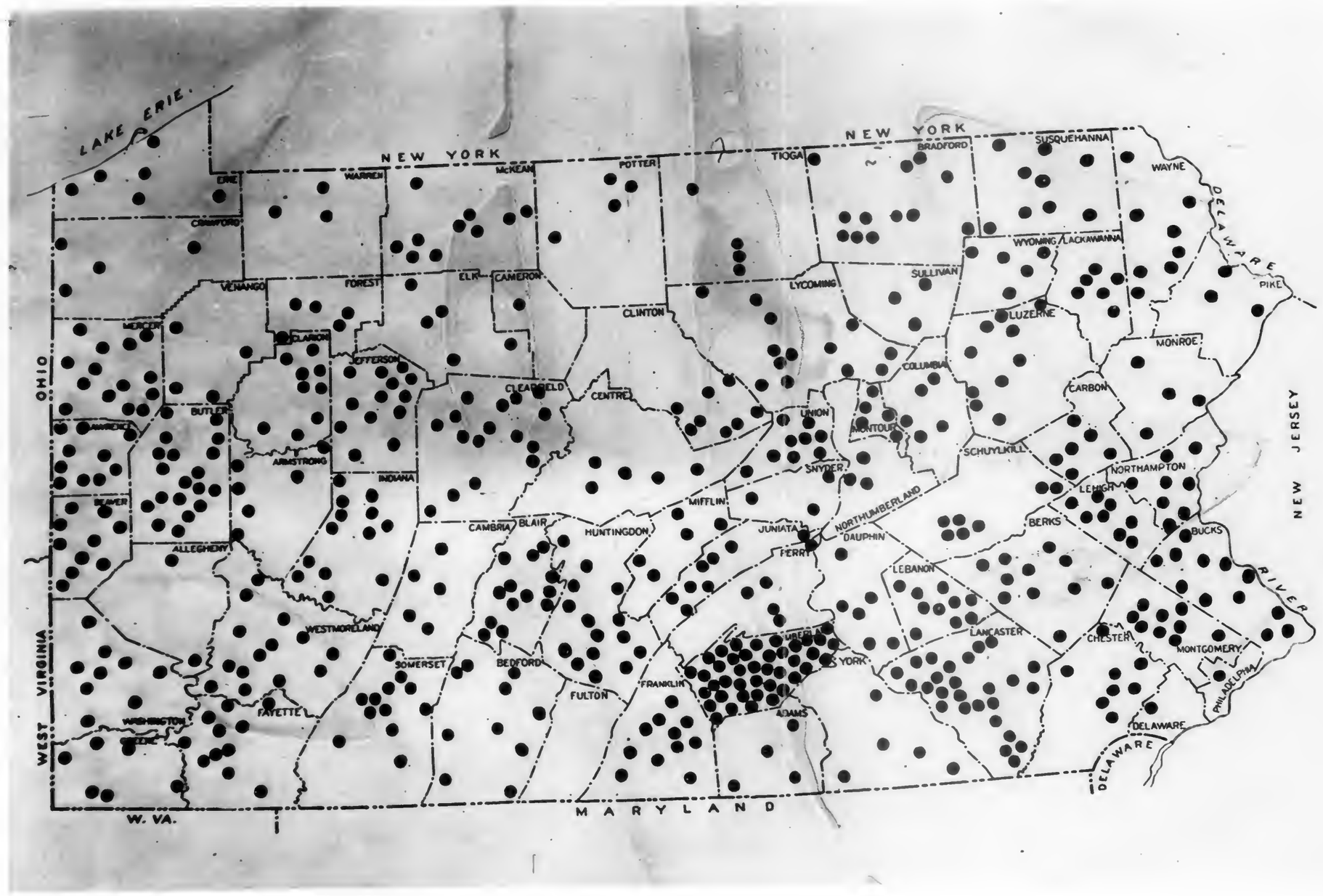

Figure 110. Location of Boys' 4-H Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1958.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

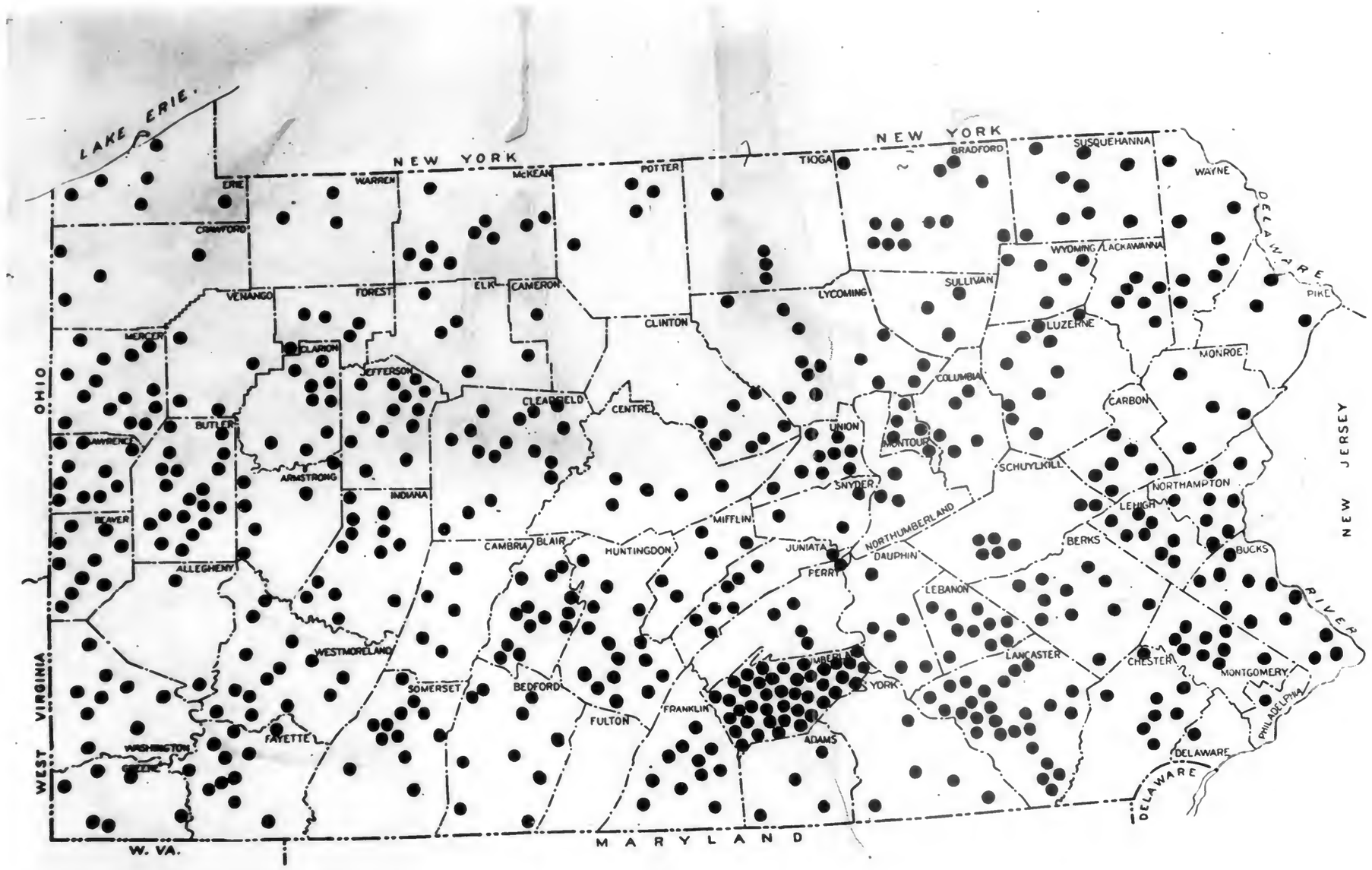

Figure 110. Location of Boys' 4-H Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1959.

Schuylkill County. These open areas commonly indicate mountainous, non-agricultural topography.

Cumberland County with 37 clubs led the state in numbers. On the other hand, contiguous Perry, Dauphin, Adams, and York Counties, with much the same type of agriculture, each had but a small fraction of this number. This is some indication that the prevalences of such agencies as clubs depends upon the interest and the ability with this type of activity. Some county agents in Pennsylvania regard this work with farm youth as "the nubbins end of the crop." One might expect in these counties a minimum of 4-H activity.

Boy 4-H Club members carry out projects in the various fields listed under adult extension work. These projects are graded to the age and experience of the member. A first year pig club member, that is, usually raises 1 pig while a fourth year member may wish to choose a ten litter project.

In addition the club has certain social activities such as picnics, tours, games, and the like. In 1939 83.4 per cent of all boys starting club projects in the spring, satisfactorily completed them by fall. It is noteworthy that 14 counties had a percentage completion of 95 or above in 1939.

(2) Girls Clubs

Girls 4-H club work is also handled largely during the summer months in Pennsylvania. The entire western end of the state has the heaviest program of work in terms of the numbers of girls included in the program, (Figure 111).[32] Thus, in western Pennsylvania practically all counties fall above the median line, while most of the counties in the two lowest

32. Source: 1939 Annual Report.

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Figure 111. Number of Girl 4-H Club Members in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1959.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

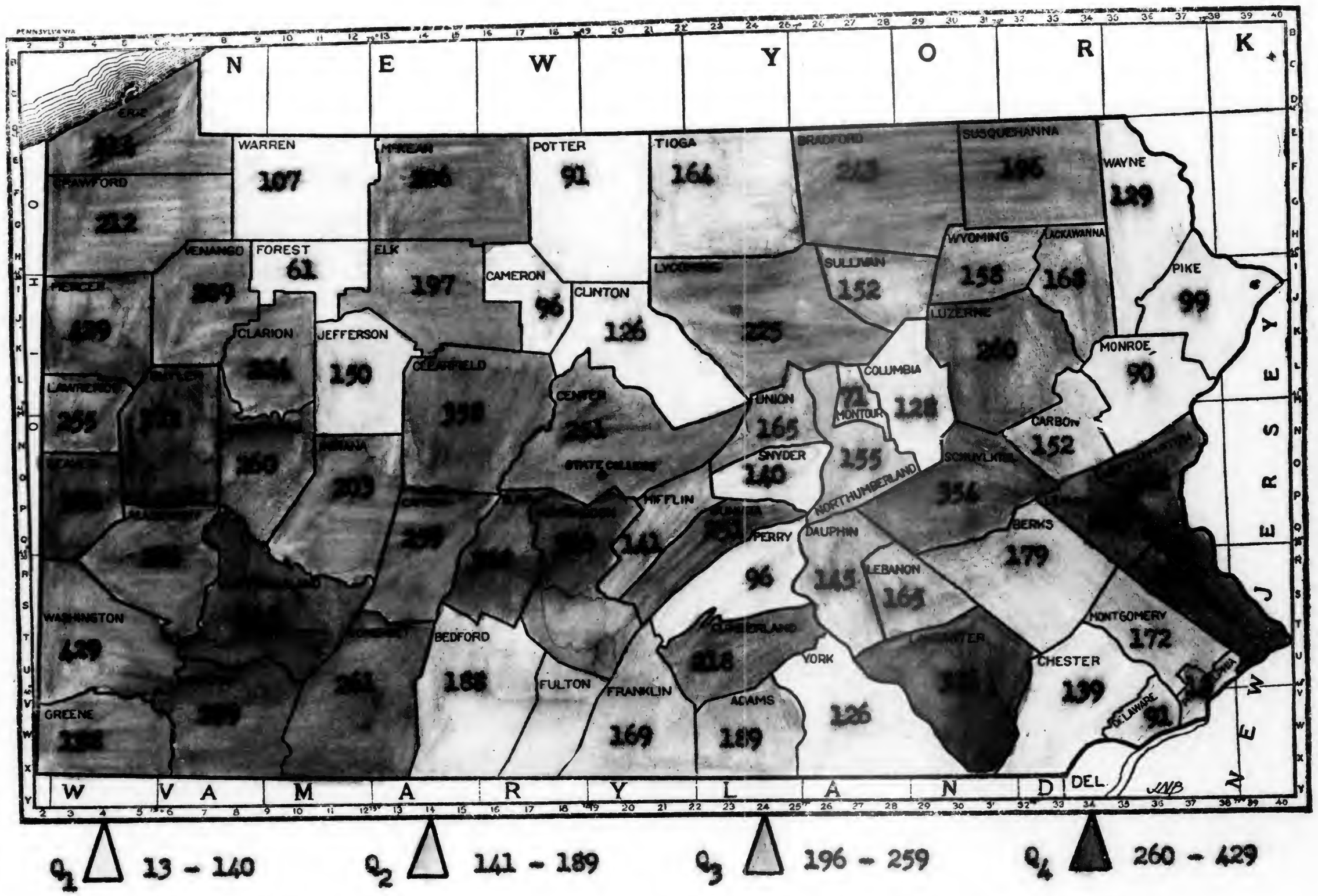

Figure 111. Number of Girl 4-H Club Members in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1959.

quarters are to be found in eastern Pennsylvania. The average number of 4-H club girls per county in 1939 was 204. The range was from 429 in Mercer County to 13 in Philadelphia County. Counties with low farm populations such as Elk, McKean, Juniata, and Beaver have a disproportionately large number of girls in 4-H club work. As with adult work, the home economics extension representative works with village girls a great deal in addition to the farm girls. Clubs commonly meet in a village center easily accessible to surrounding farm territory. Such clubs usually include both farm and village girls. In contrast, members of agricultural clubs are practically always farm boys.

As with boys' 4-H club work Figure 112 is a better measure of the degree to which 4-H club work is reaching farm girls of 4-H club age. In this figure the arrangement of counties with respect to this factor is changed considerably. Thus western Pennsylvania is no longer a solid block but is interspersed with a number of counties in the lower divisions. The highest proportion of farm girls reached is in the narrow band of second tier counties extending clear across the state from east to west, except for Lycoming County. Just beneath this tier are to be found a great many counties in the next highest 25 per cent. Perhaps most significant in this figure is the fact that in southeastern Pennsylvania farm girls are not touched by 4-H club work in as high proportions as in other areas. This situation shows itself as a contiguous block of 11 counties all of which fall in the lowest one-fourth of the counties. The range in this factor between the counties of the state is enormous, from 7.5 girl 4-H members per 100 farms in York County to 228.6 in Cameron County. It is obvious that the latter figure is made possible only by including a great

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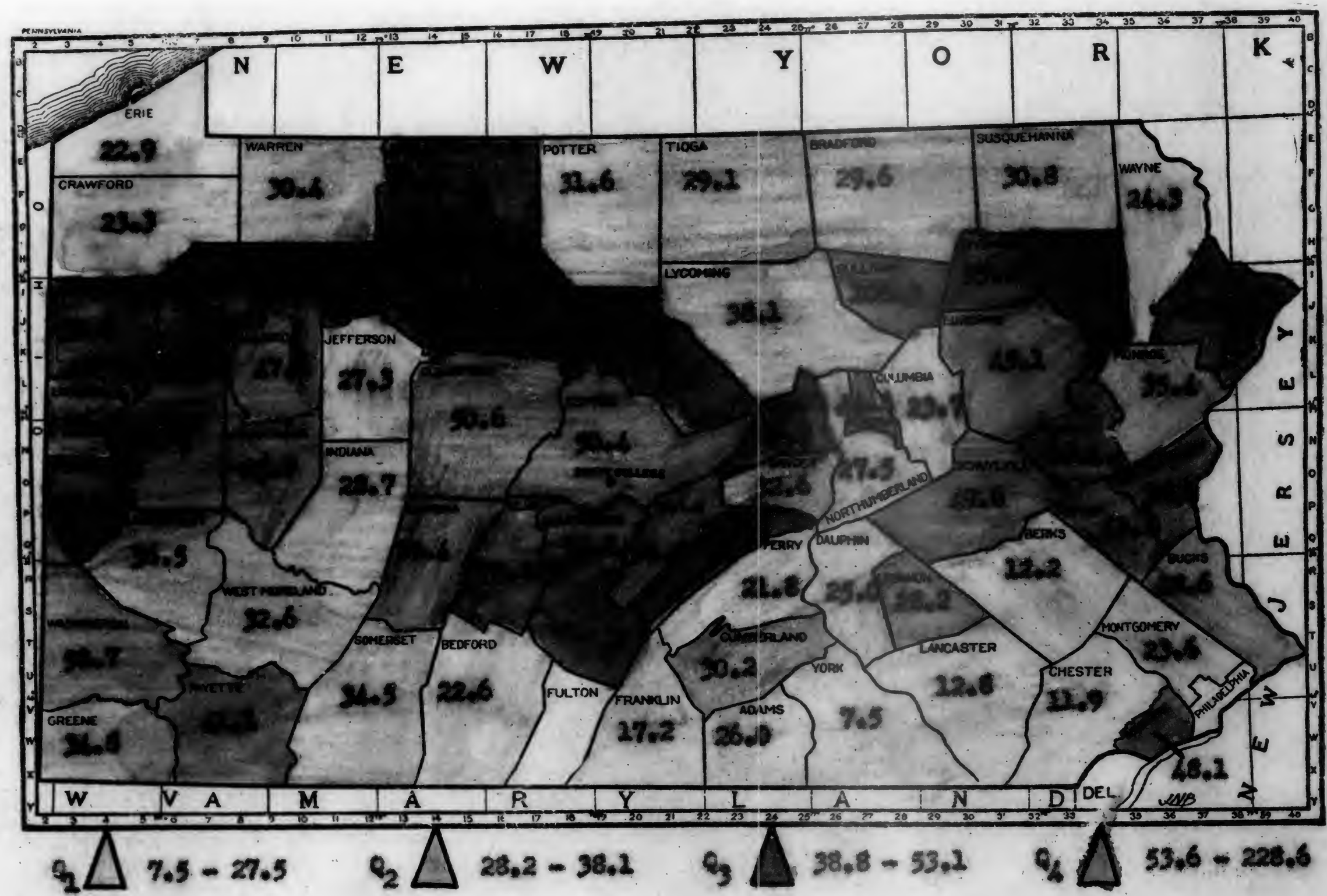

Figure 112. Number of Girl 4-H Club Members Per 100 Farm Girls 10 to 14 Years of Age in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

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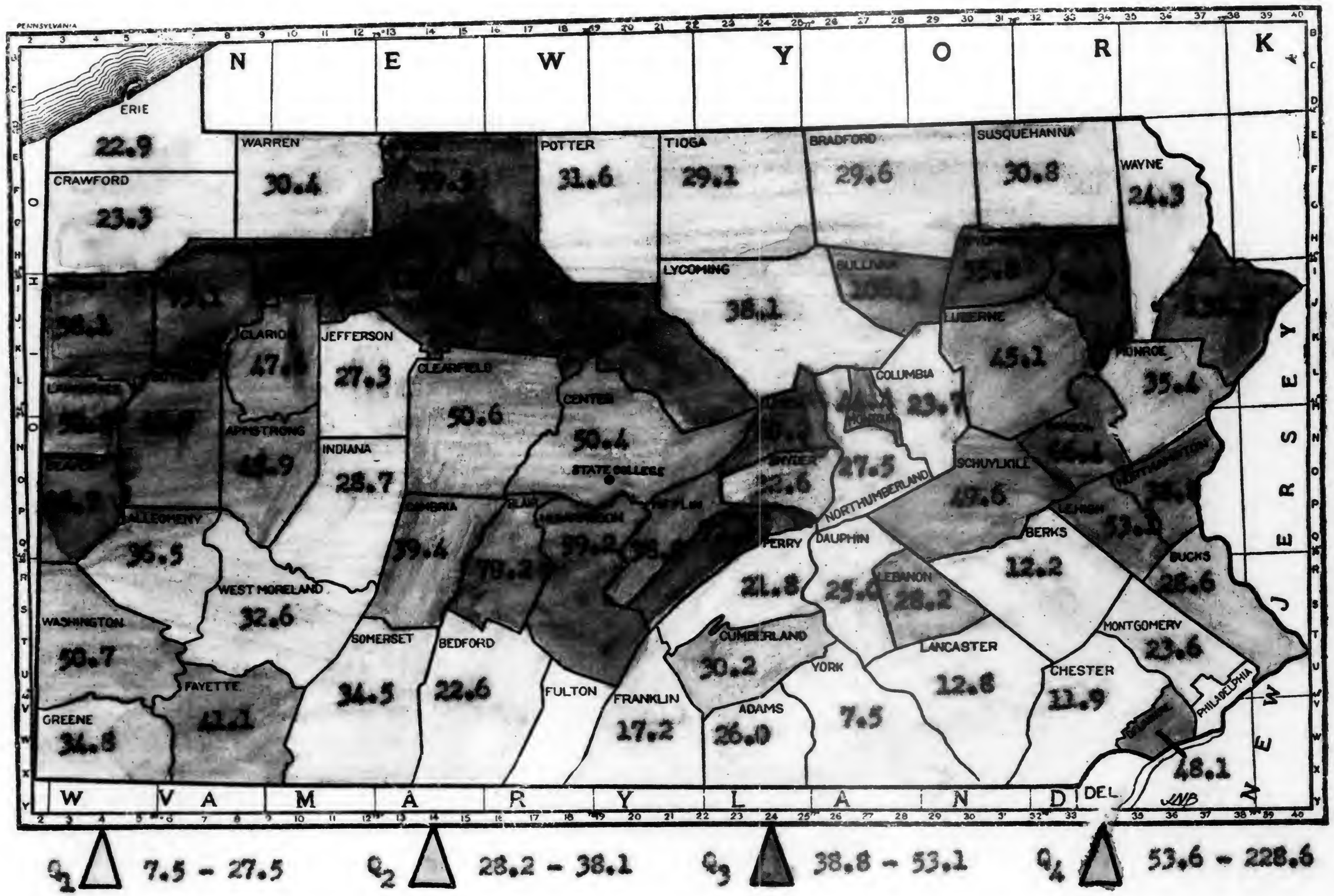


Figure 112. Number of Girl 4-H Club Members Per 100 Farm Girls 10 to 14 Years of Age in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

number of village girls in the 4-H club program. This is true with a great many counties, especially those falling in the upper 25 per cent of the counties.

The distribution of girl 4-H clubs is somewhat different from the boys (Figure 115).[35] The distribution is more uniform; there are less open country areas which indicates that many of the girls' clubs are located in non-agricultural territory, primarily villages. In all there were 906 girls clubs in 1939, with a total membership of 15,465 persons. Of these 81.6 per cent satisfactorily completed their projects and records.

The relatively infertile Allegheny Mountain section which has a limited number of boys' 4-H clubs is unusually well supplied with girls' clubs. A detailed comparison by counties of the distribution of boys' and girls' clubs shows that frequently the centers for these two kinds of club work are not the same at all. For example, a close inspection of such counties as Berks, Bucks, Montgomery, and Chester in the southeast shows that there is very little duplication of community centers.

In general, it may be said that 4-H club work, either boys or girls, touches practically all communities of the state. Some clubs are somewhat inaccessible to farm families in out of the way places but in the main farm youth have an opportunity of belonging if they desire. Four-H club work is meeting a real need in hundreds of communities. The annual 20 thousand members receive more than project subject matter. They receive as well, valuable experience in dealing with people in groups. Thus this training is likewise a medium of socialization and personality adjustment.

35. Source: County Home Economics Agents.

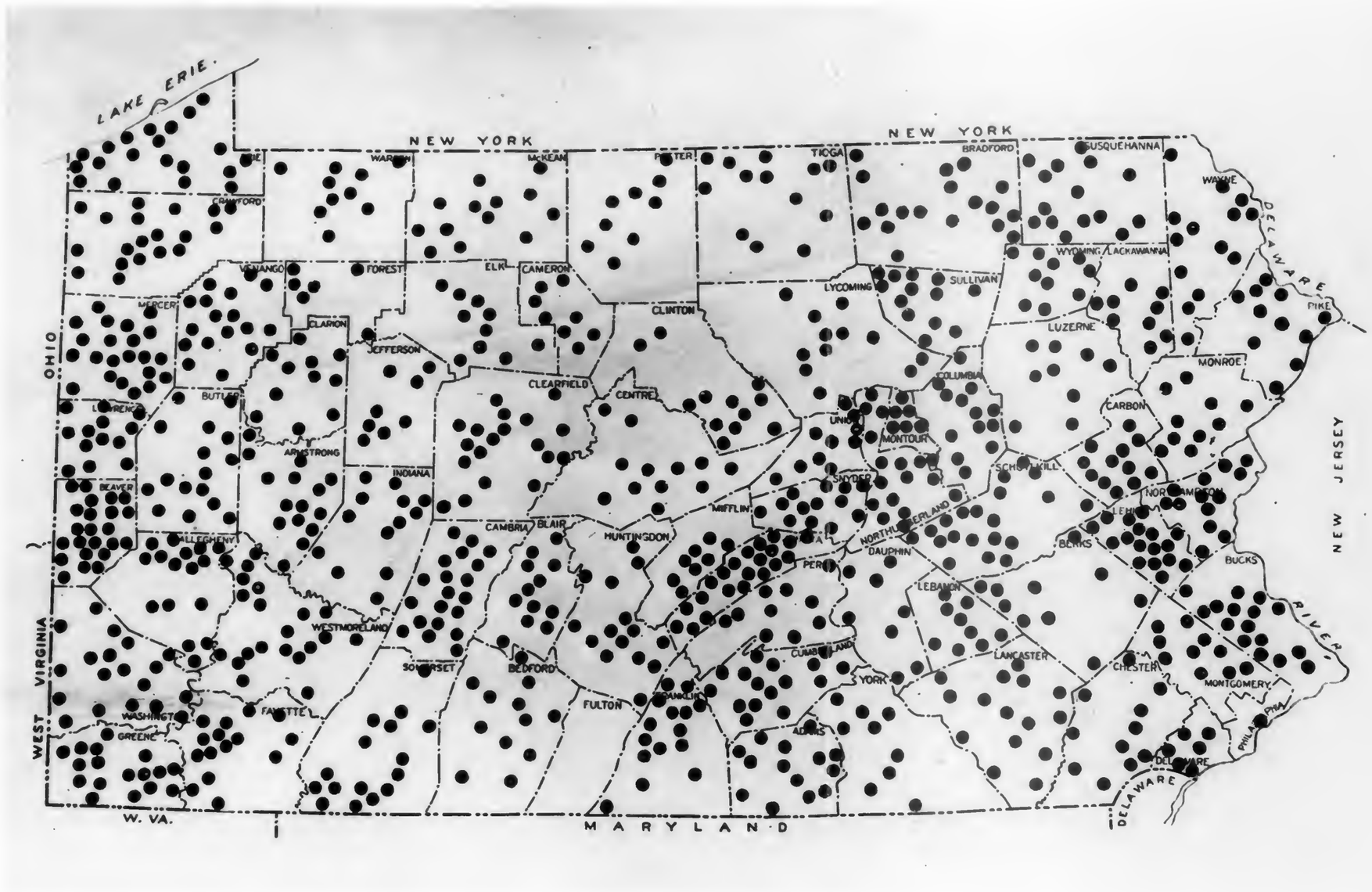


Figure 115. Location of Girls' 4-H Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

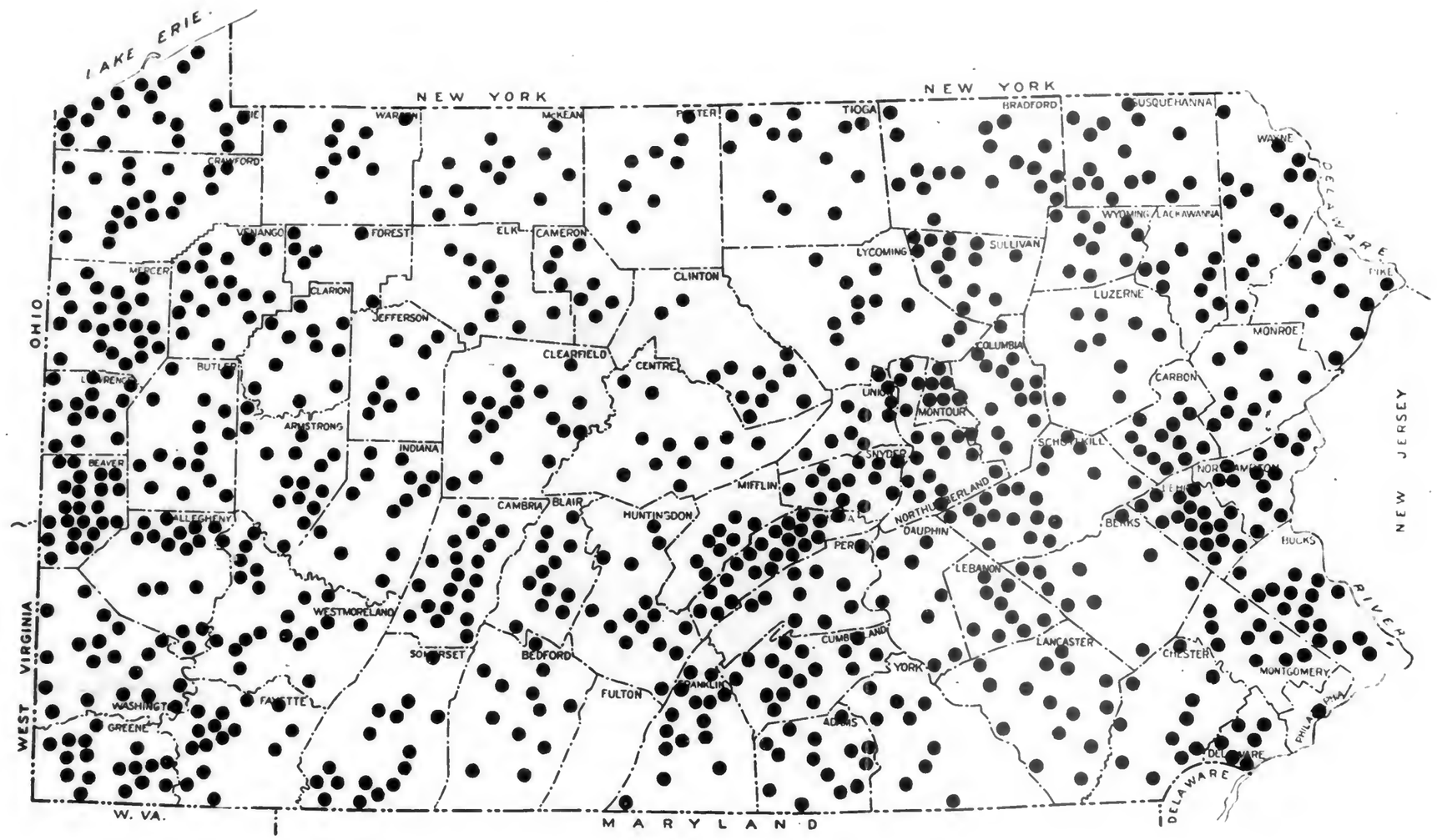


Figure 113. Location of Girls' 4-H Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1939.

c.) Senior Extension Clubs

There were 1,545,198 youth between the ages of 16 and 24 in Pennsylvania in 1930, only New York had more. Of these 1,069,276, or 69.2 per cent, were urban. At that time there were 475,922 rural youth in Pennsylvania, between the ages of 16 and 24. In 1935 the number had increased to an estimated 561,000 or an increase of 17.9 per cent. At the same time the rural-nonfarm increase was only 5.1 per cent (from 545,889 to 561,300). Therefore the greatest proportional rise was in the rural-farm population which changed from 52,033 in 1930 to 199,700 in 1935. In other words this age group increased 51.3 per cent in the 5 year period, the highest of any state in the Union.[34] The United States average was 18.8 per cent. In general the increase was greatest in the northeast resulting from the triple processes of (a) minimizing cityward migration of farm youth through lack of industrial employment thereby damming up many potential migrants on farms (b) the return to farms of migrating youth due to closed factories and mines and (c) the actual moving out on the small and subsistence farms of urban families. Those with large families were more prone to move.

The opportunity of serving farm and village youth, at least as far as numbers is concerned, has never been greater. This challenge of increased numbers of rural youth will be with us for many years inasmuch as the number of births from 1924 to 1934 indicate that there will be even more young people in these ages in Pennsylvania until at least 1950.[35]

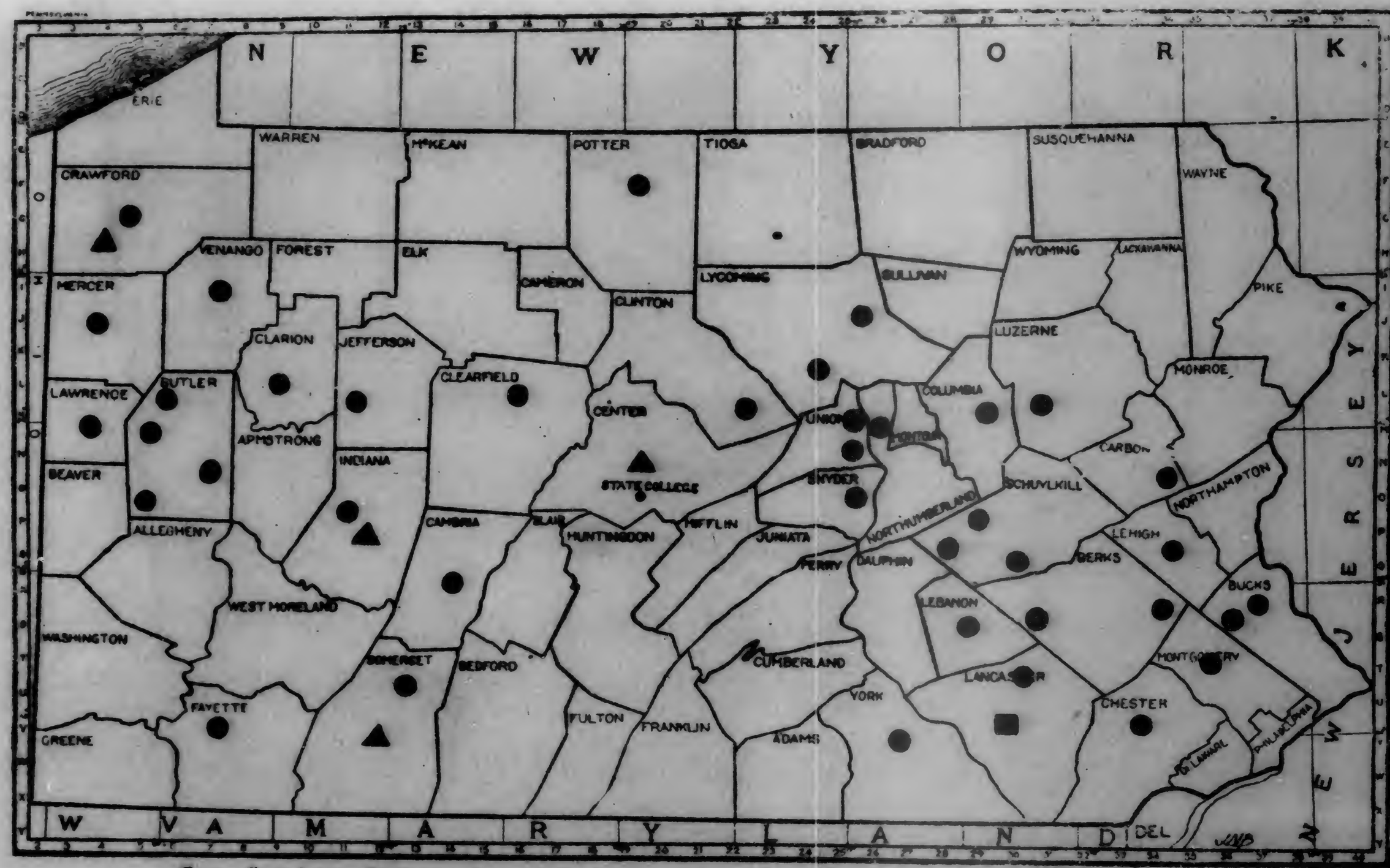
To further the adjustment of village and, in particular, farm youth the extension service has aided in organizing rural youth groups. These

34. Melvin and Smith. Rural Youth: Their Situations and Prospects. Government Printing Office. Washington, 1938, p. 142.
35. Ibidem, p. 137.

are for both boys and girls from 18 to 25 years of age, and have as their program, education, civic development, recreation, guidance, and sociability. The groups are organized on a community or county wide basis depending upon the will of the local group. There is no fixed pattern and the group itself is largely responsible for the kind of officers, programs, and activities it has. This democratic method of organization is followed purposely. These clubs are new, in fact, not yet out of the experimental stage, and the state leaders are anxious for the development of as many types of groups and as many kinds of programs as possible. Successes and mistakes will serve groups all over the state in strengthening their local organizations.

Figure 114 shows the distribution of Senior Extension Clubs over the state.[56] The southeastern and west central areas contain most of the groups. The northern tier and the south central part of the state have not attempted this work yet. But these counties are watching the movement with interest and the number of clubs is growing. In the summer of 1939 there were 39 clubs in 30 counties with a total membership of around 1550 persons. The membership was divided equally between young women and young men. During the last year 408 meetings were held with these groups with an average attendance of 25. A questionnaire from 264 members revealed that over 80 per cent of the members live on farms, 60 per cent of the boys are farming and 30 per cent of the girls are at home.[57] Almost 50 per cent of the members were former 4-H club members and 78 per cent belong to some other organization — principally grange, church, and Sunday School. About two-fifths of the members held offices in some other organizatio

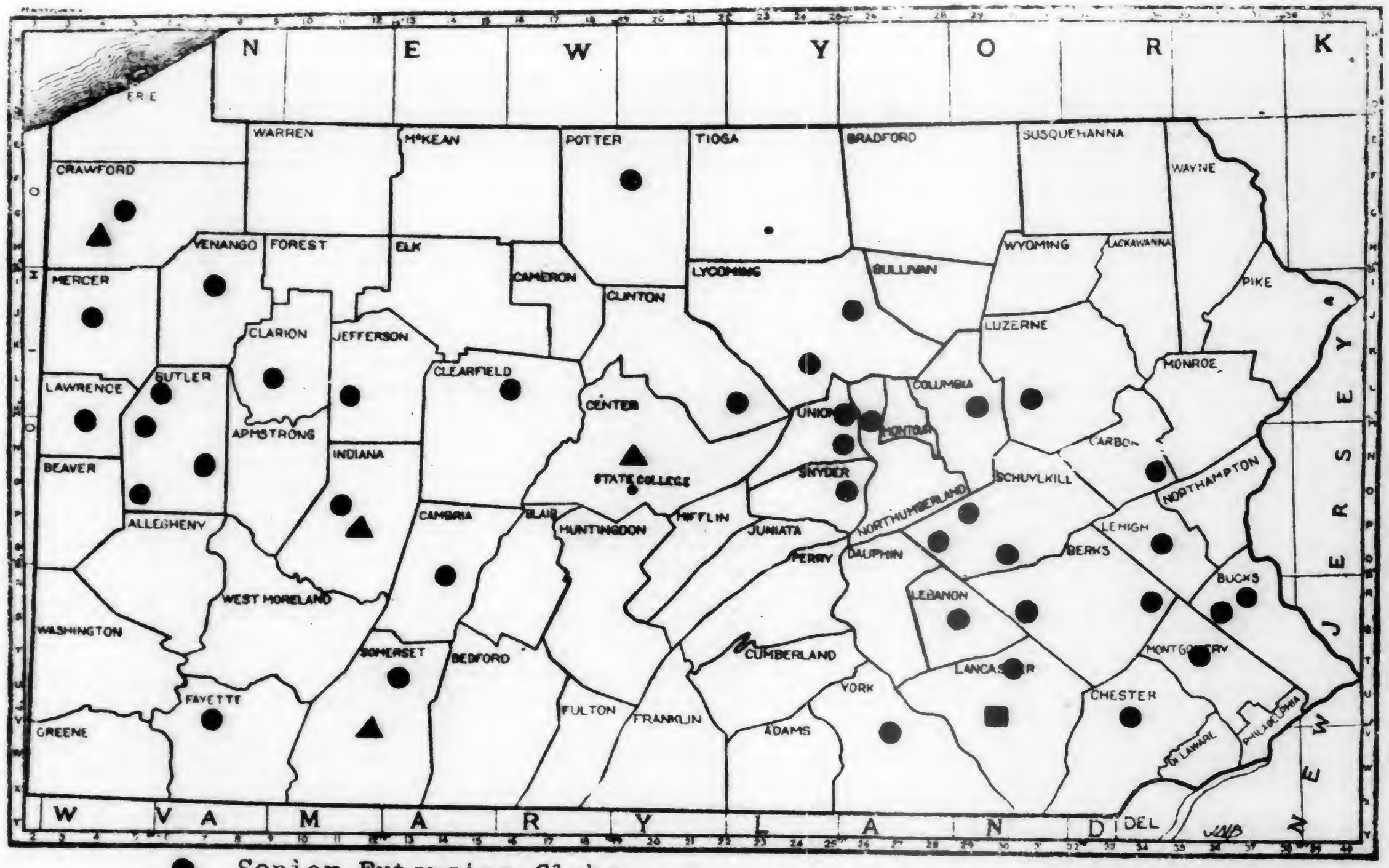
56. Source: State 4-H Club Office.
57. Questionnaire used may be seen in the appendix.



● Senior Extension Clubs
▲ Grange Rural Youth Groups
■ Farm Bureau Youth Groups

Figure 114. Distribution of Agricultural Youth Groups in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



● Senior Extension Clubs
▲ Grange Rural Youth Groups
■ Farm Bureau Youth Groups

Figure 114. Distribution of Agricultural Youth Groups in Pennsylvania, 1939

Seventy-six per cent of the persons replying mentioned 74 different things that have benefitted them in these clubs. Some of these were in order: social contacts, new friends, better manners, better buymanship, recreational leadership, how to conduct meetings, self confidence, and agricultural instruction.

Fifty-five different kinds of practices were listed as having been put into effect in the home or on the farm. Some of these were: buying practices, keeping farm accounts, use of better manners, first aid practices, home recreation, and making farm repairs.

Among other things the survey shows that some values are being derived from this effort and that a continuance and expansion of the program is feasible.

The materials on the agricultural extension service support a number of the original hypotheses:

It is seen that the number of 4-H clubs is dependent to a large extent on the agent's attitude toward 4-H club work. Further, the lines of work emphasized in a county reflect the interest of the agents. Thus in Figure 105b we find that strong dairy agents tend to have strong dairy programs; strong horse men have strong horse programs; strong rural sociology men have a good program in that field. This supports the thesis that the personal factor of leadership affects markedly the kind, number, and location of organizations.

On the other hand, the program of agricultural extension is influenced also by the kind of agricultural extension in the area. Thus the hypothesis that organizations are affected by the various environmental influences -- soils, climate, type of farming, markets, and topography, -- is maintained.

Further it is seen that in relation to the rural population, or even farm population, there are more 4-H clubs, women's extension groups, and meetings for men in poor agricultural territory than in fertile agricultural areas.

Finally, the data presented appear to show no relation to the hypothicated socio-economic areas set forth in Chapter V. This situation exists in spite of the fact that type of farming, topography, industrial dominance and other such factors not only affect the work of agricultural extension but were used also in erecting these socio-economic areas. This natural tendency toward correspondence is doubtless offset by personal and institutional factors.

2. Libraries.

The library shares with the public school, the college, the press, and the radio, the responsibility for creating and maintaining a high level of intellectual curiosity and interest that are necessary to a democracy.

The American Library Association has listed 9 aims and objectives for the library:[38]

1. To assemble and preserve books and related material, in organized collectio
2. To aid in continuous self-education of youth and adults.
3. To promote advancement of knowledge.
4. To improve cultural appreciation.
5. To encourage citizen participation in useful activities.
6. To develop people vocationally.
7. To keep abreast with scientific developments and other knowledge.
8. To develop a constructively critical attitude toward public issues.
9. To promote constructive use of leisure time.

If these objectives are to be realized for most of the rural population it is evident that the various library interests in the commonwealth will have to increase their service. For in 1939 there were nearly four million

38. Advisory Committee on Education, "Library Service", Washington, 1938, p.1.

persons without any library service in the state. The figures from the latest state library report are as follows:

Persons with library service	5,747,014
Persons without library service	3,884,336
Rural persons without library service	2,638,706
Urban persons without library service	1,245,630

In other words, more than two out of five persons in Pennsylvania have no library service available. In urban territory 19.1 per cent do not have library service. In contrast, 85.2 per cent of the rural population are without this service. The problem of adequate library facilities in the state, therefore, is an especially aggravated one for farm and village people.

Library service in Pennsylvania at the present time is chiefly a city matter. This situation is brought into clearer focus when viewed graphically (Figure 115).[39]

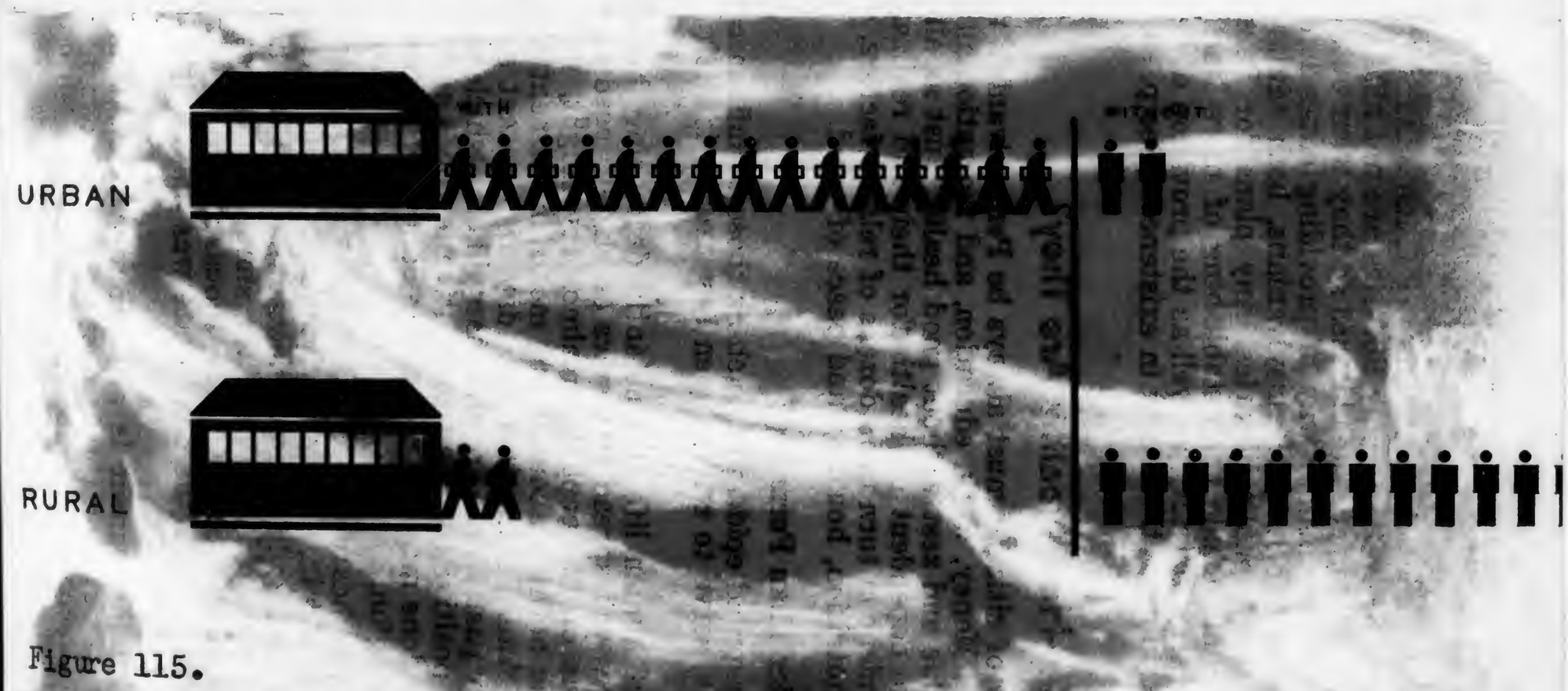


Figure 115.
PUBLIC LIBRARY SERVICE FOR URBAN AND RURAL PEOPLE PENNSYLVANIA

EACH FIGURE = 300 000 PERSONS

39. This pictogram was prepared by Pictorial Statistics, Philadelphia, from data of the State Library Division, Department of Public Instruction.

The status of Pennsylvania among the other states is seen from a comparison of certain data from the American Library Association.[40] Expenditures for books ran from $0.02 per person in Mississippi and Arkansas, to $1.08 in Massachusetts. The figure was $.26 per person in Pennsylvania, 25th among the states. When we compare Pennsylvania's wealth and income with that of other states we find that she is providing relatively less effectively for library service than are most other northern states. The ratio between library expenditure and ability to pay in Pennsylvania is 42 on a United States index of 100. The range for the United States is from 1.65 in Massachusetts to 8 in Arkansas. Pennsylvania is in a median position. In a word the Keystone State which ranks second in population, second in wealth, second in industrial output, ranks 25th in its provision of library facilities for its people.

Pennsylvania has both a state library and a state library extension division. These agencies have a special responsibility for leadership in the advancement and coordination of library service within the commonwealth. Such services as advisory and technical aid to local libraries, auxiliary book services, promoting public and county wide libraries, sponsoring helpful legislation, and developing a system of unified reporting are the functions of the state organization. In addition the state agency administers a program of financial grants in aid to certain areas, and checks on the qualifications of personnel in libraries over the state. In short, the State Library with its Extension Division is in a key position in the library structure. With the coming of increased state and federal appropriations for library service its importance will be felt even more.

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40. Wilson, Louis R. The Geography of Reading -- Chicago, 1938. Figures 1, 26, 18.

a.) Public Libraries.

The public library in Pennsylvania is the most prevalent and the most important resource of its kind. It may be defined as a library which provides free library service of a general nature to the people of its community. Usually such libraries are controlled by cities and towns, but sometimes they are controlled by other political units and occasionally by a private group of citizens. Some of these libraries are the result of bequests, but most of them are supported by the local taxpayer.

Figure 116 shows the distribution of the 275 libraries in the state. It is apparent that the greatest concentration is in Philadelphia and in the estate territory nearby. Suburban Delaware County has so many, for example, that it was necessary to superimpose them to get them all on the map. The Pittsburgh area is second in point of concentration of libraries. There are wide areas which have no public library facilities, especially in the Allegheny Plateau. Frequently it is more than 25 miles to the nearest library and as repeated surveys have shown people tend to travel but short distances to receive the benefit of such services as this. The figure reveals a fairly high correspondence with Figure 9 showing the location of large towns and cities. However, there are a number of urban centers which have no libraries.

These 275 libraries of Pennsylvania had a total expenditure of $2,498,796 in 1936. The total volumes in these 275 libraries is 4,495, 158 or .47 books per person. In this Pennsylvania ranks 34th among the states. About 22 million books, however, were circulated during 1935. This represents a per capita circulation of 2.27 books placing Pennsylvania 33rd in rank among the states. This per capita circulation

is a good deal below the average for bordering states: New York, 4.55; New Jersey, 5.38; Ohio, 499. But it is higher than the per capita average of the adjoining states on the south: Maryland, 2.10; and West Virginia with .65 per capita. The extremely low percentage in West Virginia is doubtless due to her paucity of books, there being only .13 books per capita through public channels in the state.[41]

Five Pennsylvania counties have no public library facilities at all. From Figure 116 it can also be seen that 9 counties had but one public library, and 7 counties had but two. There are still 25 cities in the state out of 67 between 10,000 and 25,000 which do not have library facilities and there are 55 out of 105 cities with 5,000 to 10,000 populations having no libraries, and one city with more than 25,000 without facilities. Most of these 78 places could well afford them. Whether or not libraries will develop in these places depends, as much as anything else, on local leadership and a consciousness of the need on the part of the citizens.

In 1925 the circulation of books in Pennsylvania totaled 11 million. Since the circulation in 1935 was nearly 22 million, this represents a 100 per cent increase in the demand for library books. With the effect of the depression on monies available for this type of educational service, Pennsylvania libraries are finding it extremely difficult to fill the increased demand. Inasmuch as the income for library purposes is now approximately 75 per cent of the annual income 10 years earlier, this increased demand on the resources prevents in many cases the purchase of new books, the repair and replacement of old books, and adequate personnel.

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41. "The Equal Chance," American Library Association, Chicago, 1936, pp. 21-51.

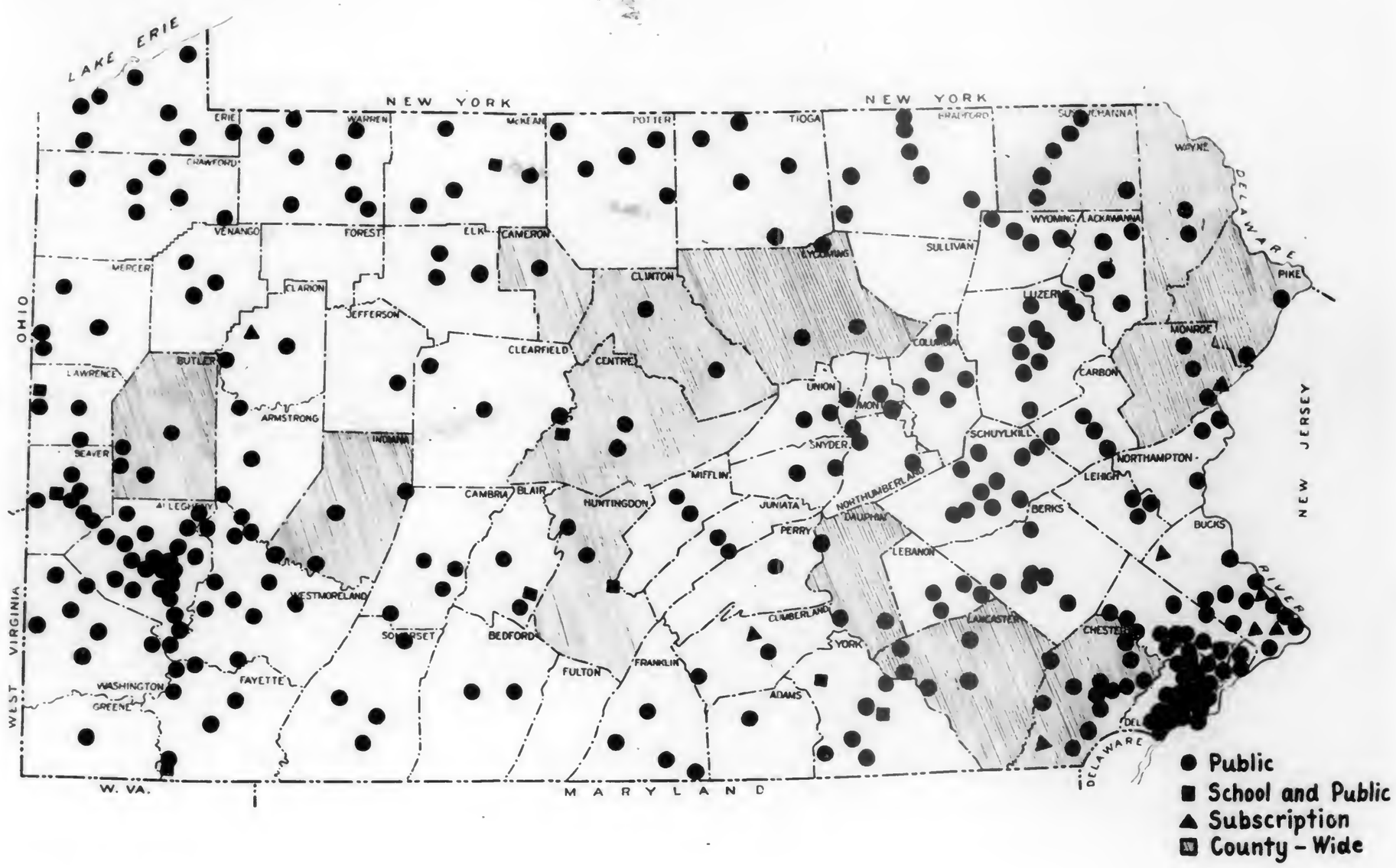

Figure 116. Location of Library Facilities in Pennsylvania, 1959.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

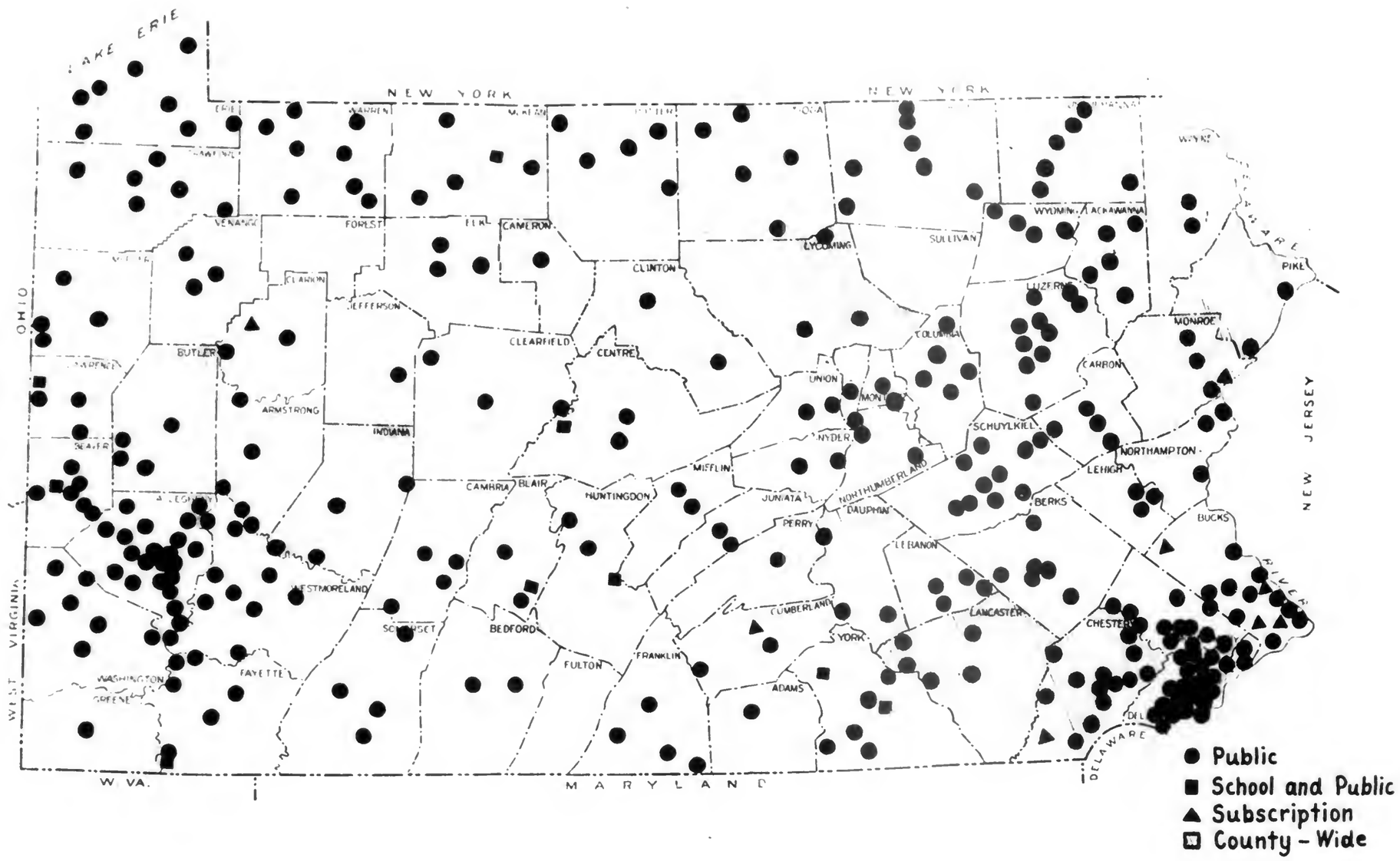

Figure 116. Location of Library Facilities in Pennsylvania, 1939.

The public library is a step in the direction of providing rural people with adequate educational and recreational facilities. But, as will be noted from the map, these libraries are to be found in only about 15 per cent of the strictly rural communities.

b.) School Libraries.

The school library is an invaluable means of providing suitable reading facilities for pupils; as it is an aid for rounding out formal education, and its use during the school years helps in developing the "library habit". School libraries in urban districts are meeting this need relatively well. The situation in fourth class districts is not so encouraging, not only because of the absence of library facilities but also because of the extreme poverty of those in existence. Libraries in fourth class districts are not well supported. In 1936, for example, 69.6 per cent of the fourth class districts spent nothing on libraries. Only 25 per cent spent as little as 20¢ per pupil or more. On the other hand 88.1 per cent of third class districts, and 100 per cent of second and first class districts had and spent money for improving their school libraries.[42]

The school library is a service agency. It has no district subject matter, but provides materials for all subjects and all interests of pupils and teachers. It becomes increasingly effective as teachers and pupils learn to use its resources and employ its services for their work and play purposes. The school library is at once a teaching mechanism and a center for recreation and relaxation. As unequal as is the distribution of school library service in the state the trend is hopeful.

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42. Library Expenditures in School Districts of Pennsylvania, Department of Public Instruction. Harrisburg. 1938. p.10.

For within the last decade school libraries have grown much more rapidly than any other type of library service. One reason for this is the shift from the single text book type of teaching; another has been the supervision and insistence accorded by the state and county school officials; a third reason is the broadening concept of education apparent almost everywhere.

But in spite of this broadened concept the use of the school library as a community institution has not been recognized on a very wide scale. In some localities the question of whether adults and out-of-school youth shall use such school facilities is a live issue.

In certain places, chiefly rural, the school and the community have seen fit to combine their resources in a joint library. In these cases the libraries are housed in the school building and are used both by children and adults. In the purchase of new books and related materials the interests of the citizens as well as pupils are considered. As shown in Figure 116 there are 50 libraries of this type in the state. It is a means of providing a book service to the adult population which they would not otherwise have. It has the advantage of pooling resources, making the same type of service available at much less cost. It tends to consolidate the school and the community, advancing the former as a service center for the latter. And it has the added convenience of adults being able to secure books through their children who frequent the school.

As the people increasingly realize that the school library and the community library are both <u>public</u> libraries, in the best sense of the word, supported by the same taxpayers, the schools will be obliged to accept the further responsibility of supplying books and library service to all

people, young and old, winter and summer. Especially in rural territory there needs to be better cooperation between school and public library services. Tax resources do not readily allow for the maintenance of two separate systems of book service. Conservation of funds is essential. Doubtless rural adults will increasingly look to the school library for the community service it can perform. Such a development is to be commended, for as will be seen from the high school map, the maximum utilization of school library resources in rural districts will still leave thousands of farm and village people a considerable distance from their source of books.

c.) College Libraries.

As seen in the first section Pennsylvania contains 91 colleges and universities. Without exception these colleges possess a library. In about half of these instances the public is permitted the use of these libraries free of charge but in these instances community patronage is small. Further, a comparison of Figures 103 and 116 shows that these college libraries are located in centers already possessing public library facilities. It may be safely concluded, therefore, that college libraries meet the needs of those for whom they are maintained, college people. The effect of these libraries on the rural population is very small.

American Library Association figures show that residents of Pennsylvania spent $57 per 1000 persons for college libraries in the academic year 1931-32. The range was from $411 in New Hampshire to $24 in Mississippi.[45]

d.) Traveling Libraries.

The traveling library service consists of a box of 50 books which is sent to a rural community group by the Extension Division of the State Library at Harrisburg. The purpose of this service is to establish small

45. Ibid. p. 24.

public library centers in those places not having adequate facilities. The books are placed in a store, post office or even in a private dwelling, and are distributed to borrowers free. Registration slips for use by the local librarian are furnished. The only cost to the community group is shipping charges. However, many groups call for and return the boxes when in Harrisburg on other business. A box of books may be kept for six months or changed more frequently if desired. The boxes are made up from lists of books submitted. They may contain both adult and juvenile books, fiction, biography, science, and travel. A traveling library may be secured by any group or organization upon the request of six taxpayers, who then become responsible for the library.

On December 31, 1939 there were 225 active traveling libraries in the state. Some of these were being used by small public libraries in order to supplement their resources until such a time as the local library will be able to stand alone. In the main, however, these small traveling libraries were being used by adult organizations and local groups in rural communities.

Figure 117 shows the distribution of these libraries. Schuylkill County leads in the number used with 15. The home economics extension worker in this county has been active in stimulating this kind of service among the rural women. The distribution shows that the hard coal region and the southern tier of counties are best supplied while there are only a few in north central Pennsylvania, in the northeast, and in the southeast. But this map alone does not reveal the actual library situation. For when this figure is superimposed on Figure 212 it is seen that northeast and southeast Pennsylvania do not <u>need</u> this traveling service. These

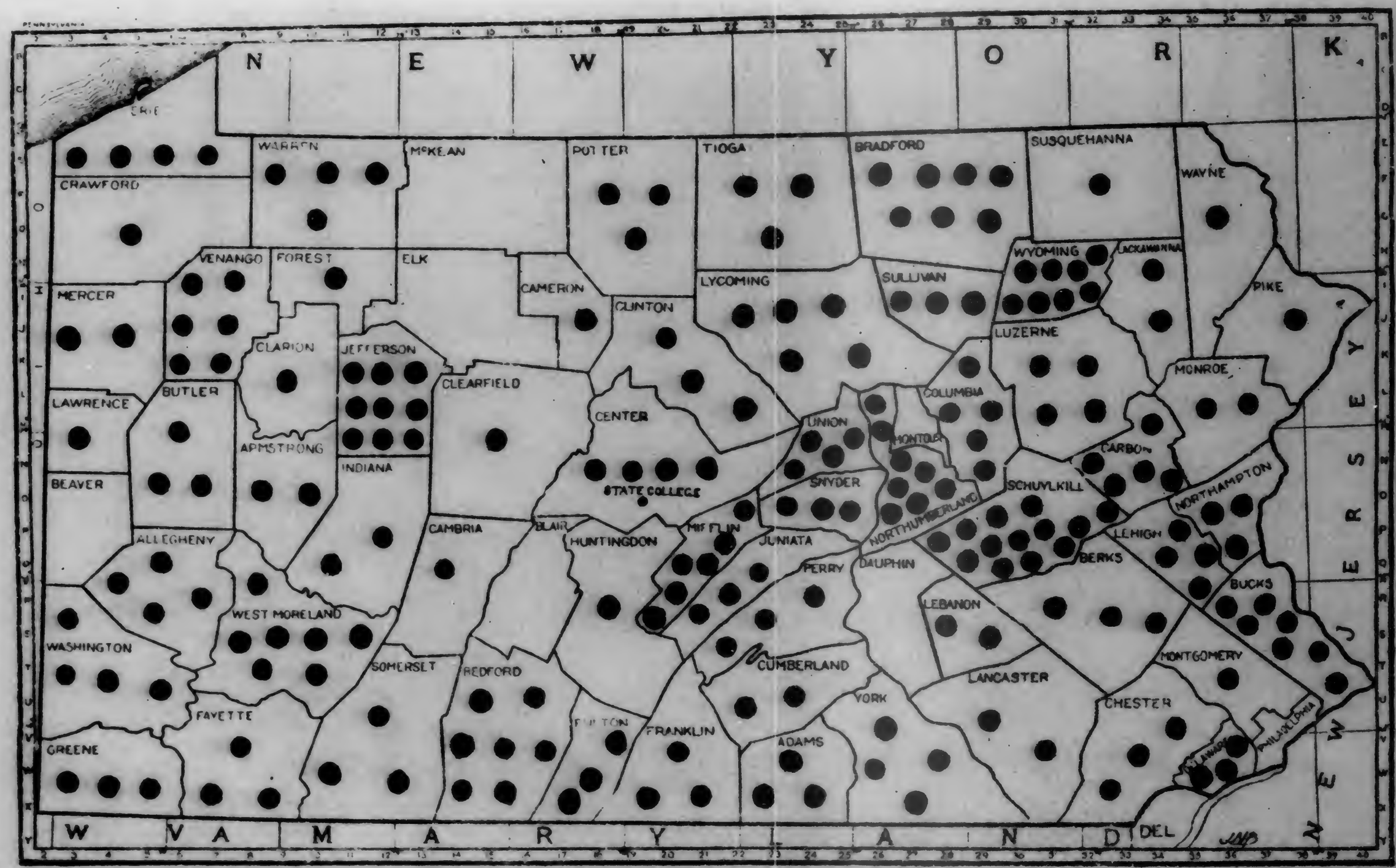

Figure 117. Location of Traveling Libraries in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

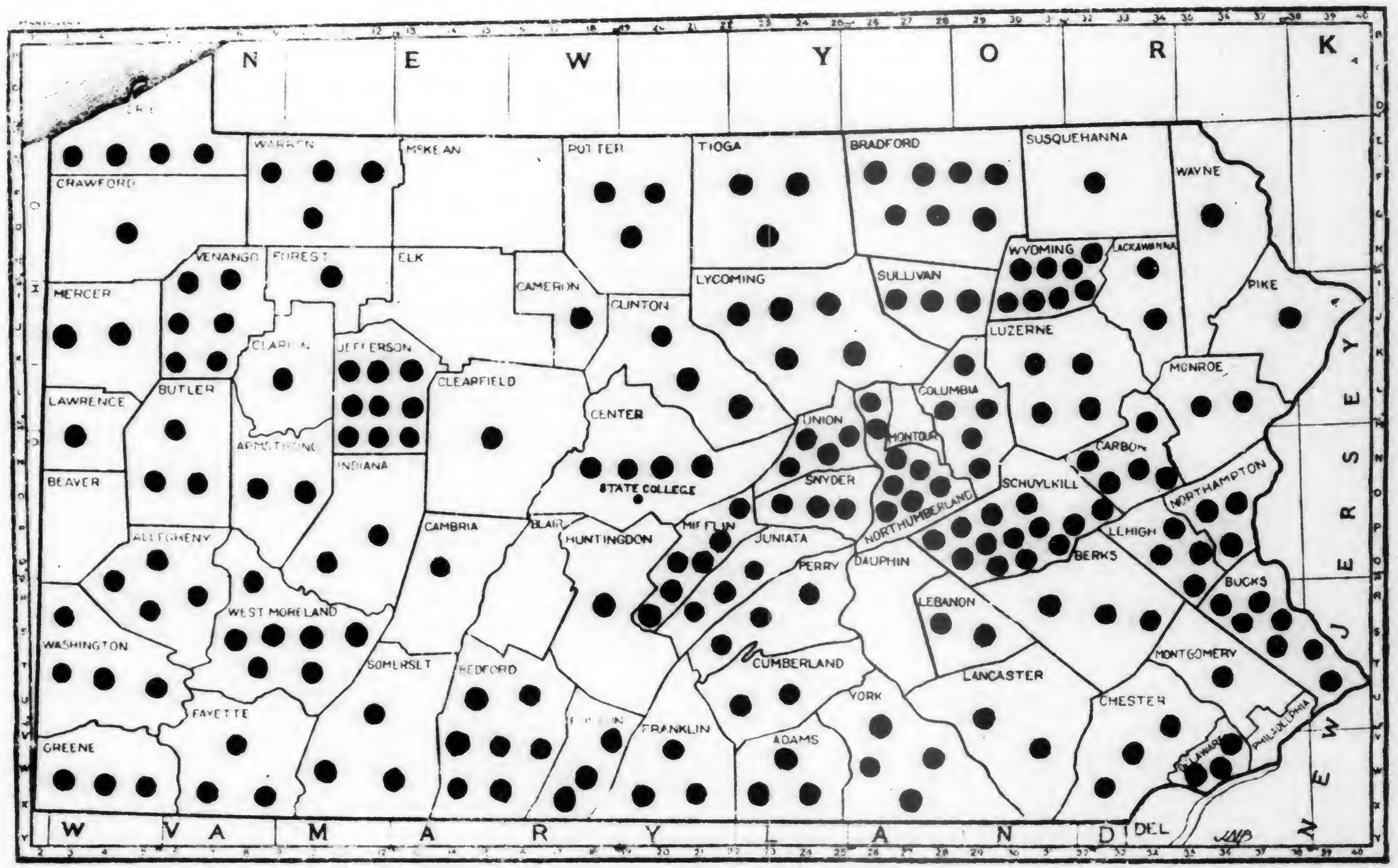

Figure 117. Location of Traveling Libraries in Pennsylvania, 1939

counties are already well supplied with public libraries and especially with county wide service.

Traveling libraries supplement other such public facilities. Service in Jefferson County with its lone public library at Punxsatawney, e.g., is nicely rounded out by nine traveling libraries distributed evenly over the area. This service is meeting a real need. It is unfortunate that the facilities of the state library will not permit the expansion of this phase of the program, at least until such a time when public libraries and especially county wide library service can adequately fill the gap.

e.) Mail Library Service.

The State Library Extension Division at Harrisburg, maintains two mail services designed to meet the needs of persons in areas inadequately supplied with books. They are as follows:

(1) To Individuals. Packages of 5 books are sent on request for a period of one month. The borrower must be an adult living in a community having no public library, and must pay the postage both ways. No fee is charged. This service reached 1717 individuals in 1939.

(2) To Schools. This is carried out on the same basis as for individuals except the loan is made to the school for use by teachers or pupils. During the last year this service was rendered to 462.

In the main these services are used primarily by isolated ministers and teachers and by persons who wish special kinds of information for talks and reports.

The Rural Sociology Extension Package Library at the Pennsylvania State College provides material to residents of the state dealing with such phases of rural social life as community building plans, fire

protection, recreation, and the like. A great deal of the service rendered consists of loaning copies of plays, pageants, and special day material. During the past year over 4000 copies of plays alone were distributed. Return postage is paid by the borrower. In the main, this service is used by rural organization and rural community leaders. It is a specialized service and in no sense does it meet the general reading needs of rural people generally.

In discussing both the traveling library service and the package library service it seems fair to say that these services, although important to many groups and individuals, do not approach the value which local public libraries can provide. The answer to the problem of making library facilitiss useful is getting the books to the people as well as getting the people to the books. Most persons will not travel far for reading material, ordinarily no further than they will for other such services as groceries, church, or lodge. The task then is one of developing library units in the local communities whether those communities be wealthy suburban satellites or poor mining towns. This taking of the books to the people can best be done by county wide library service. To this we now turn our attention.

f.) <u>County Wide Library Service</u>.

Unquestionably the best answer to the question of an adequate library service for a majority of the rural people is the county wide library service. It is a plan whereby county and state combines to set up at the county seat a service agency designed to make books available to persons in all parts of the county. From the central county library a book truck takes reading matter to schools, granges, homes, post offices, and other

points of local distribution. Citizens check out the books from these centers just the same as they would from a regular public library. Six counties, Dauphin, Susquehanna, Indiana, Huntingdon, Lancaster, and Lycoming, had book trucks in 1939.

These county libraries are tax supported institutions. The county votes on the establishment of a county system at a regular election. The amount appropriated locally for its support is matched by state funds, depending on the population of the county, according to the following schedule: (Figure 118).[44]

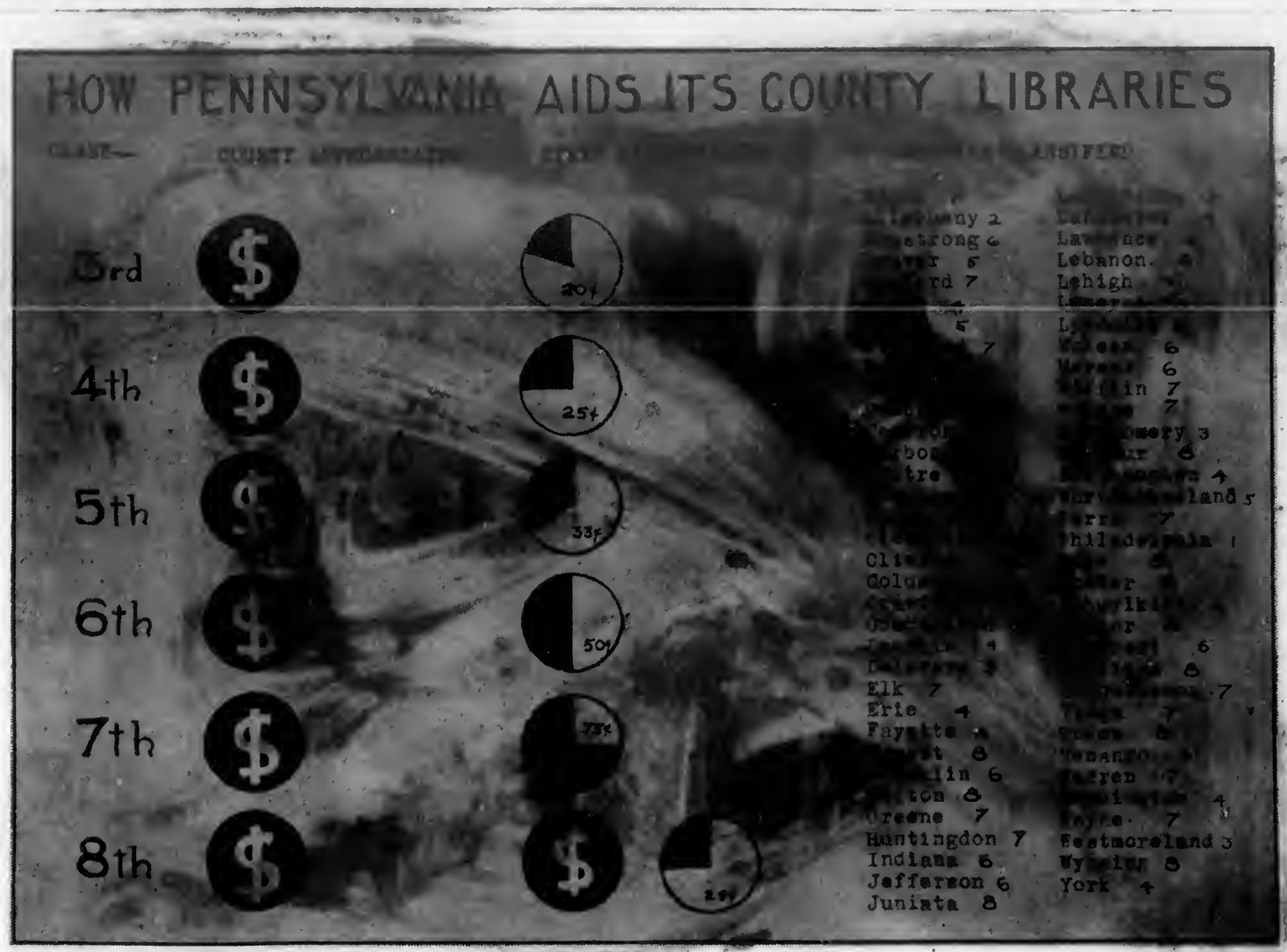

Figure 118. Proportionate State Appropriation for County Wide Library Service by Class of Counties, 1939.

Thus, for example, we will assume that Wyoming County votes to adopt the county library system and appropriates $2,000 for this purpose. We note on the right that Wyoming is an 8th class county on the basis of its population. On the left we find that for every dollar an 8th class county

44. Source: Extension Library Division, Department of Public Instruction. Harrisburg.

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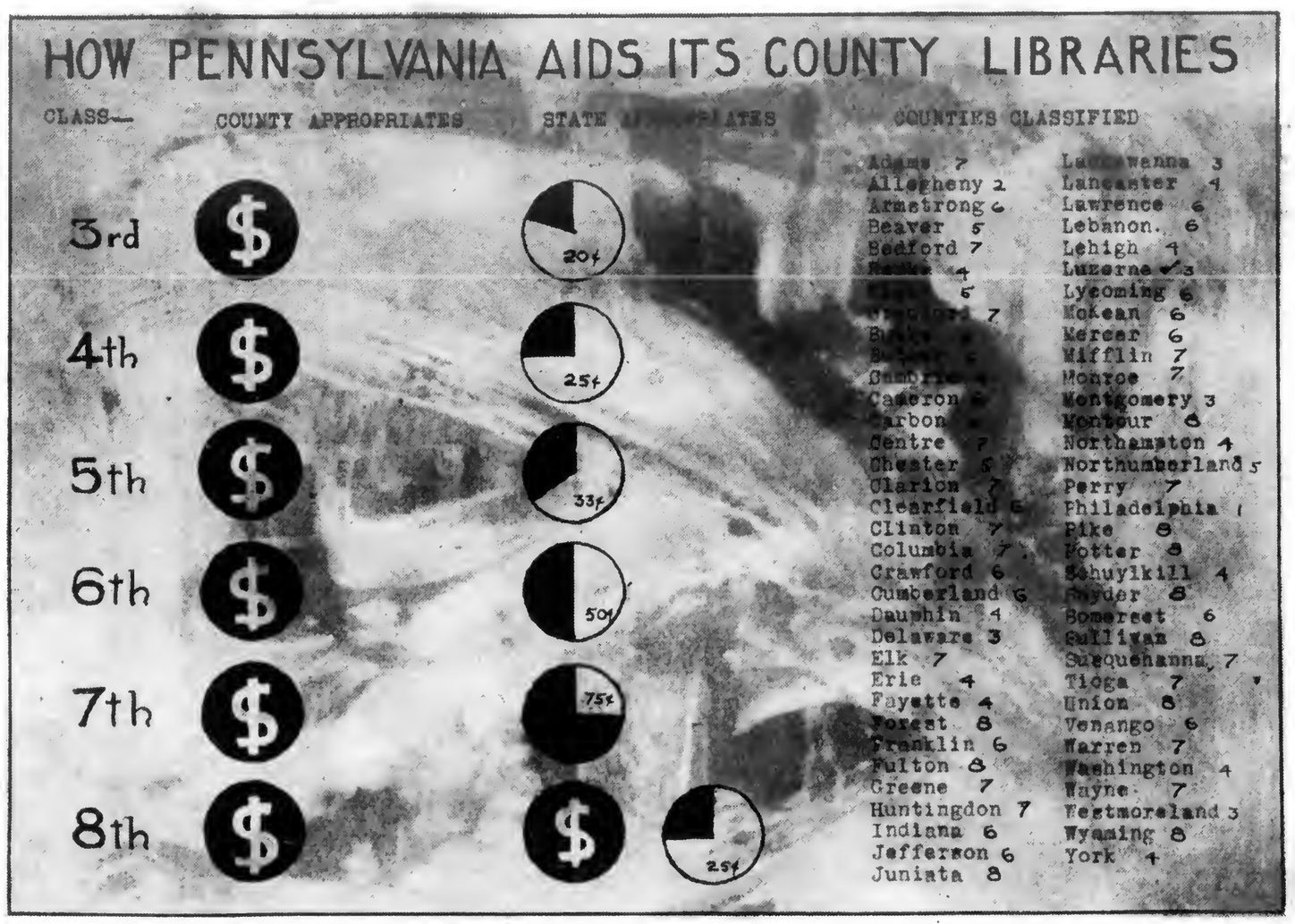

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44. Source: Extension Library Division, Department of Public Instruction. Harrisburg.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

puts up the state will add $1.25. This will give Wyoming County $4500 annually on which to operate its library service. Out of this it must provide space and personnel, buy books, arrange for a book truck or some other means of distribution, etc. The state library will help additionally by loaning to the county library up to 5000 books until the county library can meet its own needs.

At the end of 1939 there were 14 counties operating on the above plan. Six of these have come into being during the last three years. Figure 116 above shows by means of crosshatching the counties affording this service. The average county appropriation was $1686 in 1939. The range was from $6000 in Dauphin County to $500 in Susquehanna and Pike Counties. The average state contribution was $855. The range was from $275 in Susquehanna County to $2500 in Cameron County, the maximum state benefit allowable. Thus the state paid just about half the bill in 1939. This plan has much merit. It is not an outright gift. The county must make an effort too, thus insuring more effective use of the funds and of the facilities. Further, the equalization scheme enables poorer counties to have services which they could not afford if the entire obligation fell upon the local people.

The operation of the Huntingdon county library can be taken as somewhat typical of those counties having book trucks. Huntingdon County in central Pennsylvania, is in the Allegheny Mountains. There are 10 thousand farm people in the County, 16 thousand village people, and 13 thousand urban people in two small cities. During 1939 there were 12,562 books available; 31 adult stations and 175 school stations, covering the county were in operation, nine persons, mostly W.P.A. workers, were employed; and

a total circulation of 78,876 books was achieved. The cost of this service was $6,243 for the year.

Figure 119 clearly shows the extent of coverage in another County, Dauphin. The lines reaching out from Harrisburg terminate at the points where county library service is made available. In 1939 150 stations were operated. Of these 120 were schools. These points were serviced by the book truck, the Cardinal, with a new supply of books each month. The circulation of books in the county for the year was 288,377. Such service as this, covering as it does almost all groupings of rural population is of inestimable value.

The "library system" in Pennsylvania can scarcely be called a system in the same way that the public schools, agricultural extension, roads, and other like agencies comprise a system. For as we have seen, there is no "system" in the kind of service offered, in the organic relationship of these services over the state, in the availability of books in various parts of the state. Libraries in Pennsylvania have just grown as a result of continuous local development. It is a service that is in great need of coordination.

We see in this section that the number and kind of libraries varies from area to area and that the distribution of these agencies is related to population density. It is well known that libraries are primarily the result of an interested leader or group of leaders. Every county wide library in the state and many of the community libraries are a reflection of unusual leadership. This strengthens the thesis that certain personal influences are important enough to merit being called "determinants".

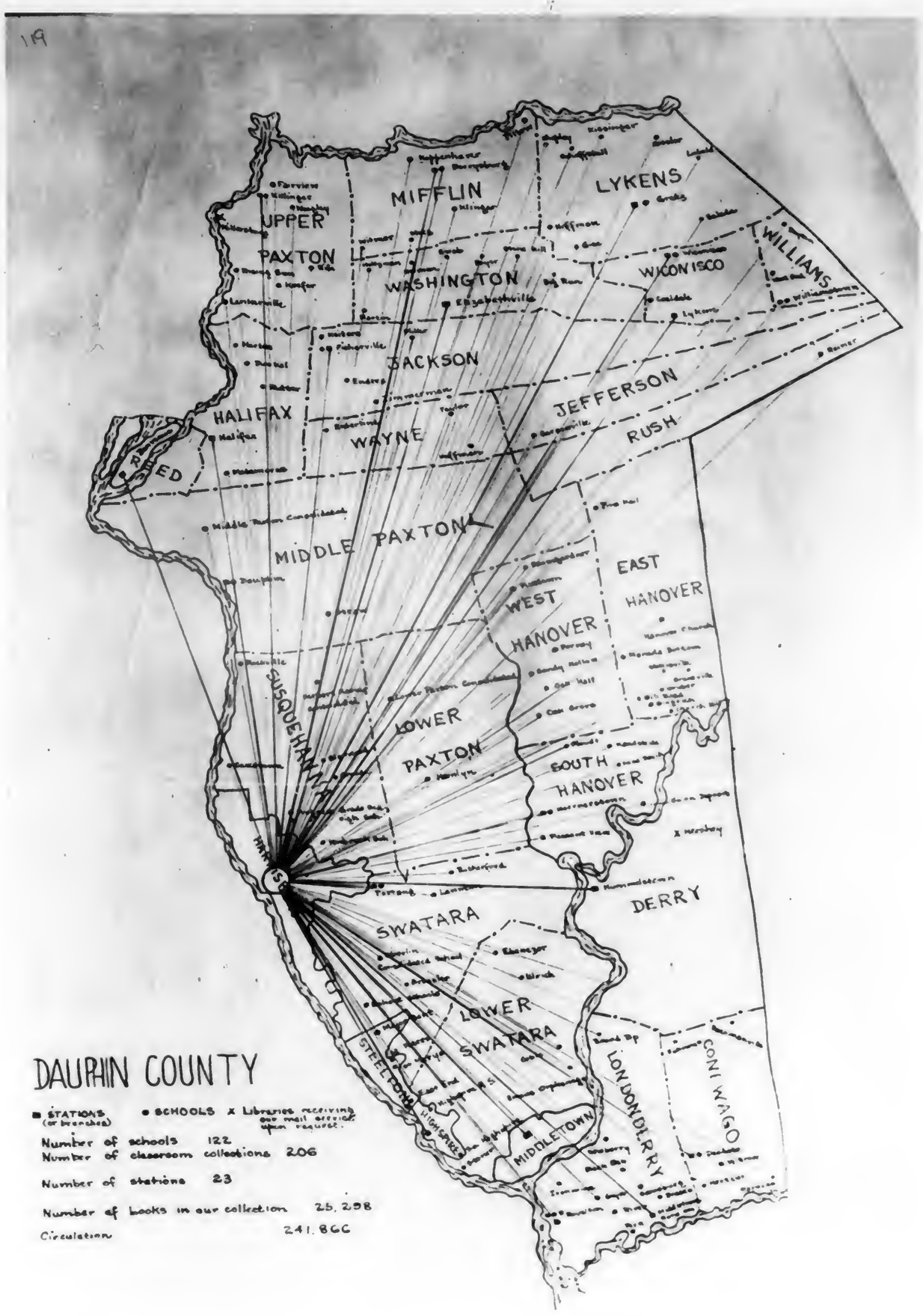

Figure 119. Distribution of Library Points Covered by the Dauphin County Book Truck, 1939.

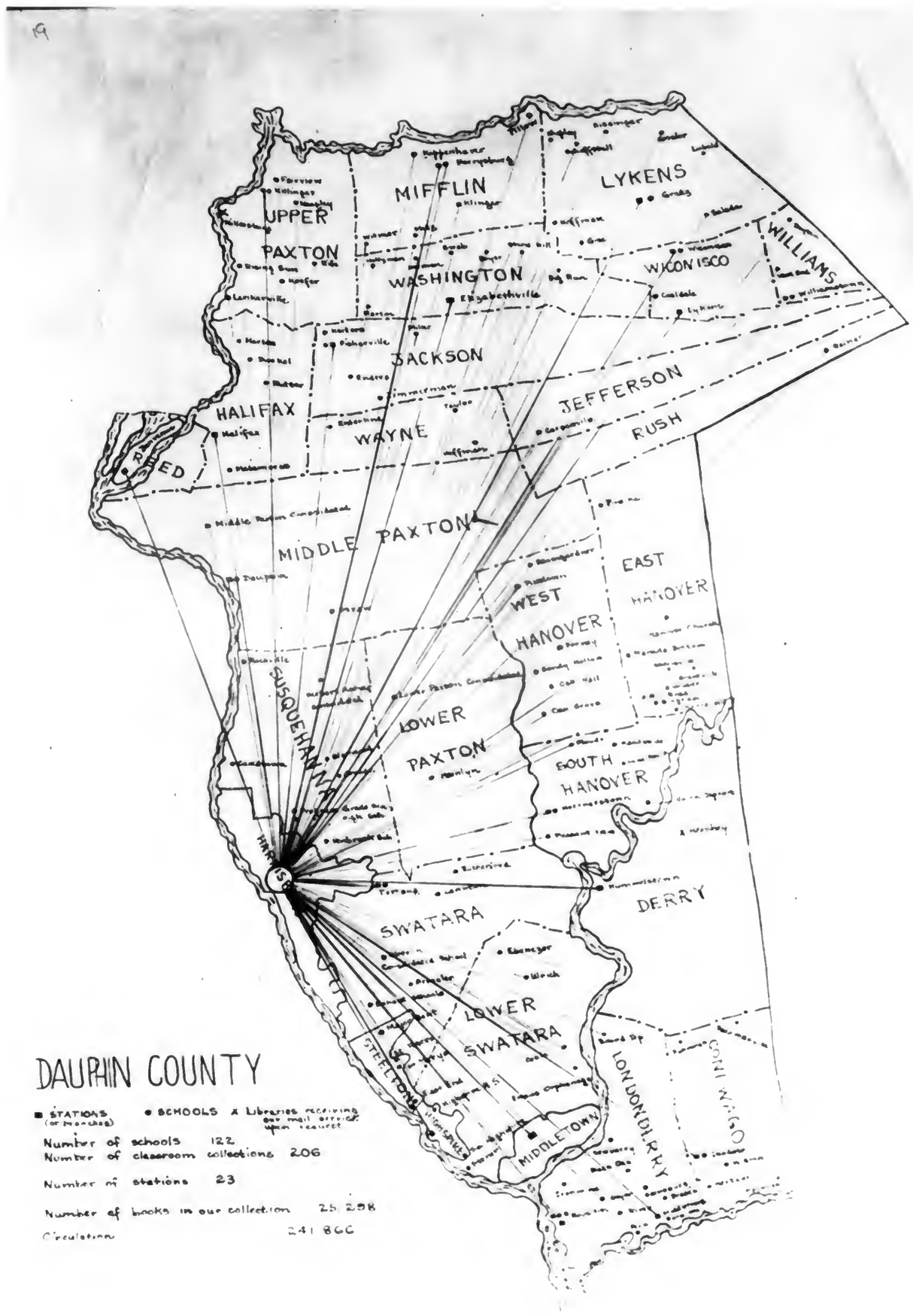

Figure 119. Distribution of Library Points Covered by the Dauphin County Book Truck, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

Further there is but little relation of libraries to the so-called "rural cultural regions". Libraries are largely an urban matter in Pennsylvania.

4. Agricultural Exhibitions.

Since colonial times farmers have come together annually to contest their grain, fruit, and livestock against that of their neighbors. This is a holdover from English custom. Neighborhood and community fairs were common, but these frequently gave way to larger fairs on a wider basis. These quite generally took the form of county agricultural fairs. They were major social affairs, for all ages, farmer and villager alike.

But with the radio, telephone, automobiles, and good roads, social contacts have become easier and more frequent. Expositions state fairs, and world fairs were encompassed in a farm families contact. The county fair has had stiff competition and in many areas has fought a losing battle.

a.) Outdoor Fairs.

The location of outdoor fairs is shown in Figure 120 designated by the square symbols. The state is still liberally sprinkled with these institutions. The upper Alleghany Plateau has fewest and these, in the main, are poor agricultural counties. On the other hand, a few strong agricultural counties such as Chester, Franklin, Venango, Northampton, and Lebanon have no outdoor fairs.

These are for the most part county-wide fairs; but increasingly outdoor community fairs are coming into existence, especially in those centers where vocational agriculture is taught. Thus, in Crawford County, for example, there are six outdoor fairs representing all agricultural sections of the county.[45]

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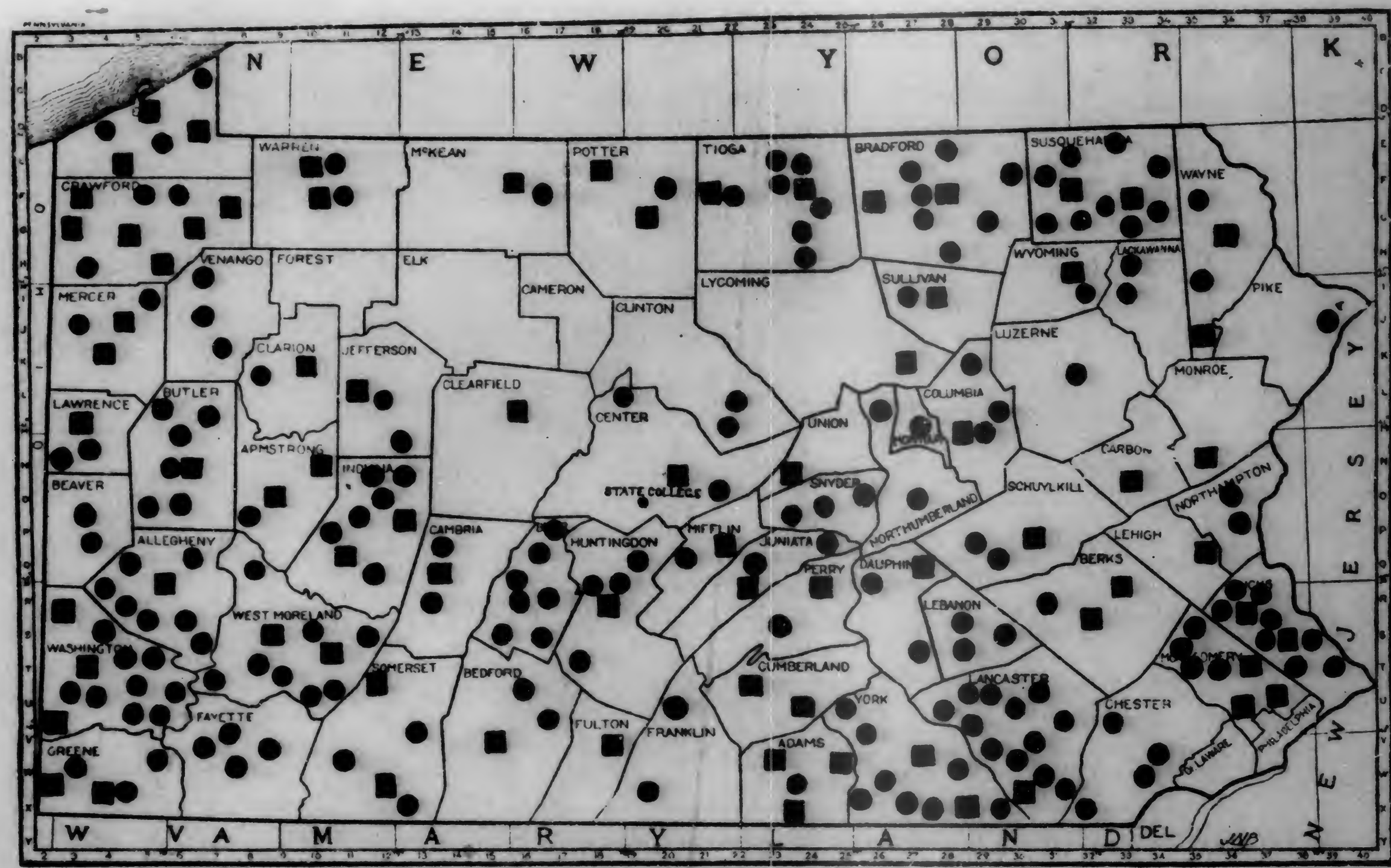
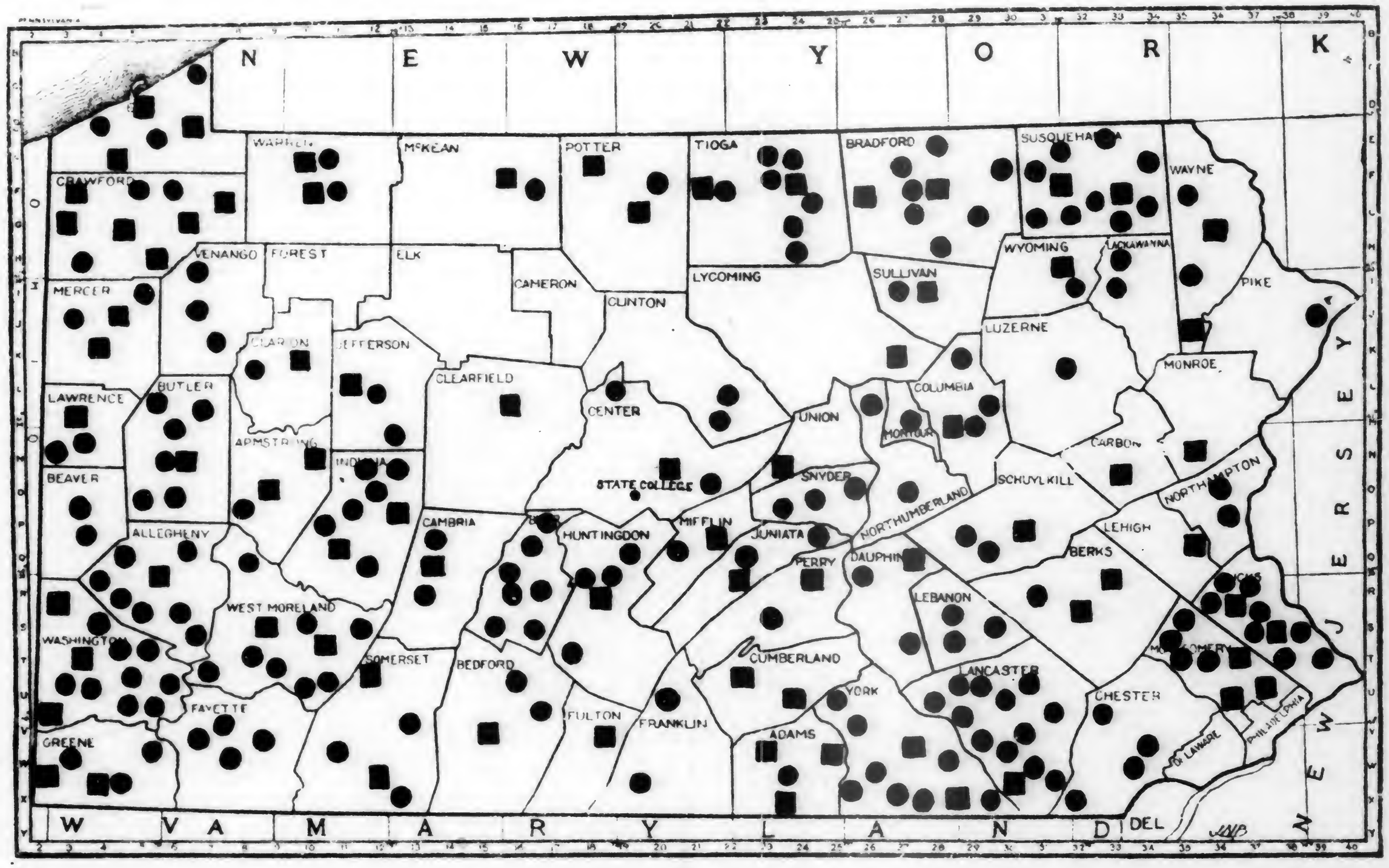
45. Source: Pennsylvania Department of Agriculture and County Agriculture Agents.



● Indoor Farm Product Shows ■ Outdoor Fairs

FIGURE 120. LOCATION OF AGRICULTURAL FAIRS AND FARM PRODUCT SHOWS IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



● Indoor Farm Product Shows ■ Outdoor Fairs

FIGURE 120. LOCATION OF AGRICULTURAL FAIRS AND FARM PRODUCT SHOWS IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1939

Fairs in Pennsylvania have had a difficult time to maintain themselves during the past 20 years. This is particularly true in the poorer agricultural counties. On the other hand, fairs in such counties as York, Berks, Lehigh, and Columbia appear to be suffering no diminution either in terms of financial support or in interest of the people. These county fairs in the state range in size from a daily attendance of 80,000 in York County to a few hundred in Sullivan County. Moreover they are highly dissimilar in their general purpose and functions. In the larger fairs where attendance is large, commercialization, gaudy midways, high premiums and impersonal social contacts are the order of the day. In the small fairs most of the people know each other, contacts are personal, prizes are negligible and commercialization is minimized. In the first instance it is a business proposition; in the latter case it is more of a social institution. Counting all kinds, however, there were 75 outdoor fairs operating during 1939, most of them held in August and September. These agencies are usually governed by a local or a county fair board who determine the policies, guarantee the fair, and see that their plans are carried out. Premiums are paid with money received from gate receipts, concessions, entry fees, and from stipends received from the State Department of Agriculture to stimulate this kind of activity. Since 1917 County and community fair associations have been receiving state aid. Annual exhibitions may receive after the second year of operation an amount equal to the premiums paid (exclusive of race preeminence) during the preceding year. No fair may receive over $1000; and no county may receive more than $2000 in case more than two fairs exist in a county .

b.) Farm Product Shows.

Many outdoor fair associations have gone bankrupt, and have sold their grounds and buildings. Frequently, in such cases, indoor farm product shows arise to fill the void. Others arise solely out of a felt need for some such community activity. The organization of such local events is simple. Little money is commonly involved, and the blatancy of commercialization is absent. Many of these exhibits receive state support but most of them are carried out entirely by local resources. In 1939 there were 174 farm product shows throughout the state.[46] They are increasing in number.

The circles in Figure 120 indicate location of farm product shows in the state. Three areas show a clustering of these agencies — the far west, the north east corner, and the south east area. Almost none exist in the Poconos, the hard coal section and the upper Allegheny Plateau. Most of these are local events, sometimes sponsored by a grange, a rural P.T.A. or a service club and sometimes by the community as a whole. A few of these shows, however, such as the ones at Oil City in Venango County and at Mifflintown in Juniata County, are county-wide events which are planned for and looked forward to throughout the year.

Certain of these farm product shows are specialized events. For example, the banks and businessmen combine with the apple growers in Adams County to put on an Adams County Apple Show. It has come to be considered an event worth driving many miles to see. In other sections, potatoes, vegetables, or corn shows are held.

One indoor exhibition in the commonwealth is worthy of special mention. This is the annual Pennsylvania State Farm Products Show at Harrisburg. This exposition takes the place of the usual state fair. It was started

46. Source: County Agricultural Agents.

in 1917. In 1940 the show offered premiums of $42,206 to exhibitors from all over the east. In all 10,524 exhibits were shown. Attendance in 1940 totaled 500,000;admission is free. It is a six-day affair, and maintains a varied program designed to appeal to agricultural, educational, recreational, and aesthetic interests. The annual meetings of such associations as the Holstein Breeders, Pennsylvania Potato Growers, and Pennsylvania Poultrymen, are held in connection with this show. Likewise Pennsylvania farm youth plays an important part. Four-H clubs and The Future Farmers have programs throughout the week.

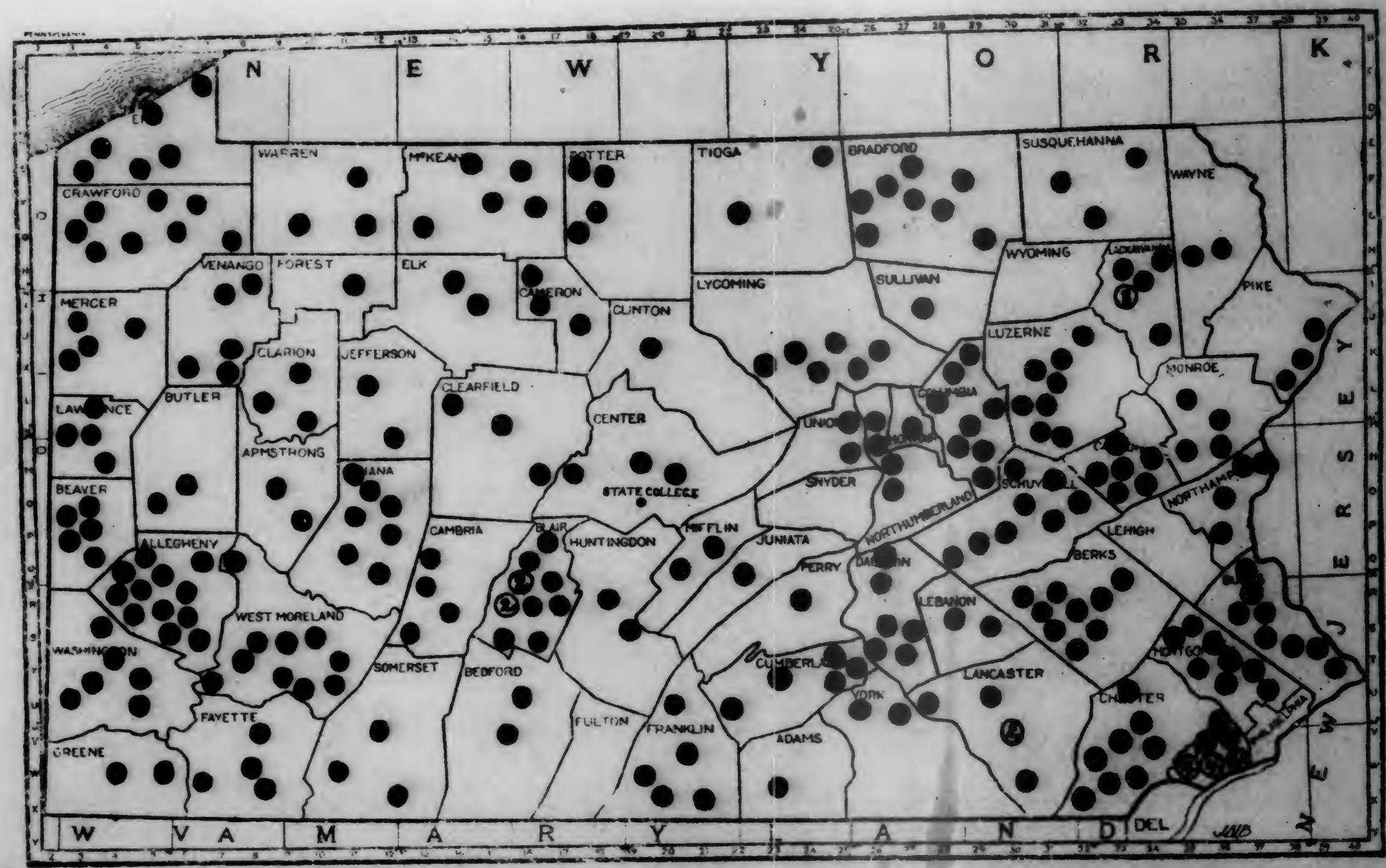
c.) Flower Shows.

Unlike the farm products show, participation in which is largely restricted to farm people, the flower show is a medium in which the farmer, the villager, and the urbanite can meet on the same footing. Anyone who raises flowers is welcome to participate. Not only that, but all classes of persons are interested in exhibitions of this kind, if not as exhibitors, as spectators. In many places granges, rural P.T.A.'s and other church groups have built up such a strong show that it attracts urban residents from some distance as well as the local folk. It is a practical way of welding town-country, rural-urban relationships.

Figure 121 shows the distribution of flower shows in Pennsylvania for the year 1939.[47] As would be expected, the density of these shows some correspondence with density of population. However, the correspondence is not high. In other words, there are proportionately more flower shows in sparsely populated territory than in densely populated areas.

Many of these flower shows are under the direct sponsorship of flower clubs sponsored by the county agricultural extension associations. Others

47. Source: Ibidem.

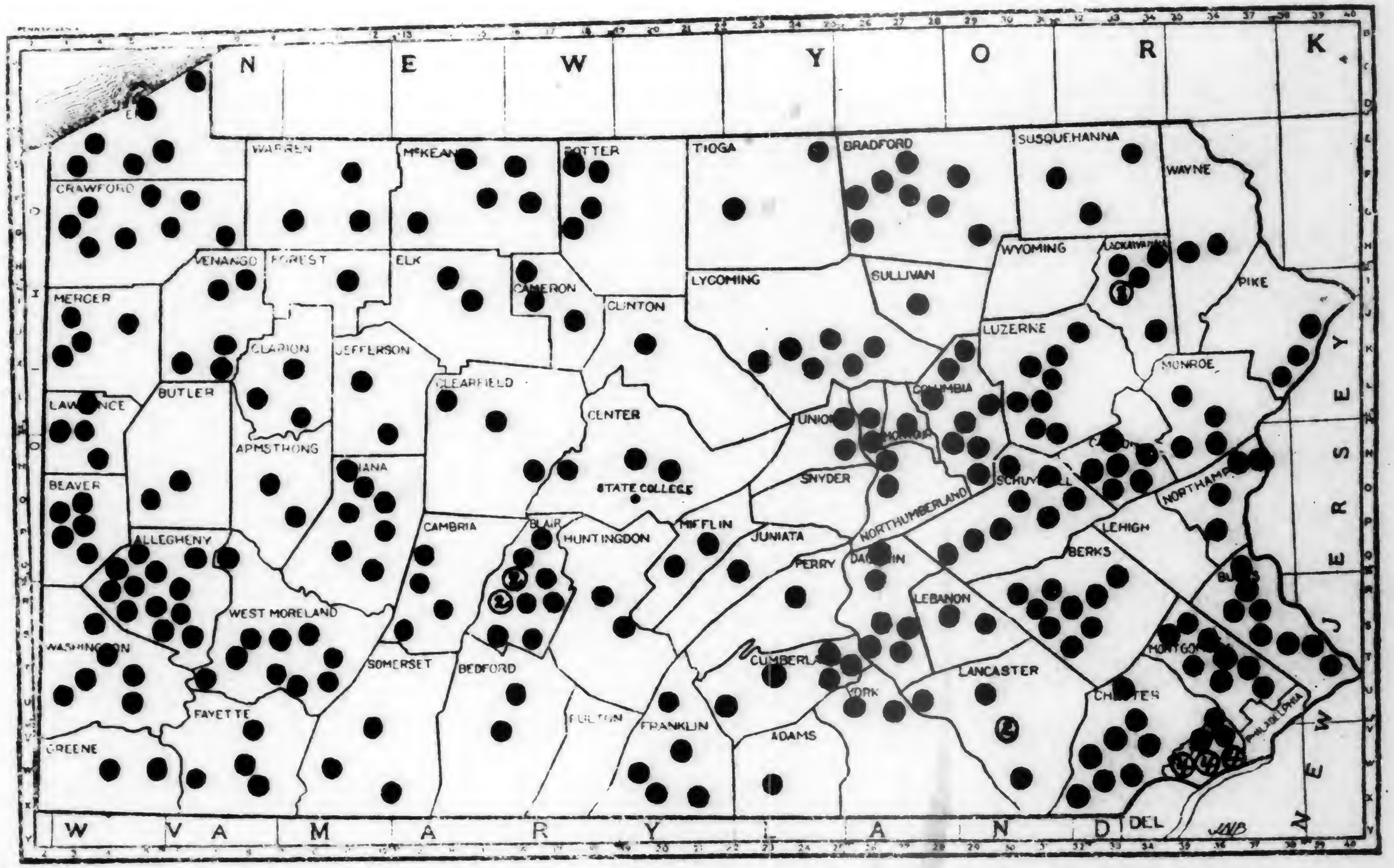


● One Flower Show

O More Than One

Figure 1... - Location of Flower Shows in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



● One Flower Show O More Than One

Figure 1... - Location of Flower Shows in Pennsylvania, 1939

of them are sponsored by local groups interested in floriculture and gardening; and use as judges the extension specialist in ornamental horticulture as well as other college representatives. Still others have no relation whatever to the college or to the extension service. Most of these latter are sponsored by urban groups or clubs in the larger villages.

A few counties have one major county-wide flower show for the entire area. Persons from the various neighborhoods and communities enter their flowers in the competition and themselves enter the sociability and good will which commonly accompanies such events. In all there were 284 flower shows held throughout the state in 1939. A great many other flower shows, even those which have come to be recognized as annual affairs were not held in 1939 because of the drought situation in certain areas.

The final section on agricultural exhibitions supports several of the hypotheses. First, the number, type, and size of these affairs is dependent on the agriculture of an area, the number and interests of the people there, and the leadership available. There is little or no evidence that these exhibitions follow "cultural region" lines. Personal, social, and historical factors appear to be stronger influences than the "natural area" influence suggested by some writers.

Thus each of the four sections in the present chapter aids in establishing one or more of the original hypotheses. This chapter as we have seen, supports six of the nine hypotheses posited.

Chapter VIII

HEALTH AGENCIES

1. State Health Department.

Public health work in Pennsylvania began with the creation of a state board of health consisting of six persons by an act passed in 1885. In 1905 this board was changed to a state department of health. Since 1955 there has been working with the Department of Health an advisory health board composed of four physicians, a dentist, and a civil engineer.

The Department of Health is composed of seven bureaus: Vital Statistics, Sanitary Engineering, Milk Sanitation, Nursing, Maternal and Child Welfare, Health Conservation, and Health Law Enforcement. Working through these departments is a corps of field workers consisting of seven district sanitary engineers (each with one or two assistants), 12 district milk inspectors (with some assistants), 115 full-time health officers allocated to counties on the basis of population, 118 public health nurses, 403 school medical inspectors for fourth class school districts, 110 tuberculosis clinicians, 89 clinicians in social diseases, 188 clinicians in prenatal and well baby clinics, three midwife inspectors, 759 registrars for the Bureau of Vital Statistics, and 67 marriage license transcribers. Some of the latter groups are not full-time employees. All salaries are paid by the state, the "incidental fee", assessed individuals for service, having been abandoned.

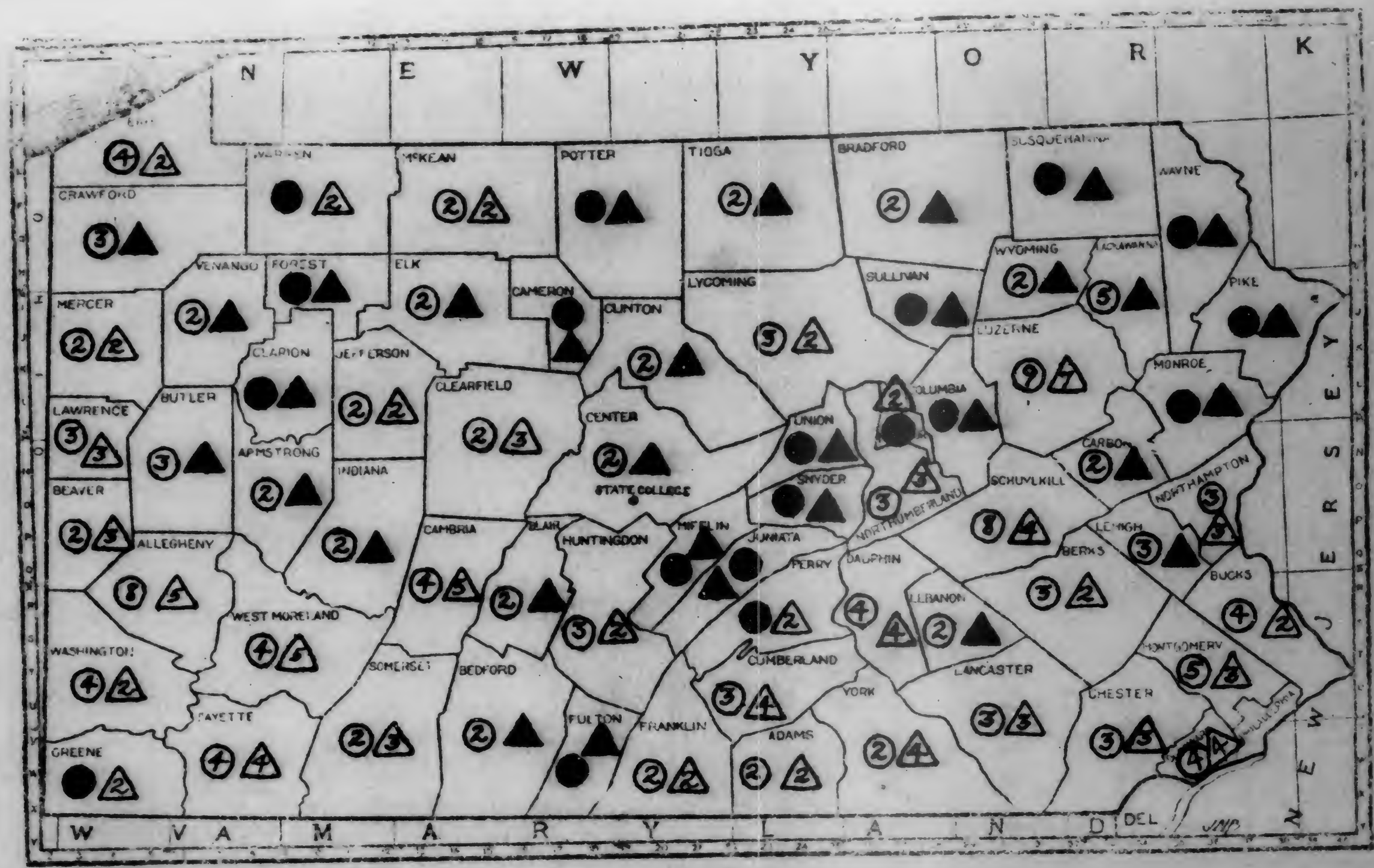
Almost all of the above persons in the counties work under the direction of county medical directors. At the present time there are 66 such persons in the state, all recognized physicians who perform these functions on a part-time basis. Practically all of these county directors receive from

$300 to $1000 a year. They directly represent the Department of Health in the county and are responsible for the enforcement of public health laws, for the supervision of nurses, clinicians and quarantine officers in the county, and for handling epidemics of contagious diseases, vaccinating school children of indigent parents, maintaining contact with school authorities, and reporting any health emergencies arising anywhere in the county.

The health officers in the counties are frequently important guardians of health in their areas. They are directly responsible for the establishment, interpretation, and termination of quarantine, the abatement of nuisances, working with the schools in the control of contagious diseases and suppressing epidemics. Figure 122 shows the distribution of these officers by counties.

Generally speaking, the program of the State Department of Health provides for the control of tuberculosis, communicable and venereal diseases, maternity services, infant hygiene, morbidity service, general sanitation, protection of foods, laboratory tests, and health education. Through these public health facilities thousands of people in the state have received clinical treatment, consultations with physicians, field visits, and nursing visits, which otherwise they could not have afforded, while even more have been benefitted, directly and indirectly through the inspection, testing, and regulatory power of the several bureaus of the Department of Health. Some of these phases will be described more fully below.

The Bureau of Sanitary Engineering has to do with the examination of public water supplies, private water supplies, roadside water supplies,



● State Nurses ▲ County Health Officers

Figure 122. - The Location of State Nurses and County Health Officers by Counties, in Pennsylvania, 1939

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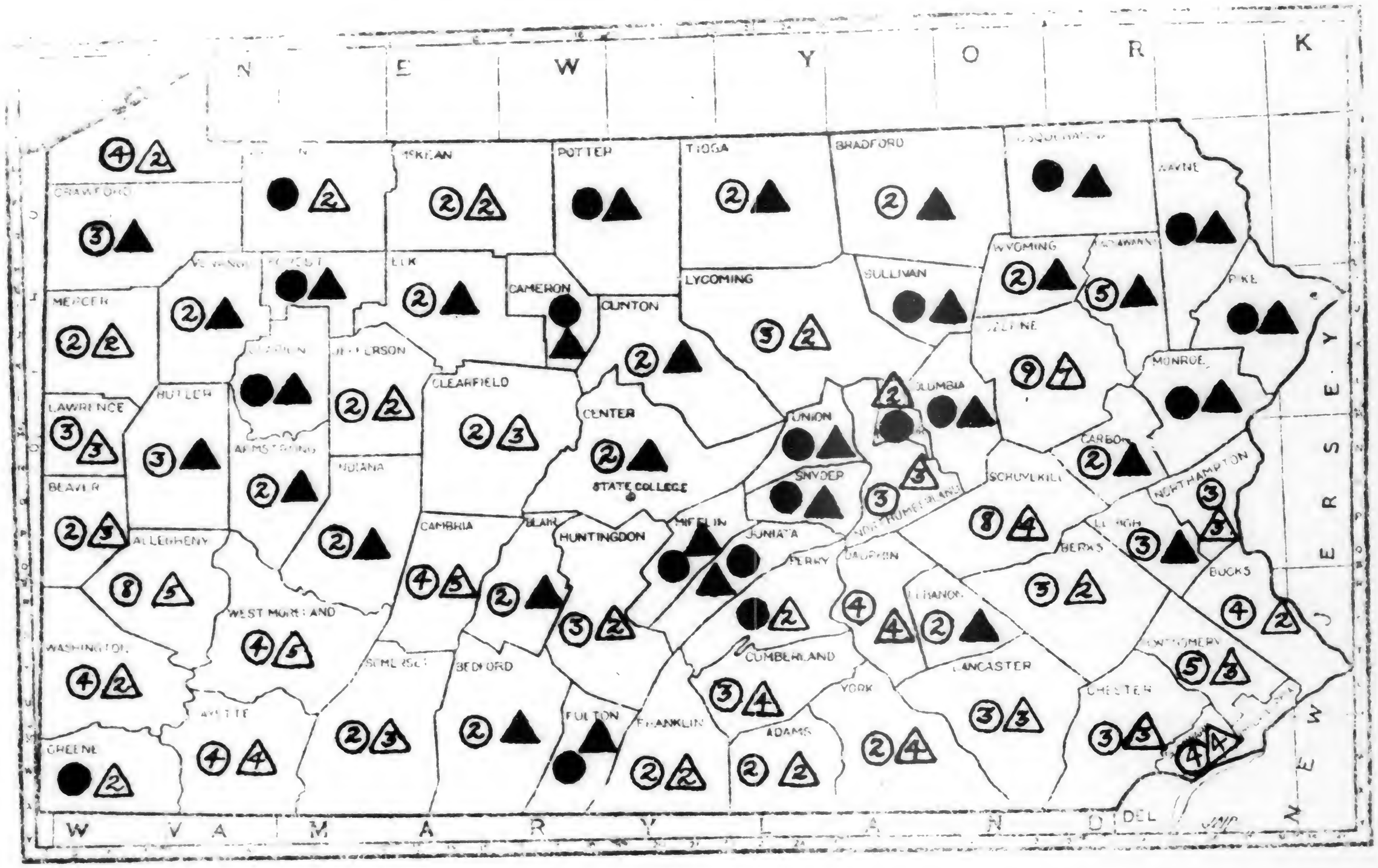

● State Nurses ▲ County Health Officers

Figure 122. - The Location of State Nurses and County Health Officers by Counties, in Pennsylvania, 1939

sewage disposal conditions and plants, bathing places and swimming pools, sealing of coal mines, deflooding of watered mines, inspection of camps, investigating harmful industrial wastes, and surveying for the abatement of public health nuisances.

The Bureau of Health Law Enforcement controls the sale and use of drugs and narcotics and enforces the laws pertaining to health conservation, vital statistics, milk sanitation and undertaking.

The Bureau of Vital Statistics provides for the registration of births, deaths, marriages, and communicable diseases. The importance of adequate registration is increasing, for it is used not only in connection with the employment and honorable discharge of soldiers and sailors but is becoming increasingly necessary for nurses, civil service work, and especially for public and private agencies in determining the eligibility of persons to participate in their programs. Such examples are Social Security, N.Y.A., C.C.C., W.P.A.,and the like.

The ultimate criterion of the health of any people is how long they live. In Chapter III we saw that Pennsylvanians are living longer than formerly. Except for the war year of 1918 when the death rate jumped to 22 per 1000 population the number of deaths occurring per year is gradually decreasing. From 16 deaths per 1000 in 1906 we have seen the rate slowly drop to the present level of 11 per 1000. Some of this decrease has been due to internal shifts in the age groupings but much of it is doubtless due to improved methods of health preservation.

The range in death rate per thousand persons was from 9.5 in Fayette County to 14.9 in Wyoming County (Figure 123).[1] The counties with highest birth rates including all of the coal counties, both anthracite and

1. Source: Bureau of Vital Statistics, Department of Health, Harrisburg.

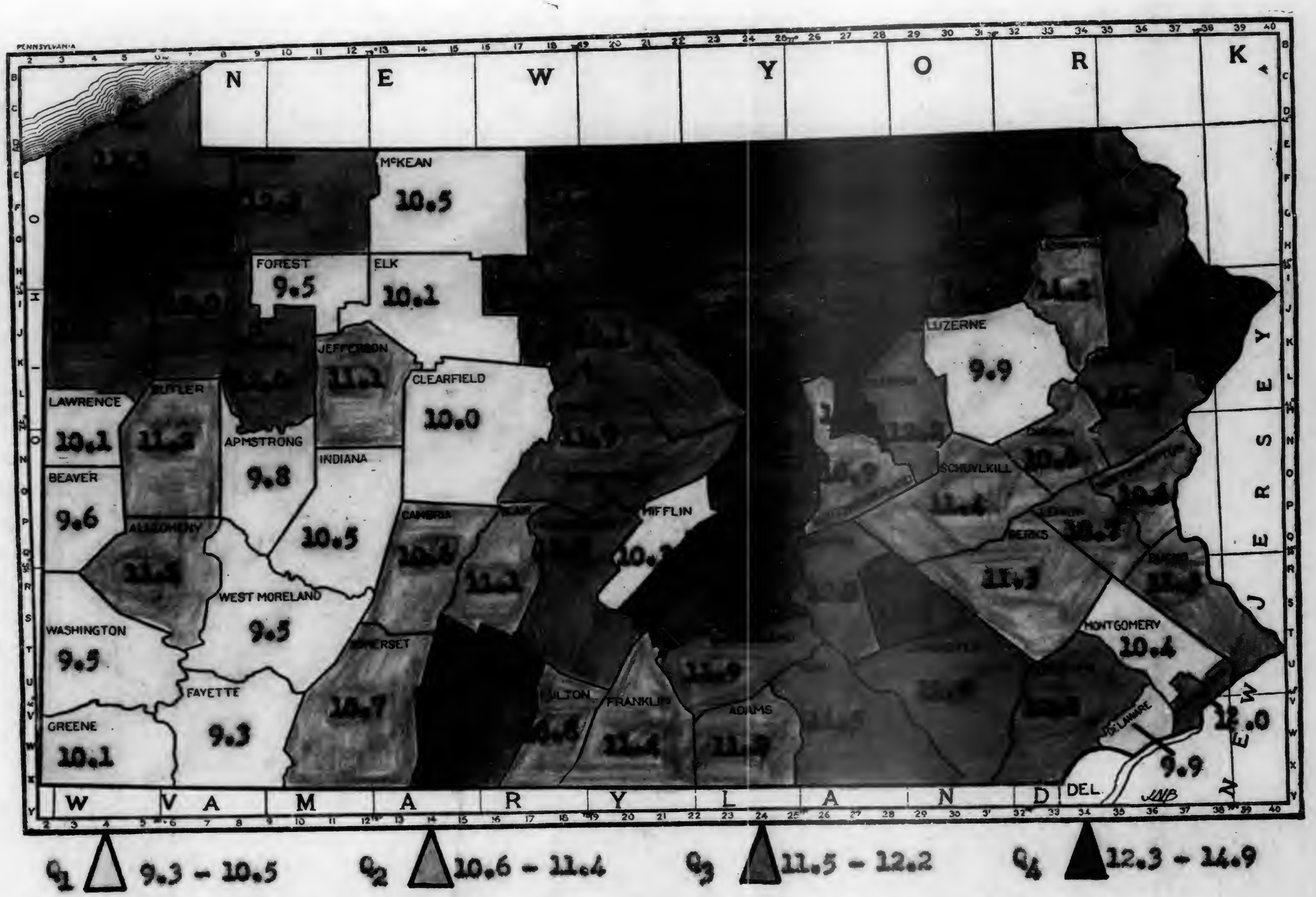

Figure 123. Death Rate Per 1000 Persons in Pennsylvania by Counties Adjusted to the Residence of the Decedent - 1957.

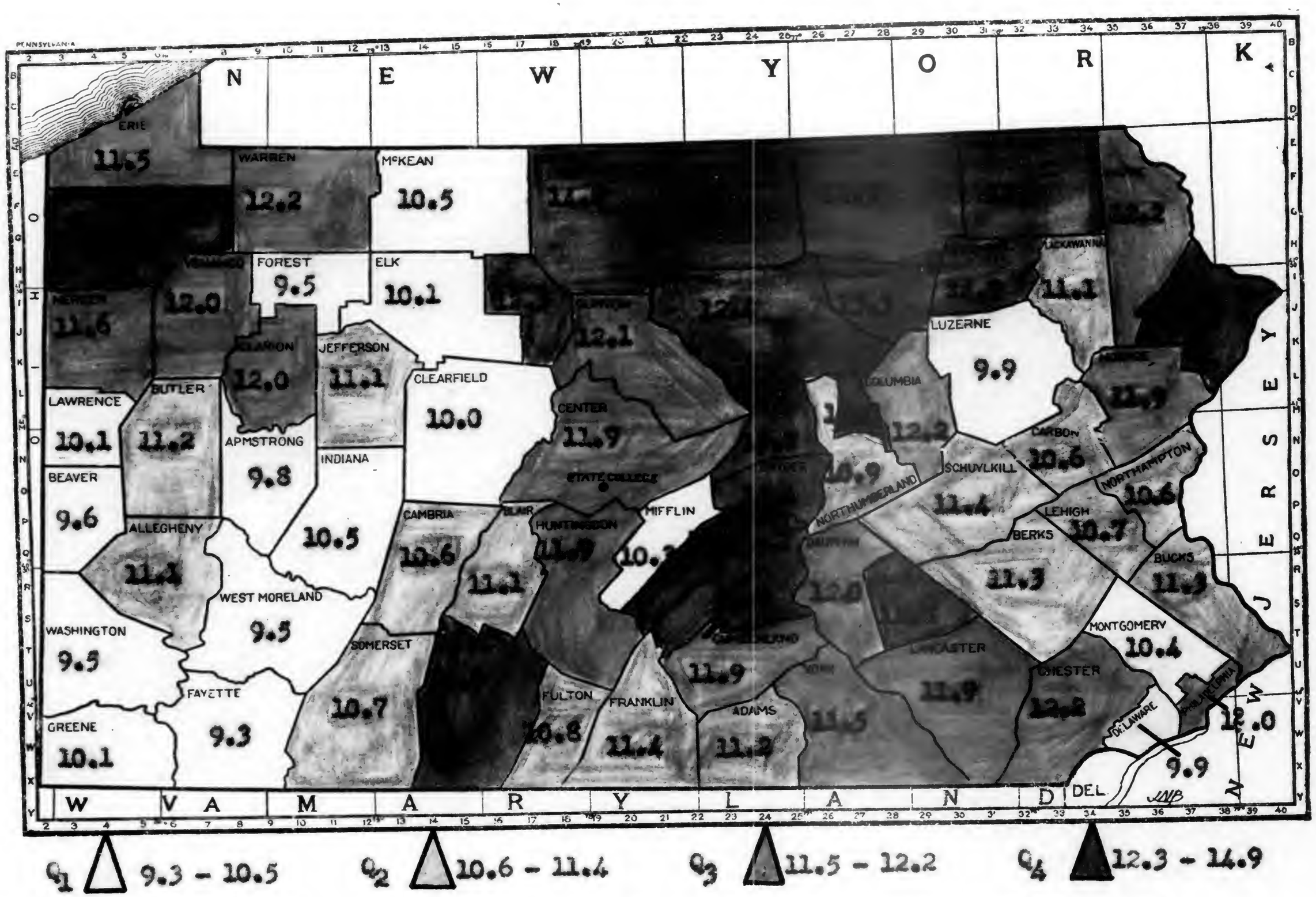

Figure 123. Death Rate Per 1000 Persons in Pennsylvania by Counties Adjusted to the Residence of the Decedent - 1937.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

bituminous, fall below the median. On the other hand, the agricultural counties, especially the dairy sections fall above the median. Thirteen agricultural counties which have an unduly high proportion of people above 65 form a cluster in northeast central Pennsylvania. Thus we see that the death rate in this section is 50 per cent higher than the more prolific and younger population of southwestern Pennsylvania.

2. Clinics.[2]

The location of certain kinds of clinics is shown on the following pages. These clinics are those established and maintained through the offices of the State Department of Health. These are of four kinds: tuberculosis, child health, prenatal care, and social diseases.

The 400 clinics shown below represent only a part of the total service of this kind available in the state. There are probably 500 other clinics of various kinds in operation by private and semi-private agencies. For example, mothers' clubs, parent-teacher associations, county medical associations, women's clubs, and businessmen's organizations frequently sponsor and maintain clinics on their own. This type of activity is encouraged by the State Department of Health and they cooperate in every way possible in supplying these clinics with whatever aid can be given.

Clinics have played and are playing a vital part in the health preservation of the people of the commonwealth. The emphasis here is that of determining defects early enough that serious or fatal results will not accrue. On the other hand, certain of the clinics such as prenatal and child health are devoted entirely to preventive medicine. In addition, health education is stressed which will have carry over value to other generations.

2. Sources: Department of Health and County Health Nurse.

(a) Tuberculosis.

Clinical service for tuberculosis has been organized since 1907. In 1939there were 90 state clinics operating in the commonwealth to which indigent patients and those not able to finance the long period of necessary care may come for examination. Originally these tubercular clinics were maintained entirely by the state but for a number of years local communities and county commissioners have borne a part of the cost of maintaining this service.

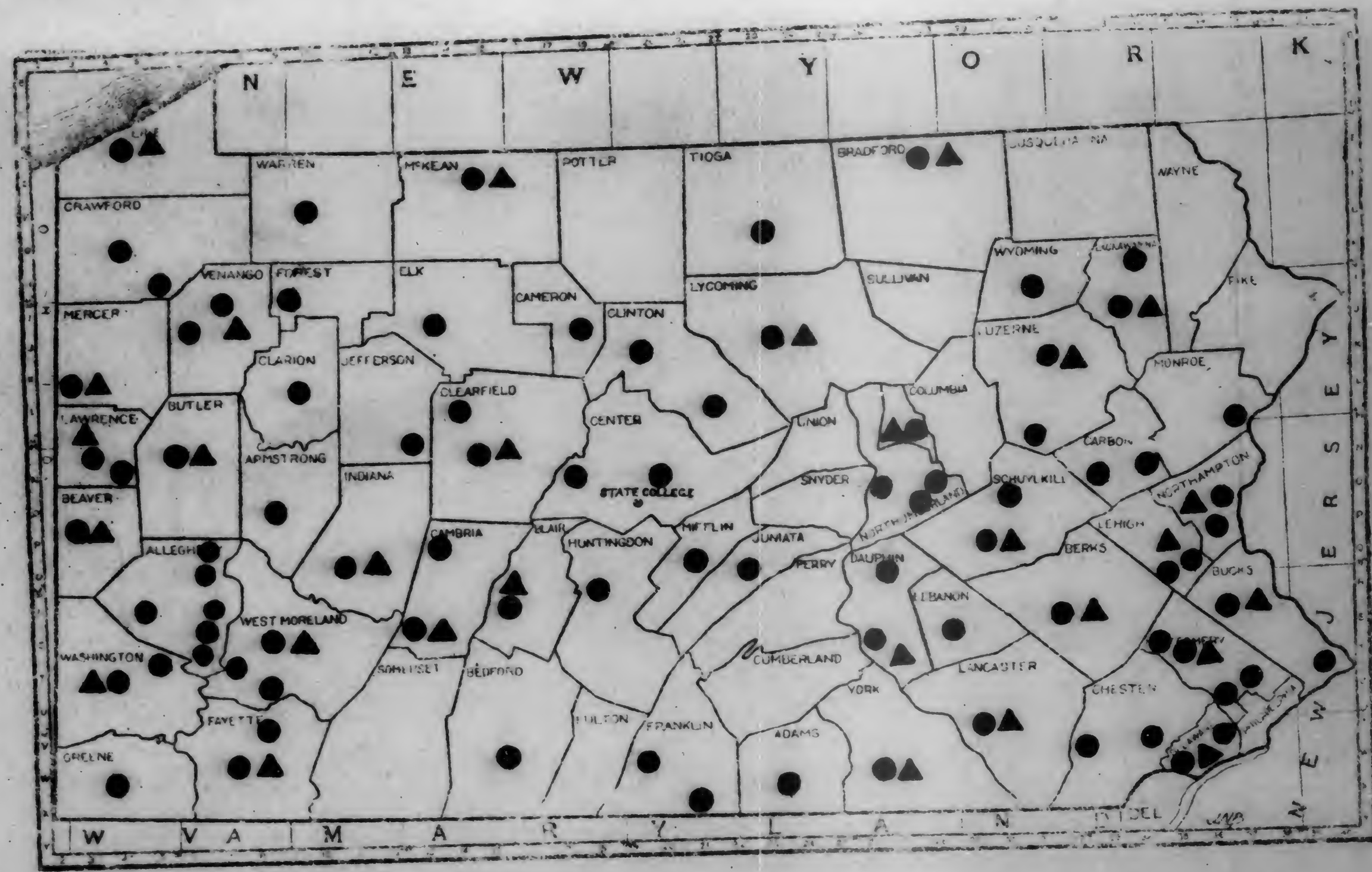
The 90 clinics in operation in 1939 were found in 55 counties. In general they are located in centers of population but their distribution is wide-spread enough that they are readily accessible to farm and village people. The distribution of these clinics is seen in Figure 124. There is a high correlation between Figure 9 showing population centers and the distribution of this service.

In addition, the state maintains three tuberculosis sanitoria with a total of 2,420 beds for the treatment of indigent patients.

Clinics are all operated on a part-time basis - usually one afternoon a week.

(b) Social Diseases.

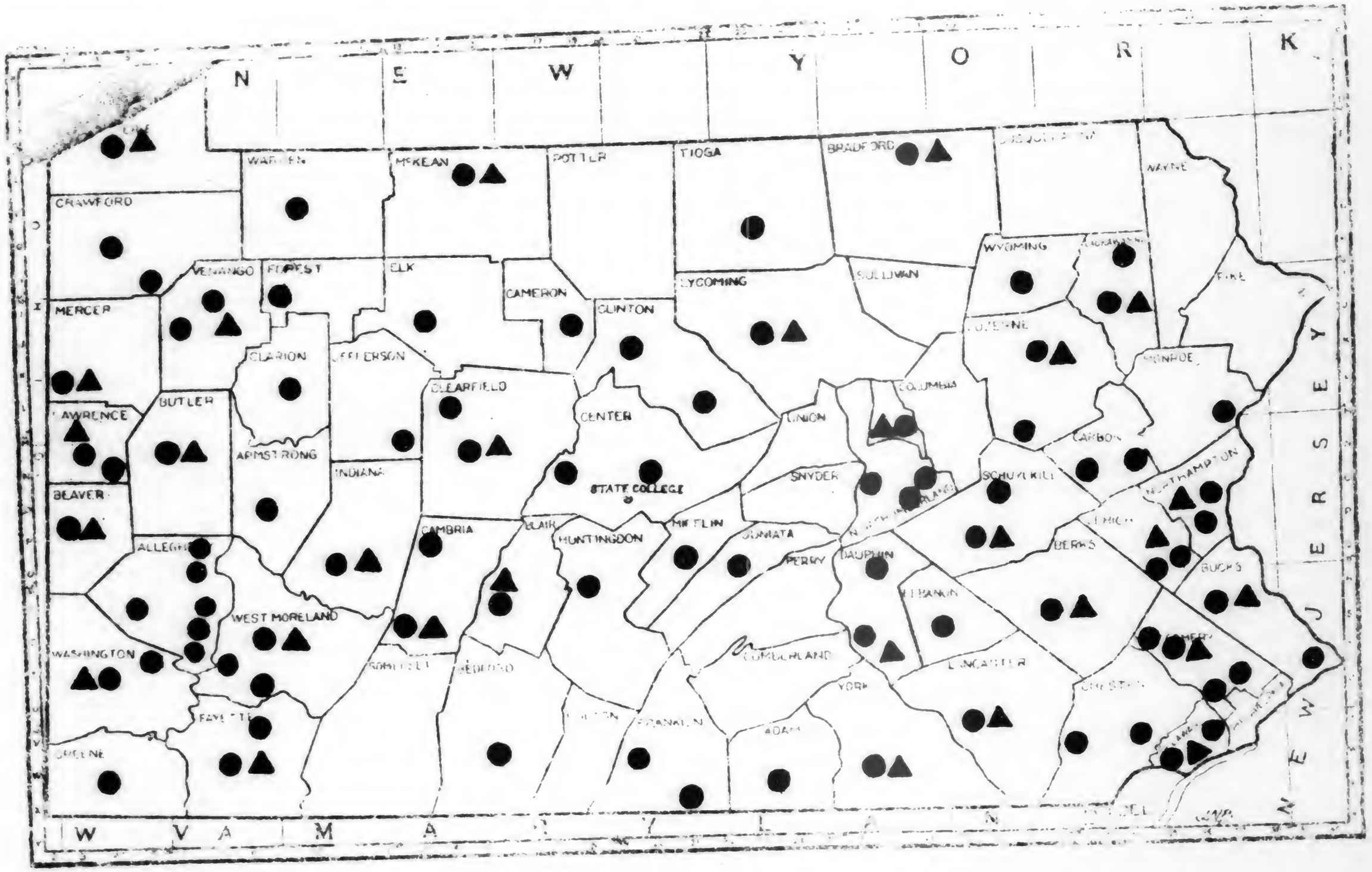
Since 1919 Pennsylvania has carried on a program of venereal disease control along the recognized lines of education, treatment, and law enforcement. Educational activities have consisted chiefly of the distribution of pamphlets, leaflets and the publication of articles in professional and lay magazines. Since 1937 the state has become increasingly stringent in taking action against individuals having syphilis or gonorrhea in the infectious stages and who refuse to receive treatment or who persist



● State Tuberculosis Clinics ▲ State Pneumothroax Clinics

Figure 124. - The Location of Tuberculosis and Pneumothorax Clinics in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



● State Tuberculosis Clinics ▲ State Pneumothroax Clinics

Figure 124. - The Location of Tuberculosis and Pneumothorax Clinics in Pennsylvania, 1939

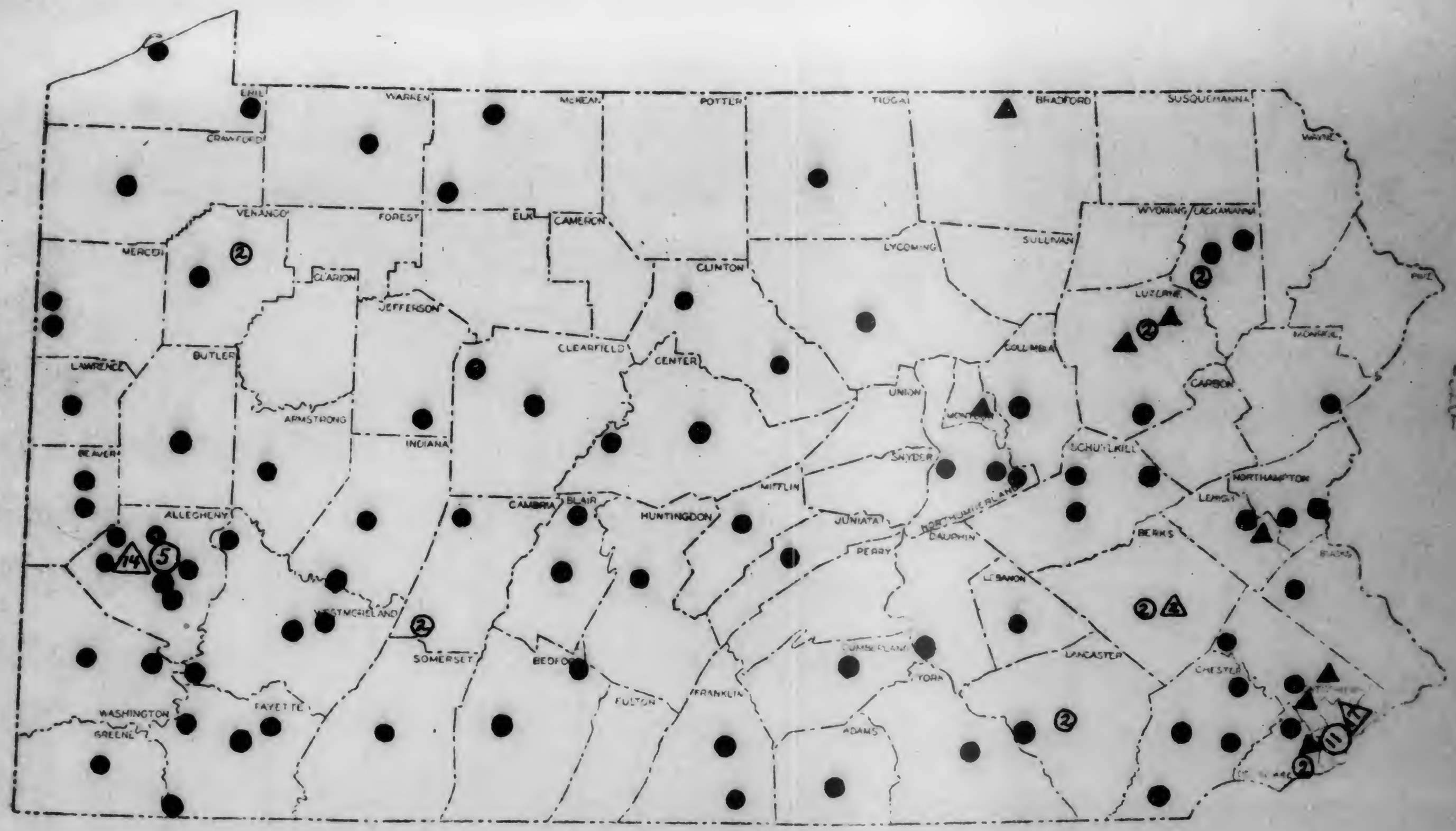
in exposing others. At the present time syphilis in its infectious stages is a reportable disease.

The Bureau of Health Conservation which handles this type of work has undergone marked expansion as a result of federal funds available through the Social Security program. At the present time there are 67 clinics in the state. Twenty of them have state paid clinicians while others have clinicians supplied locally. Drugs and supplies are furnished to these clinics and their operation is supervised by the state director of this division. In addition to these 67 there were 45 cooperative clinics in hospitals in 1939. The arrangement consists of the local hospital furnishing rooms and the clinician, while the state provides supplies free of charge. As will be noted by Figure 125, these clinics were distributed fairly generally throughout the state.

(c) Prenatal Clinics.

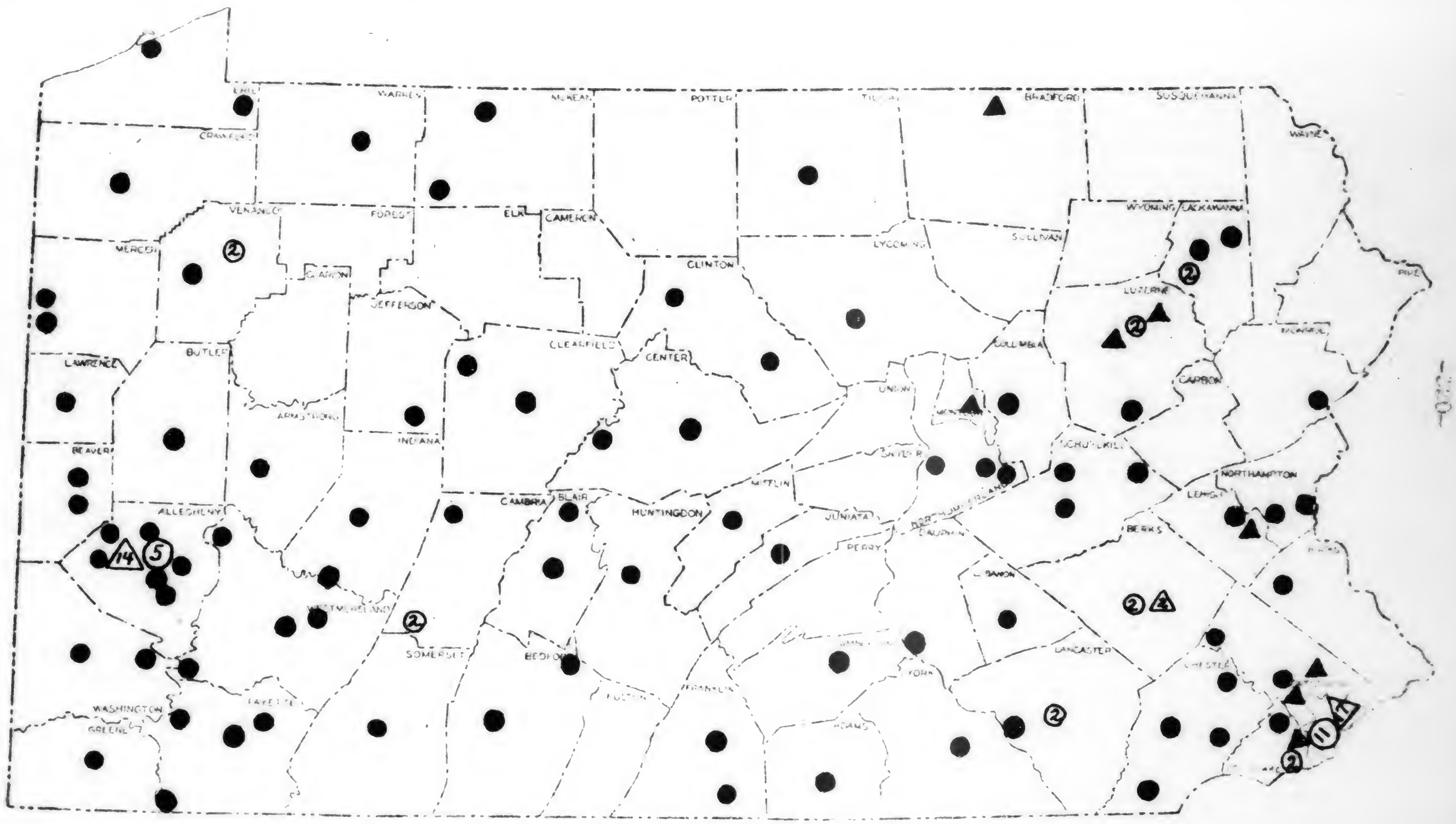
In 1939 there were 18 state prenatal clinics in 12 counties. The state nurses frequently operate through these clinics, attempting to locate prenatal patients and to promote prenatal services. They attempt to have patients placed under the care of private physicians. This is especially needed in industrial and mining sections. Clinicians report that a great share of their clients are young women in their first pregnancy. This is an encouraging situation, for some of the effects of proper education and guidance at that period will doubtless have carry over value for life.

Further, the professional workers operating in these centers attempt to guide and supervise midwifery in the area. This is especially important in the coal sections where the use of midwives is widespread.



● State Clinics ▲ Cooperative Clinics

Figure 125.- The Location of Social Disease Clinics in Pennsylvania, 1939



● State Clinics ▲ Cooperative Clinics

Figure 125. - The Location of Social Disease Clinics in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

The location of the state clinics is seen in Figure 126. In addition, cooperation is given almost 100 other prenatal clinics operated throughout the state. Practically all cities and larger towns have some such public service. Generally speaking it is not used by farm people to any appreciable degree.

(d) State Child Health Centers.

In 1939 there were 179 child health centers as seen from Figure 127. These are distributed throughout the commonwealth. In addition to these there were 330 cooperating child health centers which received aid in organizing the clinic, literature, and nursing service. These health centers are commonly known as "Well Baby Clinics" to which all pre-school children are brought for periodic examination and the mothers given advice on care and training of children. These clinics are commonly held one day or one afternoon a week. It is an encouraging sight to see 20 or 30 young mothers at many of these small town clinics weighing in their children and making provision for the maintenance of their good health.

The distribution of these clinics carries into 55 of the state's 67 counties. The patterning follows population density to a small degree — at least to the extent that the hard coal counties and the steel counties are well provided. However, there is a scarcity of state clinics in the heavily populated southeast. This is because the need is already being met by semi-public agencies. On the other hand, certain of the counties in the Allegheny Plateau have more clinics than their population would merit. These are counties where the need is great. However, need is not the sole criterion in locating these and the other clinics discussed. Local interest in health with subsequent demands for these state services

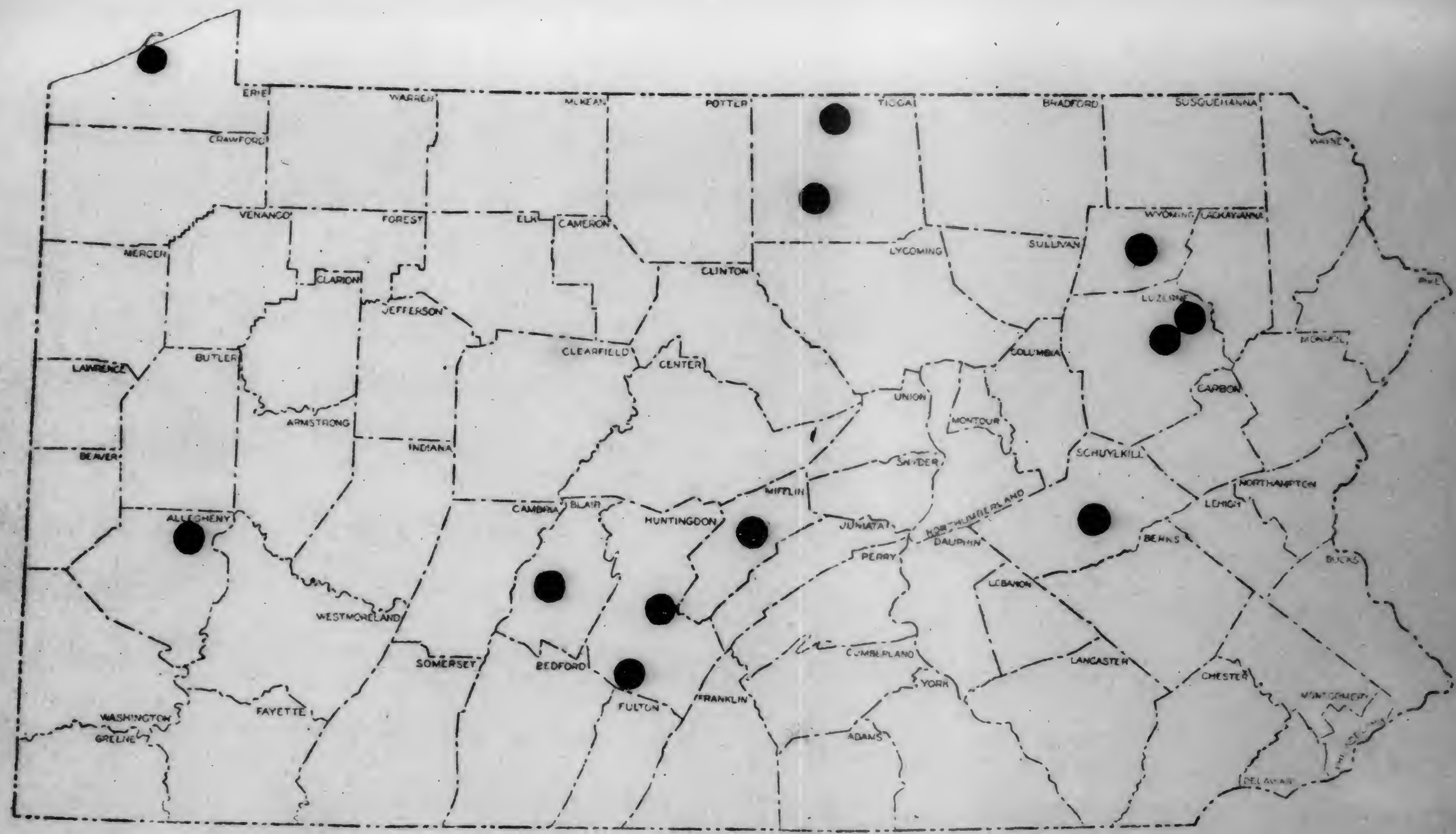


Figure 126. - The Location of Pre-Natal Clinics in Pennsylvania, 1939

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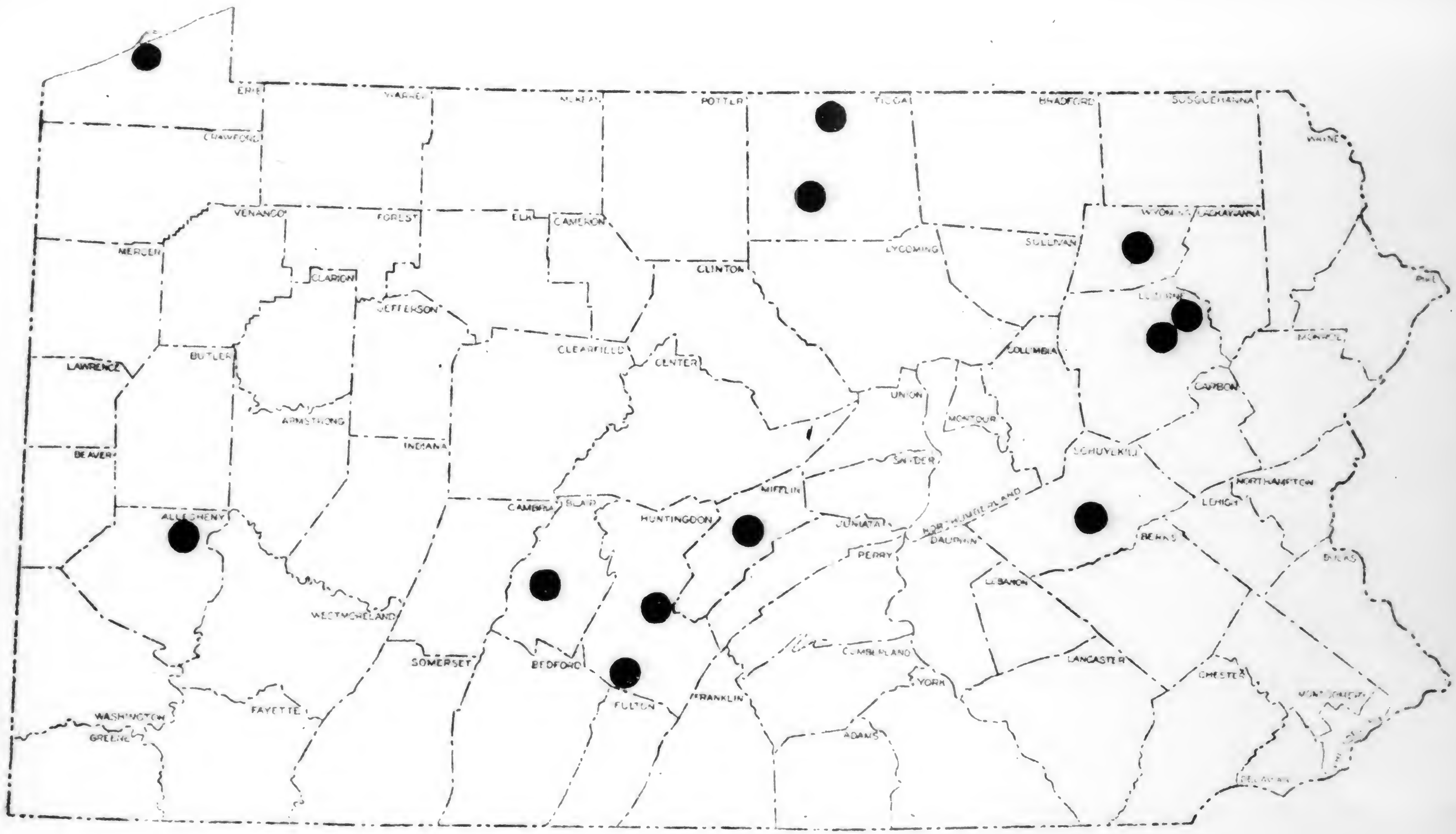


Figure 126. - The Location of Pre-Natal Clinics in Pennsylvania, 1939

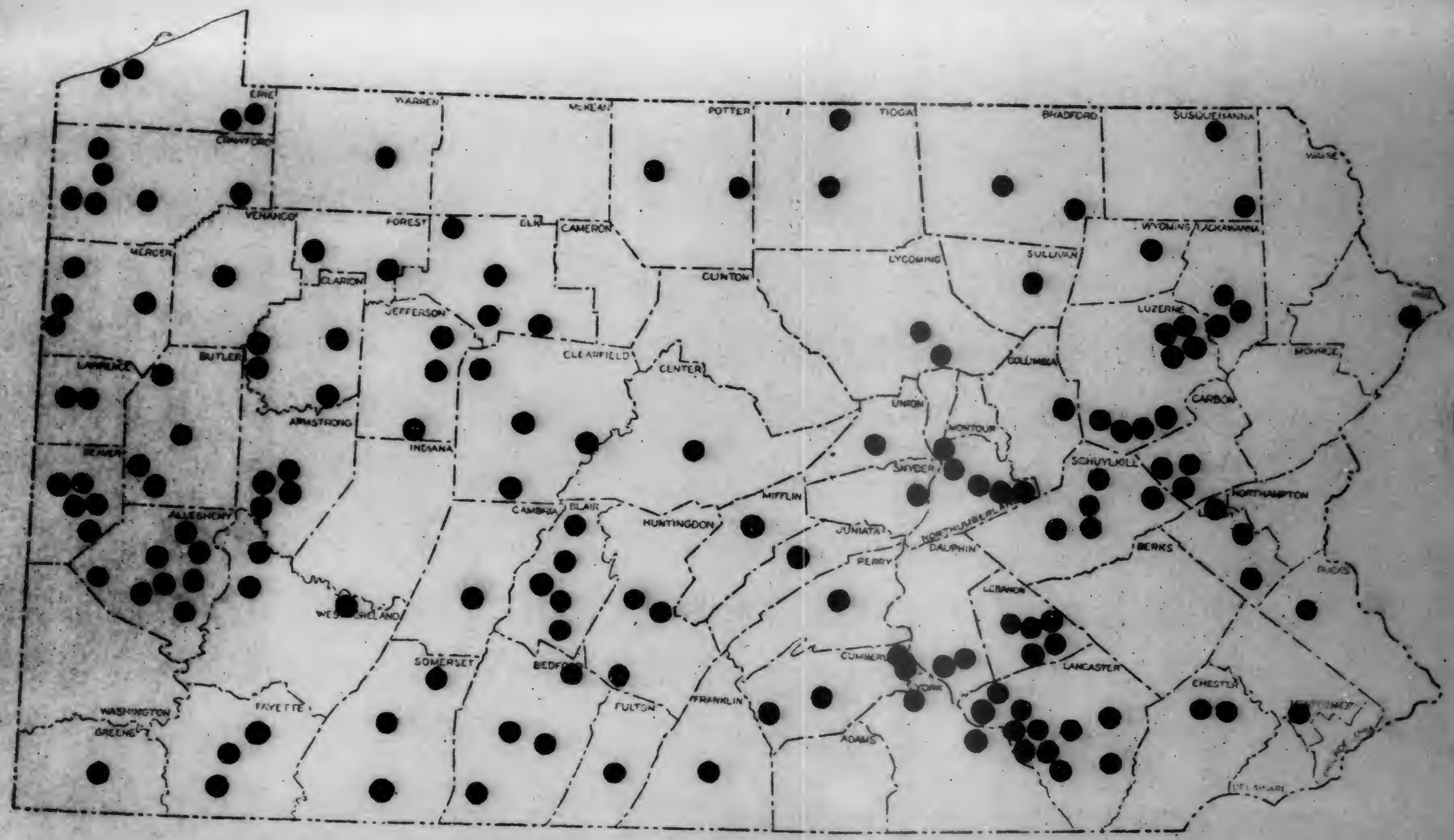


Figure 127. - The Location of Child Health Centers in Pennsylvania, 1939

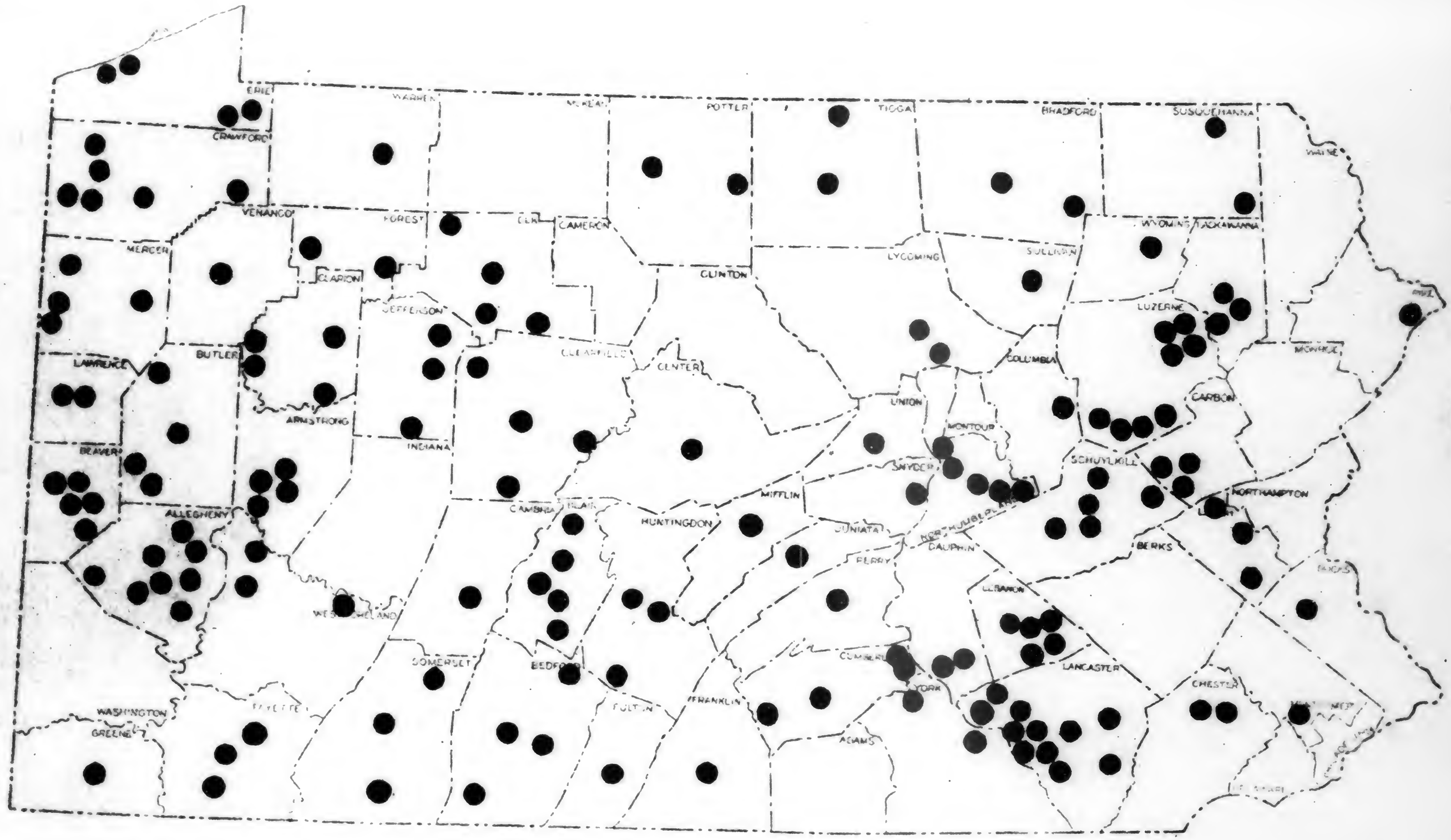


Figure 127. - The Location of Child Health Centers in Pennsylvania, 1939

are important, as are politics.

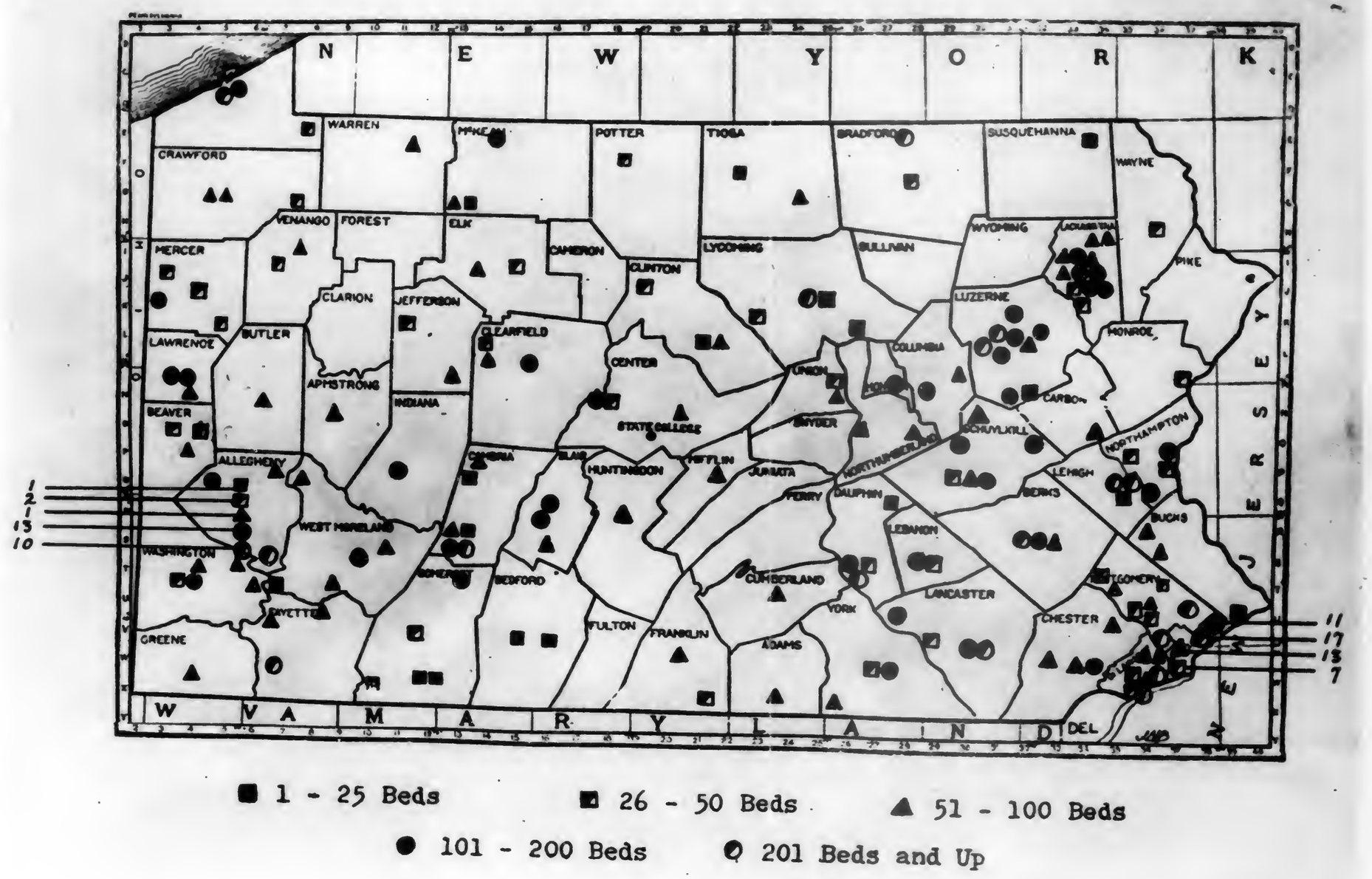
3. Hospitals.

On January 1, 1939 there were 552 hospitals in the state containing 86,633 beds. During 1938, 721,443 patients were admitted. Of these institutions, 227 were general hospitals with 33,452 beds or one bed for 299 people in the state. To be contrasted with these figures are those for mental and tubercular patients, 47,722 beds in 61 hospitals. Compared with the United States as a whole, Pennsylvania has slightly fewer general hospital beds per thousand persons and slightly more mental and tuberculosis hospital beds per thousand. Only six states utilized their general hospital facilities to better advantage than Pennsylvania, for during the last year the above hospital beds were utilized to 71 per cent of capacity. However, the facilities available were inadequate, averaging only 3.3 beds per thousand population. Pennsylvania ranked twenty-eighth among the states. This figure can be compared with 1.4 beds per thousand in Mississippi and, on the other extreme, with the District of Columbia with 6.6 beds per thousand.

One person in 14 became a hospital bed patient during 1938 in the United States. Pennsylvania was near this average with a figure of 13.95.[3]

Figure 128 shows the location of hospitals by sizes in 1939. The areas of greatest population density (Figure 16) are most liberally spotted. This is emphasized in three regions, the Philadelphia Hinterland, the Allegheny Steel and Coal, and the Hard Coal area. The Allegheny Mountain and Upper Allegheny Plateau sections have few and in some counties no hospitals. It is here also that the roads are at their worst thus

3. Source: American Medical Association, Chicago.



■ 1 - 25 Beds ■ 26 - 50 Beds ▲ 51 - 100 Beds

● 101 - 200 Beds ◐ 201 Beds and Up

Figure 128. The Location of Hospitals, by Sizes, in Pennsylvania, 1939.

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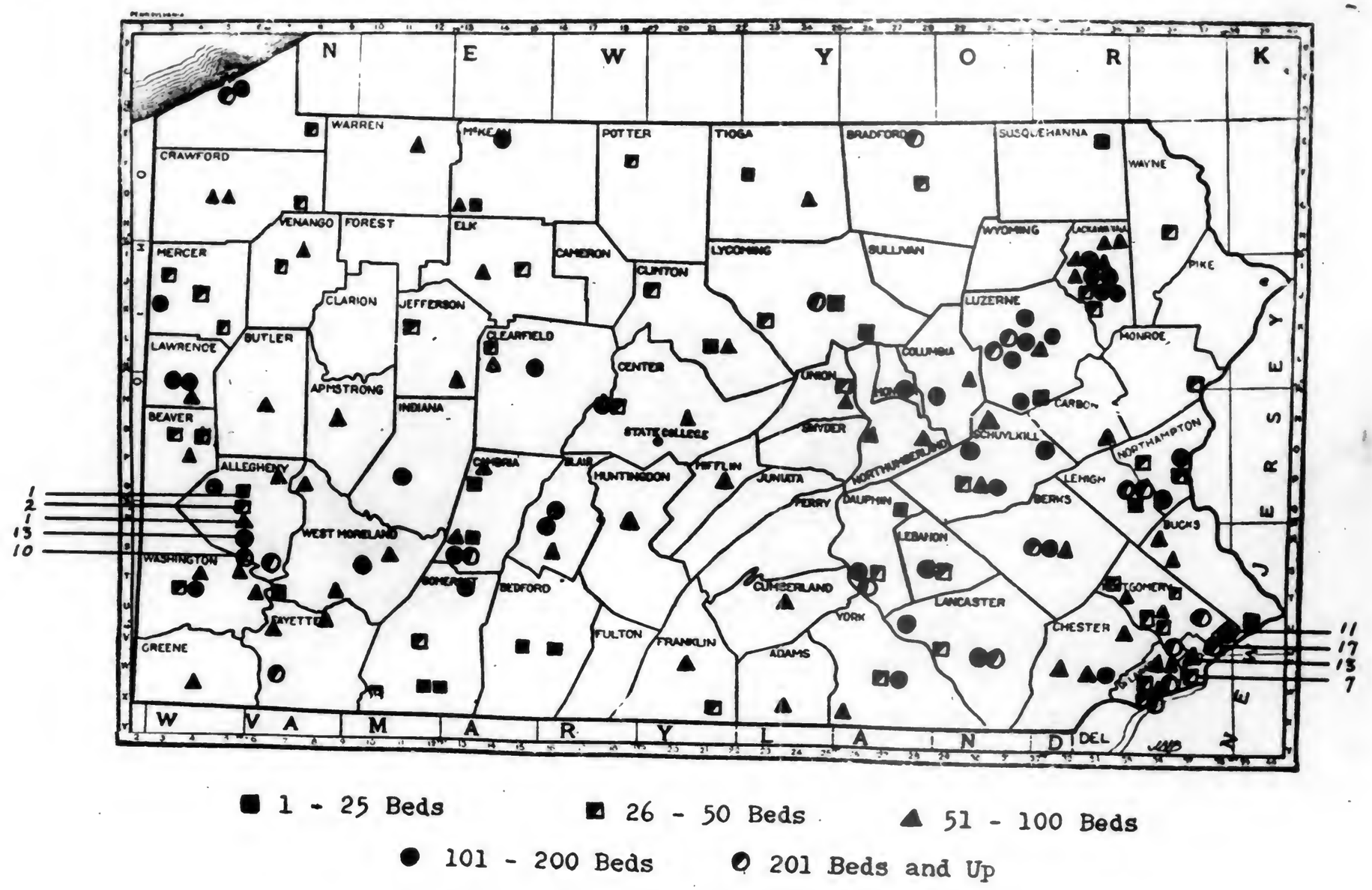

■ 1 - 25 Beds ◪ 26 - 50 Beds ▲ 51 - 100 Beds

● 101 - 200 Beds ◐ 201 Beds and Up

Figure 128. The Location of Hospitals, by Sizes, in Pennsylvania, 1939.

hindering quick and easy travel to a hospital in an adjacent area.

The unit of hospital service is the hospital bed. This unit is utilized in Figure 129 in securing the relation between hospital facilities and the population. The best hospital service is to be obtained in the urban counties while the rural counties, in the main, are in greatest need. As a matter of fact, ten counties in the state have no hospitals at all. These are indicated by black dots. Within these ten counties, there were 139,655 people in 1930. Since that time these counties have increased considerably both from migration and from natural increase. Studies made in Wisconsin show that 5,000 people can support a small hospital of sufficient size to insure efficiency. All ten of these counties have more than 5,000 people. One half of them had 15,000 each, and one county , Clarion, had 34,531 persons indicating that it should be well able to support a good-sized hospital. In general, the northeast tip of the state surrounding the hard coal area and the south central and southwest parts of the state, including some of the soft coal area, was in greatest need of hospital facilities. Bradford County was in the best position with a hospital bed for every 144 of its population. Philadelphia County ranked next in order. A correlation of the availability of hospital service with the index of rurality shows that this service is a function of urbanization, for the correlation was -.54. Further the association between availability of hospital services and total standard of living is evident from the correlation of +.36 between these two factors.

4. Nurses.

(a) State.

Public health nursing service is available in all counties of the state through a staff of 118 nurses. The work of these nurses consists of

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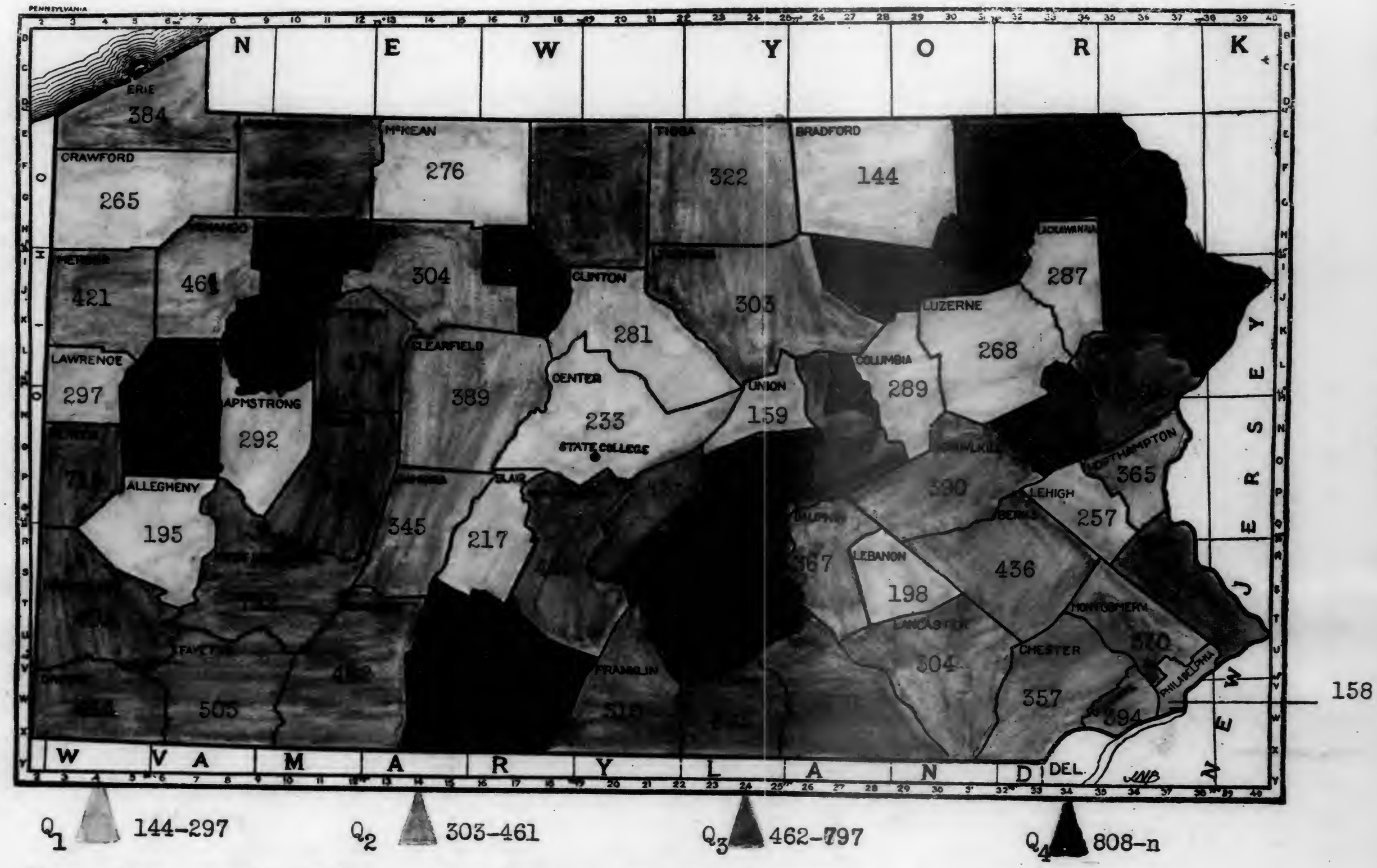

Figure 129. Number of Persons Per Hospital Bed in Pennsylvania by Counties - 1939.

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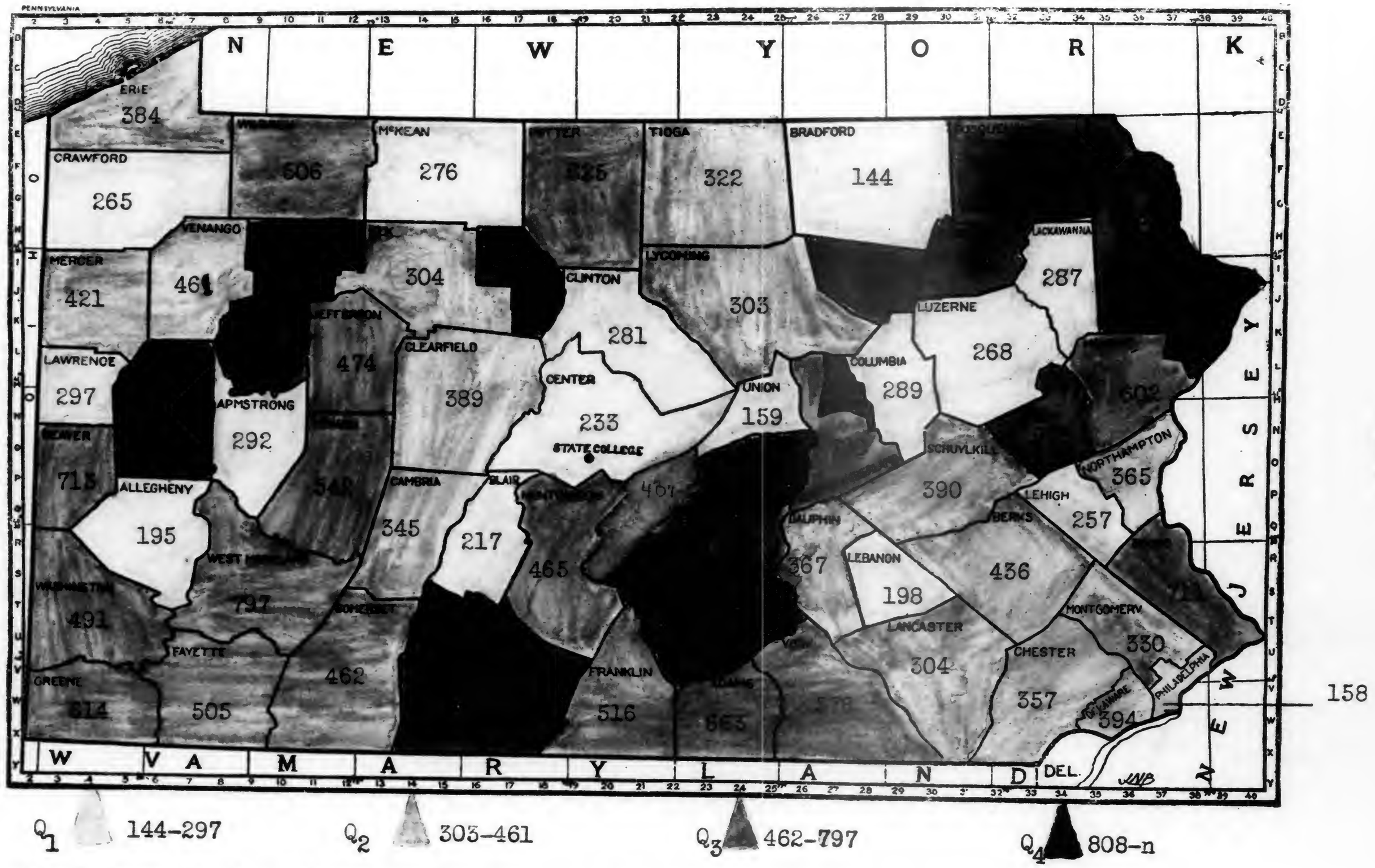

Figure 129. Number of Persons Per Hospital Bed in Pennsylvania by Counties - 1939.

caring for maternal and child health, cooperating with local agencies in the organization and operation of child health centers, following up the work of midwives, checking on the registration of births, cooperating with local persons in the "summer round-up" for getting children physically ready for school, following up reports of the school medical inspectors for the correction of defects, assisting physicians in testing and immunization against diphtheria, assisting in tuberculosis clinics, making home visits designed to prevent and control disease, assisting in the treatment and control of venereal diseases, assisting in adequately taking care of crippled children in their territories, helping to secure early medical diagnosis and treatment of the sick, aiding in time of fire, flood, or other disaster, rendering or securing nursing care for the sick, aiding the community in developing public health facilities, helping in the adjustment of social conditions affecting health, and instructing parents and others in the proper care of surgical and orthopedic patients.

Figure 122 shows the distribution of state nurses throughout the commonwealth. Although considerable attention is given to concentration of population and the placement of these nurses, it is seen that many of the strictly rural counties have two or three nurses. For many farm families in the state this is the only nursing service that they can afford to use. These 118 state nurses in the counties are entirely paid by the commonwealth, and are supervised thru the Department of Public Health by six state supervisors and two consultants.

(b) Other nurses.

It has been said that a good nurse concerned with the phases of preventive illness is of greater value than a physician. In January, 1939,

there were 19,976 registered nurses in Pennsylvania, 407 unregistered nurses, and 4,855 attendants in Pennsylvania hospitals. Although this is a per capita average in excess of the United States as a whole, it does not compare favorably with such states as New York, Massachusetts, and California. However, during the last academic year Pennsylvania could boast of 152 schools of nursing with 8,595 students in enrollment - more than any other state. All practicing nurses in the state must be certified and annually registered.

The Pennsylvania State Nurses Association is the professional organization which appeals to the interests of nurses. The membership in 1939 was over 16,000 or 80 per cent of all nurses eligible. Seven thousand of these were private duty nurses, five thousand were institutional nurses, and about 1500 were public health nurses (school, industrial, city, state). The association works for the advancement of public health nursing, legislation, and personal and professional improvement.

There are more nurses than doctors in Pennsylvania in proportion to the population but the distribution is not as even (Figure 130). Montour County has but 124 persons per registered nurse while, on the other hand, Snyder County only 20 miles away has 2,691 persons per registered nurse. The range, therefore, is wider than for M.D.'s. It is the southwestern counties, especially the southern Allegheny Plateau, that is in greatest need of nursing service together with the lower part of the Allegheny Mountains. The location of registered nurses follows fairly closely the location of hospitals. Therefore, such counties as Bradford, Montour, Elk, Warren, even though they are predominantly rural counties, contain a goodly number of registered nurses in relation to the population. Again,

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Figure 130. Population Per Registered Nurse in Pennsylvania, by Counties - 1958.

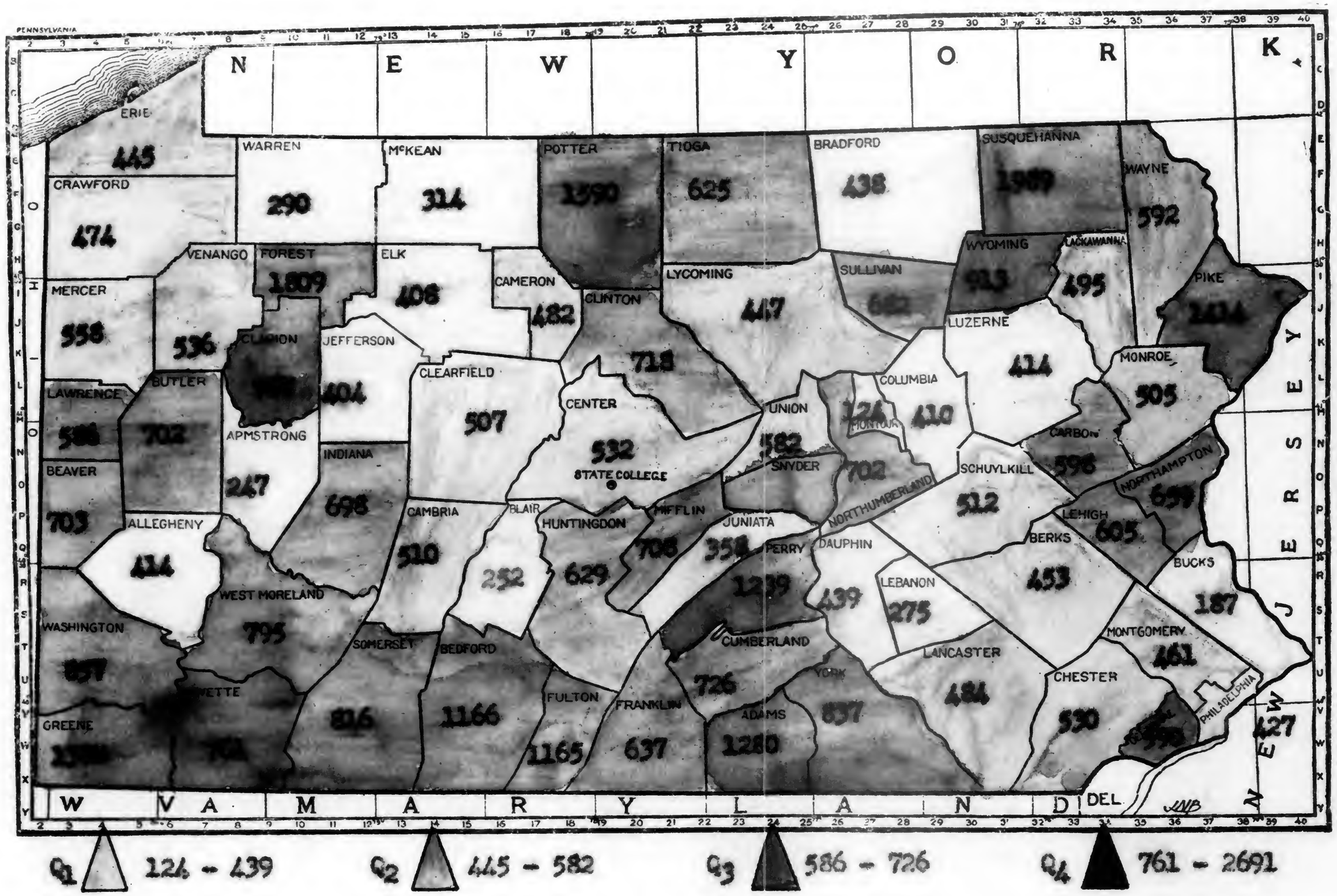

Figure 130. Population Per Registered Nurse in Pennsylvania, by Counties - 1958.

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it is the urban counties with high populations that attract nurses in greatest numbers proportionately. Thus we find a correlation between nursing service available and the index of rurality of -.44. In other words, it is the rural counties in Pennsylvania that is in greatest need of nursing service.

Further, the relationship between standard of living and nurses is high. We find, for example, a correlation of +.40 between Figures 67 and the present one (Figure 130).[4]

5. Physicians.

On Jan. 1, 1940 there were 12,555 registered doctors in the state. This meant that for the state as a whole there were 767 persons per doctor. According to American Medical Association reports, this is considerably better than for most other states outside of the New England and Middle Atlantic area. But within the Commonwealth there is considerable variation and at the same time discrepancy. The range in the number of persons per doctor in the state is from 354 in Montour County to 1,761 in Pike County. Figure 131 shows that the urban dominated centers are well supplied with medical practitioners. On the other hand, rural sections are in the greatest need. The correlation between rurality and this factor was thus -.51. The areas needing medical aid the most are the Allegheny mountains and Plateau. Practically this whole section is below the median. And here are found three small blocks of counties in the lowest quarter of available medical service. The situation is much like that of nursing. The rural counties, and especially those with the most rugged topography, would merit a doubling of medical practitioners. But, as we have seen in Chapter IV, the persons in these parts of the state cannot afford to

4. Source: Pennsylvania State Nurses Association, Harrisburg.

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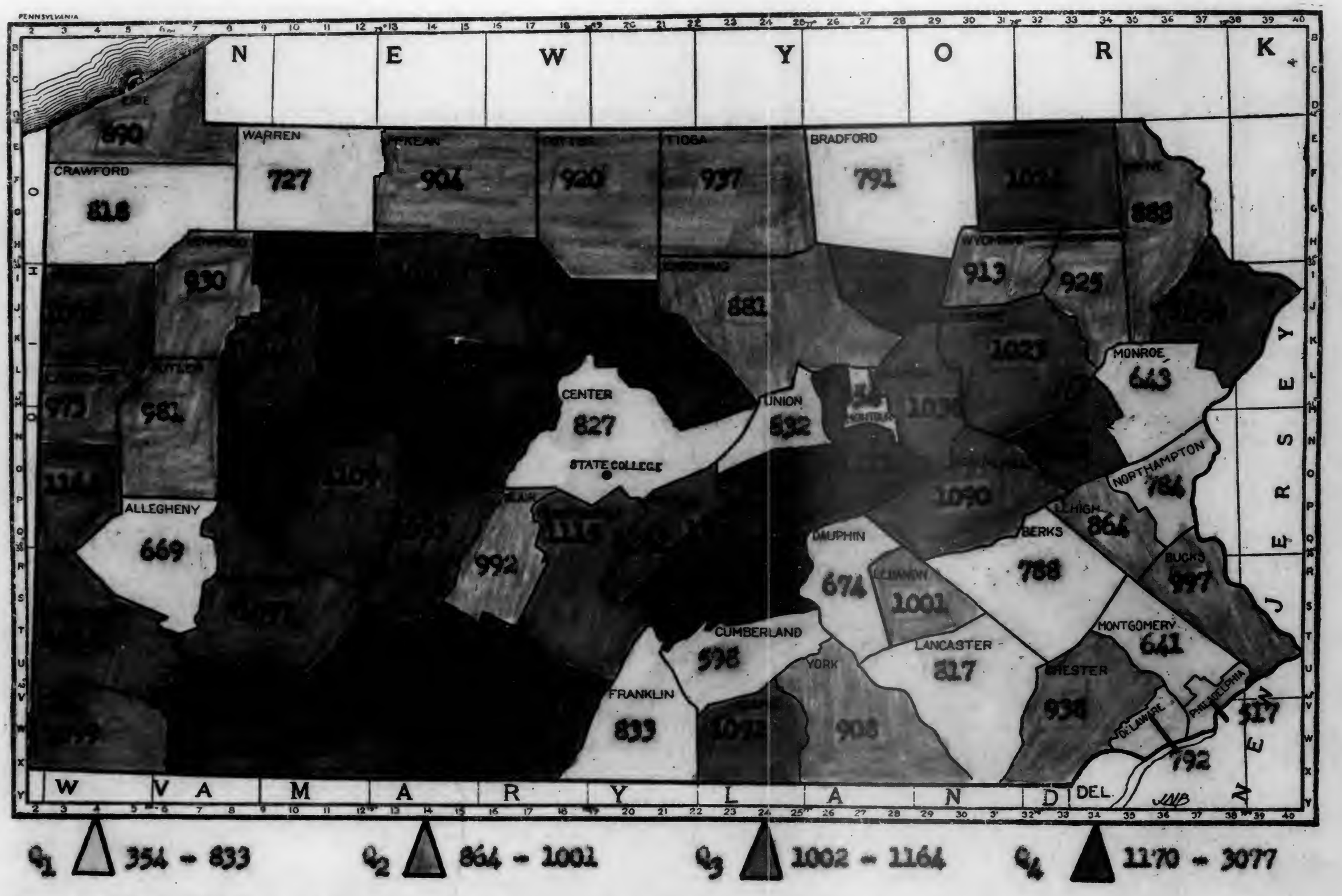

Figure 131. Number of Persons Per Doctor in Pennsylvania, by County, 1940.

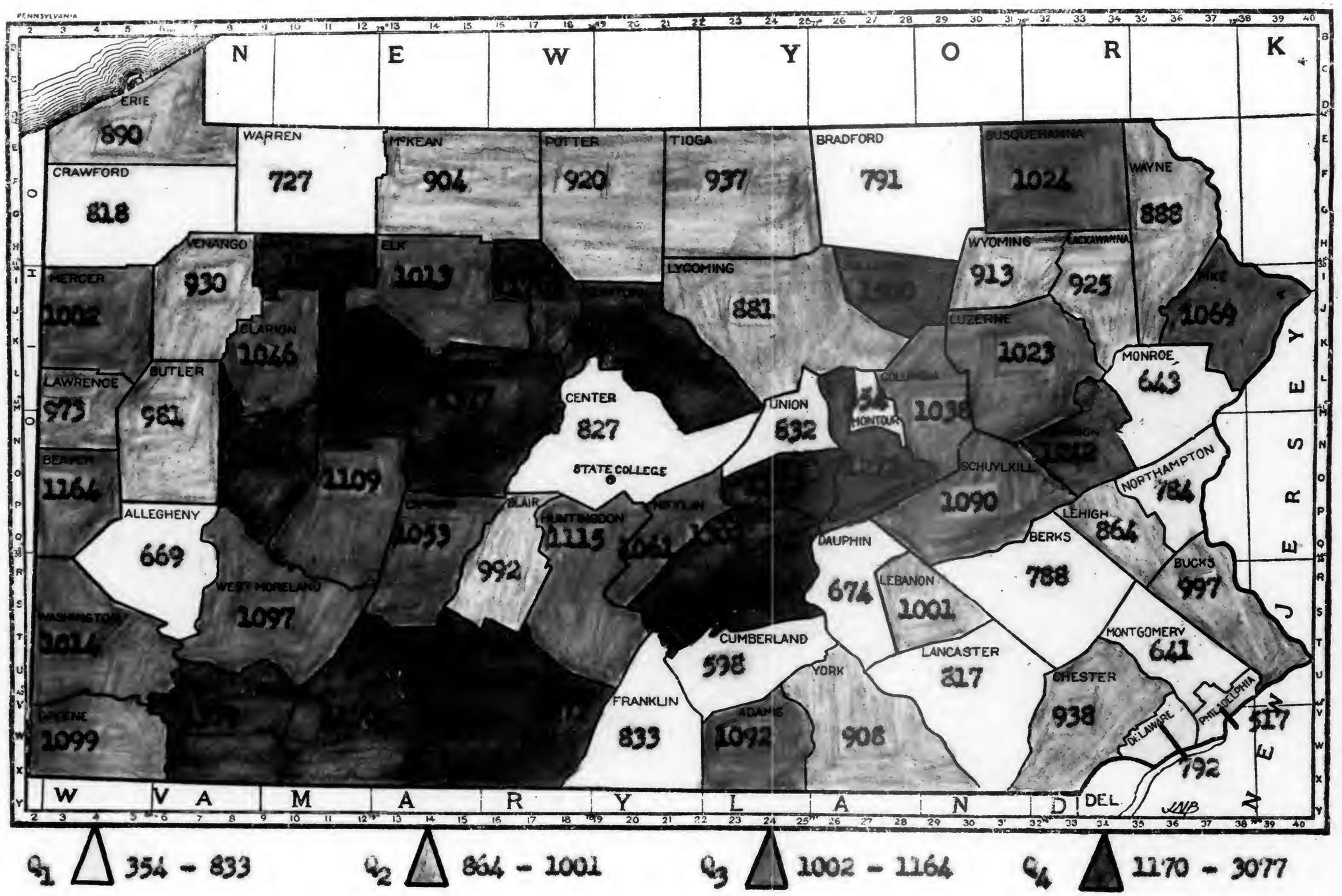

Figure 131. Number of Persons Per Doctor in Pennsylvania, by County, 1940.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

buy needed medical services. Thus we find a correlation of +.69 between the availability of physicians and the standard of living of the total population.

The location of doctors in Pennsylvania is shown in Figure 182. It is clear when comparing this map with Figure 9, showing the distribution of towns and cities, that the doctors are where the people are with heavy concentrations in three areas - Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and the Wilkes-Barre and Scranton district. It is interesting to observe that the circles with numbers inside almost dominate this picture of the geography of medical service. In other words, there is a tendency for doctors to concentrate in the larger towns. On the other hand, we see that central and northern Pennsylvania is spotted with circles, triangles and occasional squares, indicating from one to three doctors available at these smaller population centers.

Perhaps the most significant fact indicated by this spot map is that there are wide areas in Pennsylvania which have no access to doctors' services within ten or fifteen miles. There are people in these areas; and they frequently need, in sickness and emergency, service of this kind, but it is not available except in the larger towns nearby. This situation is particularly acute in most of the second tier counties on the north, extending from Pike on the east to Venango on the west.

Pennsylvania physicians are organized on a state-wide basis by the Pennsylvania State Medical Association. The chief work of this organization is legislative and educational. A large part of the value of the society comes from community or county meetings of lectures and demonstrations. They give some attention to community health organization and to civic health projects.

Figure 132. Location of Physicians in Pennsylvania, 1939.

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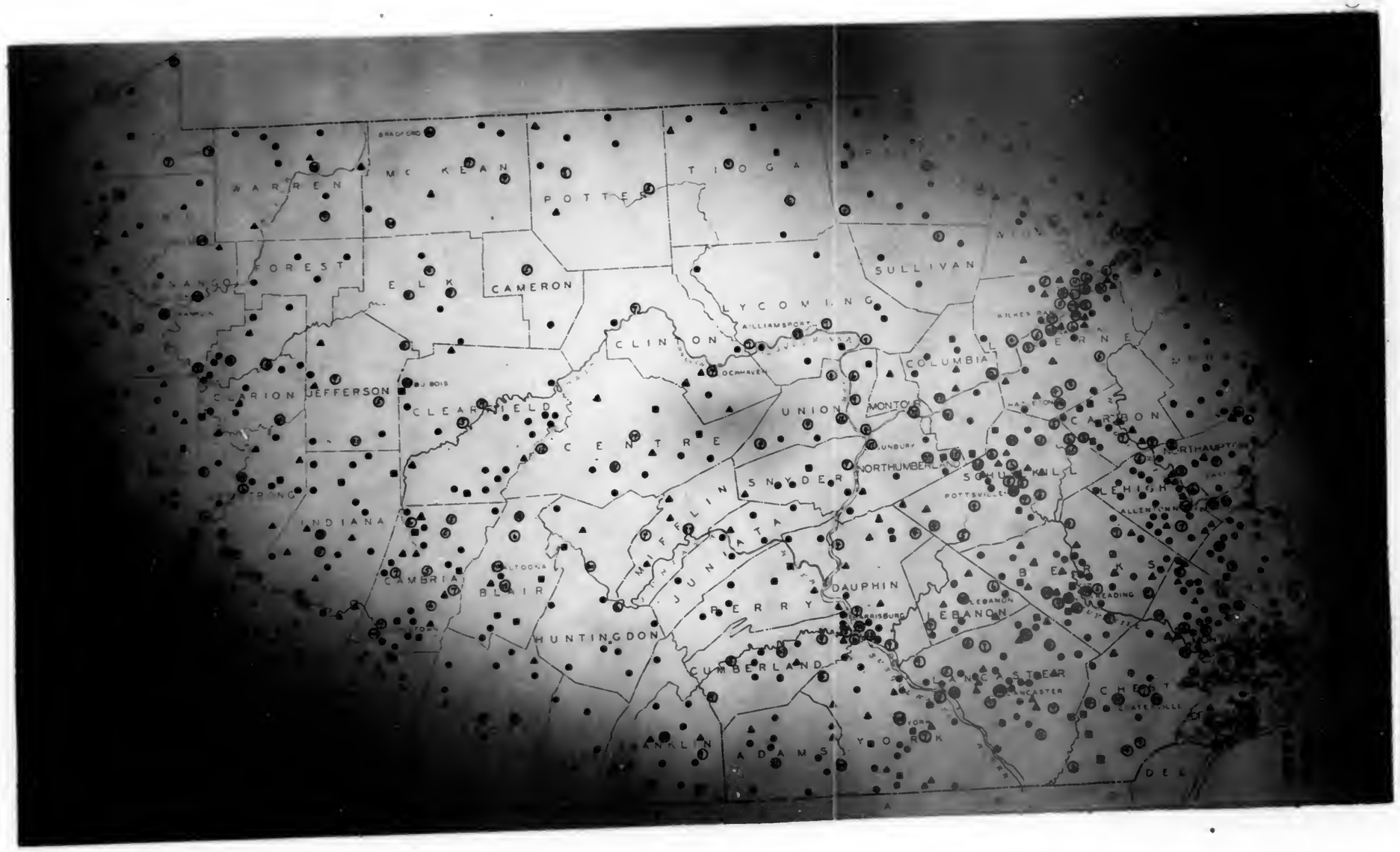

Figure 132. Location of Physicians in Pennsylvania, 1939.

6. Dentists.

The distribution of dental service in Pennsylvania is clearly shown in Figure 153. This figure indicates the ratio between dentists and population. The most striking thing apparent is the relatively large number of dentists throughout the northwestern part of the state. Other maps reveal this section of the commonwealth to be less well off than southeastern Pennsylvania in terms of income and purchasing power. Further this section is considerably less well off than southeastern Pennsylvania in terms of services of M.D.'s. The apparent reason for the concentration of dentists in this area is its proximity to the dental training schools in Cleveland and Buffalo.

The large number of dentists in Monroe and Pike Counties can likely be attributed to the fact that for one-half of the year this territory doubles in population. It so happens that census data were collected in the spring before this influx of summer boarders had taken place.

Southern and much of southeast Pennsylvania had the most persons per dentist. Fulton County, for example, had 4,615 persons for each dentist. At the other extreme is Philadelphia County which had but 1,035 persons per dentist. The average for the state as a whole was 1,435.

The Pennsylvania State Dental Society is the state organization enrolling most active dentists. As with the medical association there are local associations largely devoted to programs of personal and professional improvement.

The relationship between the availability of dental service and standard of living was not high; while the coefficient of correlation

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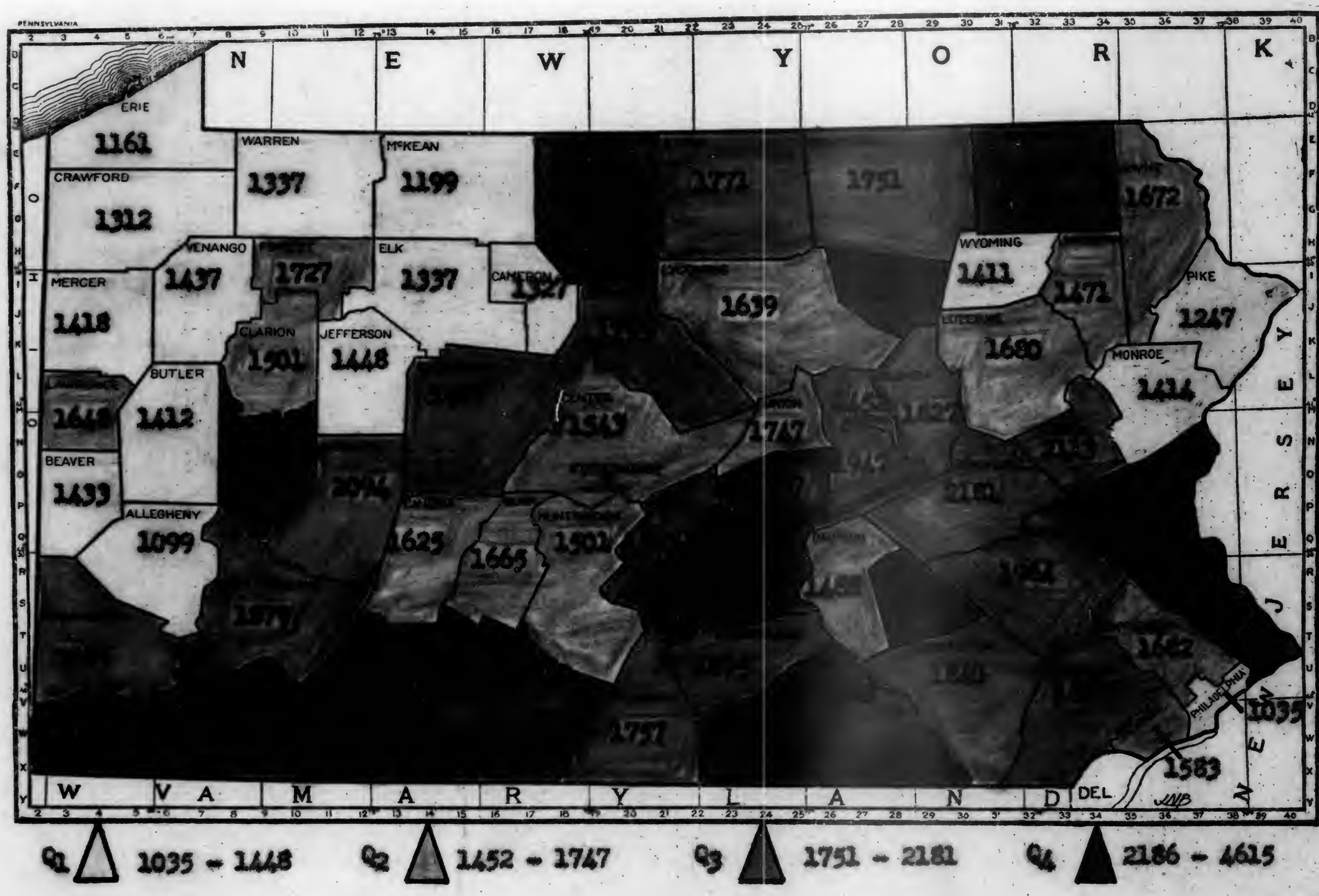

Figure 135. Number of Persons Per Dentist in Pennsylvania, by County, 1959.

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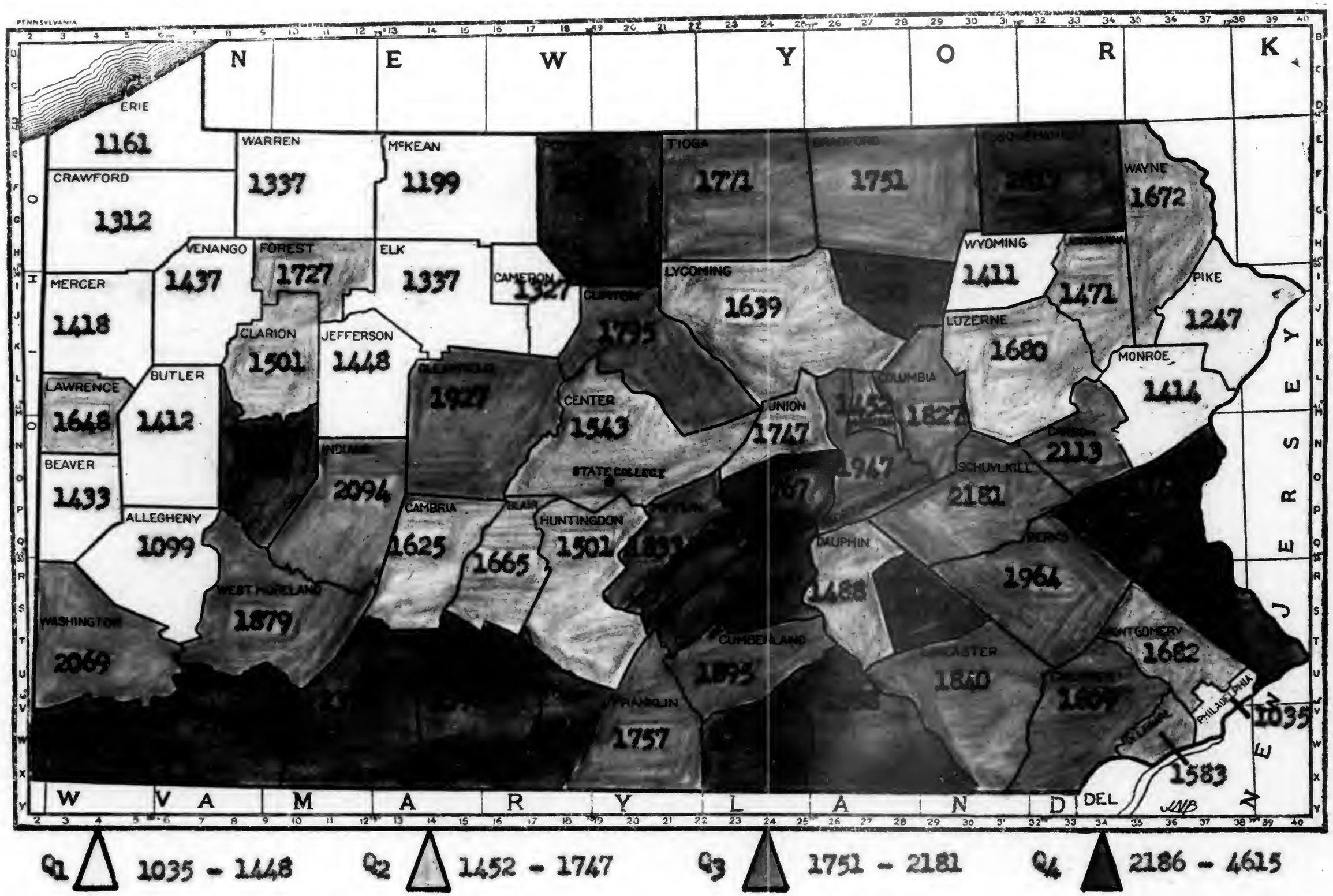

Figure 133. Number of Persons Per Dentist in Pennsylvania, by County, 1939.

between the availability of doctors and dentists was +.45, not nearly so high as one would expect to find. Thus, as far as rural counties were concerned, dentists were more nearly accessible in proportion to their numbers than physicians.

7. Health Education.

(a) School.

We have already discussed under the section on nursing the work of rounding up all youngsters entering school to determine their fitness and to take remedial measures where necessary. Another important work of the Bureau of Maternal and Child Health is that of school medical inspection. We have already seen that school districts are divided into four classes depending upon the size of the population in the area. The first three classes, with heavy concentrations of population, have medical inspectors which are appointed and paid by the local school authorities but who work under the direct supervision of the state and submit monthly reports to the school medical inspection division. However, in the fourth class districts which include all of the rural territory medical inspection of schools is made by inspectors appointed, paid, and supervised by the State Department of Health. A part of the work of these persons is the enforcement of the small pox vaccination law. It has been found by medical inspectors that five per cent of children entering school have not had a successful vaccination. These cases are reported and taken care of.

School nurses are employed in all the first and second class school districts and in approximately 60 per cent of the third class school districts. In the fourth class districts, however, a majority of schools

do not employ their own nurses and thus nursing service is available only through the use of state nurses located in the counties.

The school laws of Pennsylvania provide for health examinations of all school children annually, by registered physicians to determine health handicaps. Further, health instruction is a required field of study in all public schools of the commonwealth. School authorities increasingly are providing grounds, buildings and equipment for games and athletic contests which are designed to promote better health. Finally, standards of heating, lighting, ventilation, and disposal of waste matter in connection with schools are established by law and are regulated by school medical inspectors. All in all it may be said that fairly adequate provision is made to protect the health of the school child in the state. The greatest shortcoming of the entire plan is the inability of or unwillingness of parents to correct defects detected through annual examinations.

(b) Adult.

The rise in the interest in general health education is one of the most hopeful trends of the past decade. On every hand Kiwanis Clubs, are striking out on T. B. centers; Women's Clubs are plunking for Venereal Disease tests; and programs of public assistance and social work include much attention to health problems. Among rural people the extension service is educating both youth and adults in nutrition and health; P.T.A.'s are stressing examinations, not only for school children but for all citizens of the community; and granges and other rural organizations have programs and projects on the maintenance of physical and mental well-being. People are becoming more and more health conscious. Meetings,

the radio, lectures, better research, and more interesting presentation of research through the use of photographs, pictographs and charts have aided materially in this development.

8. County Health Units.

Pennsylvania has not progressed as rapidly as many of the states in the organization of county health units. In 1939 there were but four such units employing in each case a full-time medical director who is aided by sanitary engineers, nurses, and health officers. One such unit is comprised by Armstrong, Indiana, and Jefferson Counties; Bucks and Montgomery County constitute the third unit; while Luzerne County has a county health unit program by itself.

There are plans for the organization of increased numbers of county health units as soon as the consciousness of the need for this type of organization is felt by the people and as soon as the funds for the support of such services are forthcoming. As with library service, county health service is proving the best means of adequately taking care of the health needs of a fairly large geographic area and of equalizing and standardizing the services to the people. The county unit appears to be a happy medium between the rural community (which is too small to provide many needed services) and the state (which is too far removed from individuals to keep the necessary contact with them.)

In conclusion, it may be said that the availability of health agents and agencies is highly variable in the commonwealth. In all cases it is area 5, the Allegheny Plateau which is in the lowest position, with area 4, the Forested Region next. The Allegheny Coal and Steel section and the Hard Coal Region are next in order; while at the top in matters of health

agencies is the southeast, the northwest, and the Northeast Dairy Region. Further, it is clear that health agencies are also a function of urbanization.

The adequacy of health agencies in parts of the state is a serious problem. In general, these problem areas correspond to the areas of low planes of living and are aggravated by the inability of the people to pay for adequate service.

Finally, support is given the thesis that the factor of personal leadership is important in the location and maintenance of health agencies. Thus clinics and hospitals alike reflect the pressure of one or more interested individuals. Sometimes this pressure is political in which state aid for health facilities is demanded and received. Sometimes the ability of these unusual persons is directed toward developing local consciousness of the need together with the need of its solution.

Chapter IX

WELFARE AGENCIES

We have presented in Chapters II to V various data which relate to the present chapter on welfare agencies. The figures on wages, farm income, unemployment, standard of living, and many others bear on this subject. We turn now to a discussion of welfare conditions and the agencies which are attempting to deal with them.

1. Department of Public Assistance.

Public assistance in Pennsylvania is handled largely by the state department of that name. Until 1937 this department was a bureau in the Department of Welfare. But the load became so great and this work was so magnified that it was developed into a separate agency. A State Board of Public Assistance composed of nine appointed members (including the State Treasurer and Auditor General) control the Department. It is charged with -

(1) The administration of
  a. General relief
  b. Aid to dependent children
  c. Old age assistance
  d. Blind pensions

(2) The selection and certification of CCC enrollees.

(3) The correlation of various kinds of direct relief with work relief in order to avoid duplication of clients. This is done through the certification of those eligible to W.P.A. work in the central offices of the counties.

(4) Certification for NYA aid.

(5) Service training for field staff.

The Division of Research and Statistics of this department is responsible for collecting, compiling, and presenting data regarding programs administered by the department, the conduct of research studies

regarding relief and its administration, and reporting statistics to the Federal Social Security Board. In addition, there is a Division of Finance for the accounting and dispersing of funds for the several kinds of relief listed above.

The actual dispensing of relief is done through county offices of public assistance.

The work of these county offices is guided by a county executive director. Associated with him are persons responsible for administering relief aid, correlating work relief clients with the general relief load, social service workers, investigators, visitors, and clerks. The number of these employees varies with the population of the county and the load handled. The program in each county is controlled by a county Board of Assistance of 7 members,[1] appointed by the governor with consent of two-thirds of the senate. These members must include both political parties, cannot be office holders, and must serve without pay. These boards make local policy and have the hiring of employees.

Another attempt to eliminate politics from public assistance is the abandonment of the 425 old County Poor Directors and transferring these functions to the county commissioners.

A further effect of the unified county plan is to tend to relate public assistance to private programs of welfare and aid. Religious bodies, charitable organizations, and civic organizations have been active in this field and because of lack of integration have often overlapped, on the one hand, and have left needs unmet on the other. If all of these agencies of assistance could be coordinated the disbursement of aid could be more equitably accomplished.

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1. Allegheny and Philadelphia Counties have 11 members each.

The programs covering aid to dependent children and old age relief are both aided by the Social Security Administration. One-half the cost involved in old age assistance is paid from state money and one-half from federal. Twenty-nine per cent of the aid to dependent children in 1939 was federal. The general relief program and blind pensions are entirely state responsibilities. The first three of these types of assistance are on a straight relief basis in which the families receiving aid have no source of income and a minimum of property. Persons receiving pensions for the blind, however, may have both property and income.

The number of persons receiving assistance under the above programs varies from month to month and from county to county. The number of cases aided in 1939 is given below with the total cost of such aid in the column to the right:[2]

	Average Number Persons per Month	Per cent of Total Population	Total Cost
General Assistance	744,068	7.5	$91,646,000
Old Age Assistance	82,879	0.8	20,528,000
Aid to Dependent Children	93,219	0.9	10,841,000
Blind Pensions	12,343	0.1	4,452,000
Total	932,507	9.3	$127,247,000

Figure 134a shows the number of persons in Pennsylvania dependent upon public assistance or work relief from 1932 to 1939.[3] The peak load occurred in the winter of 1933 but dropped considerably during the following summer only to pick up again the next winter. In general, this same situation of high winter rate and low summer rate has continued. The second peak occurred in the winter of 1935 while a third peak occurred in the winter of 1939. At its crest in 1933 more than 2 million persons were

2. Source: Department of Public Assistance, Harrisburg.
3. Source: Department of Public Assistance, Harrisburg.

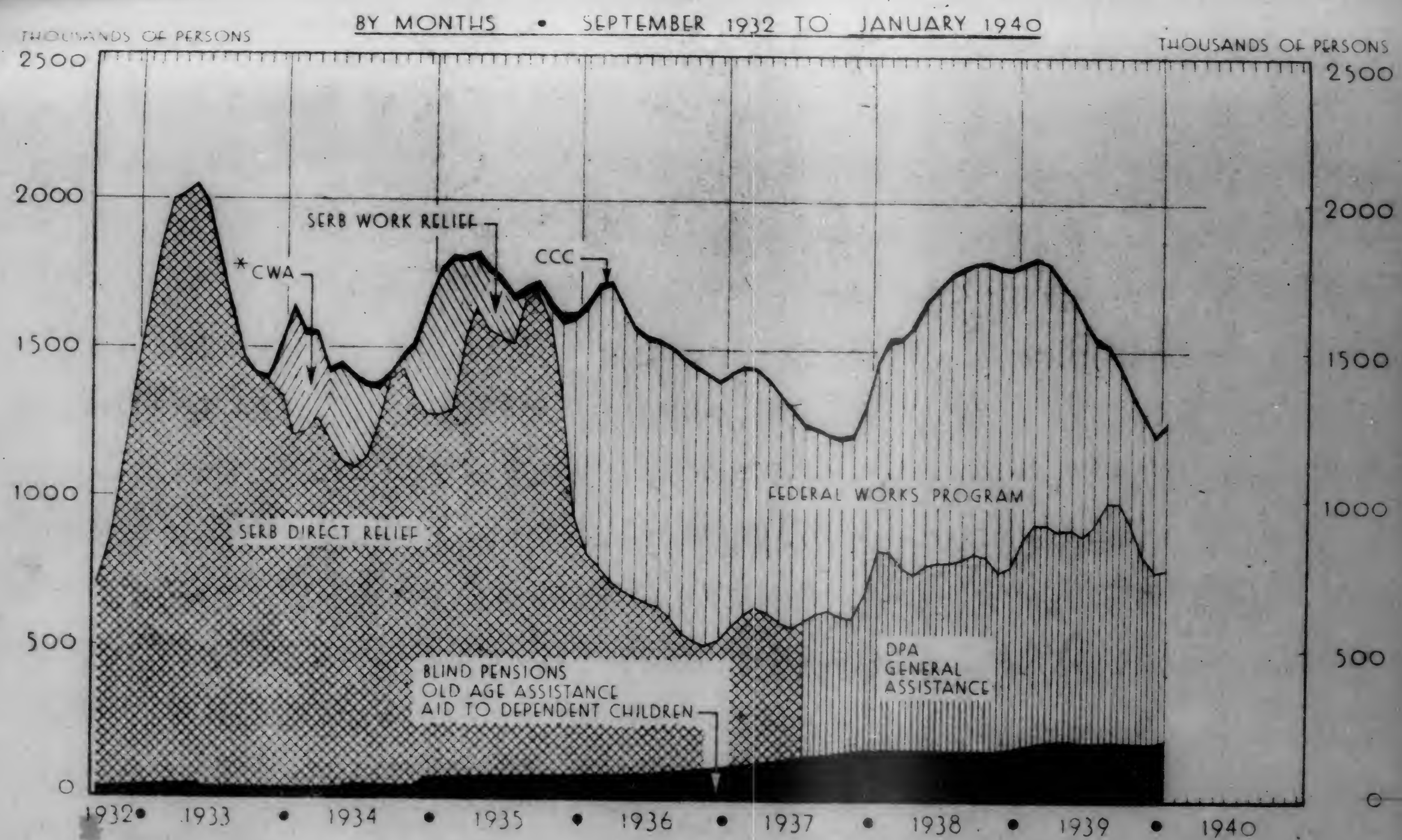

Figure 134 a. Total Number of Persons in Pennsylvania Dependent upon all Kinds of Public Assistance, 1932-1939

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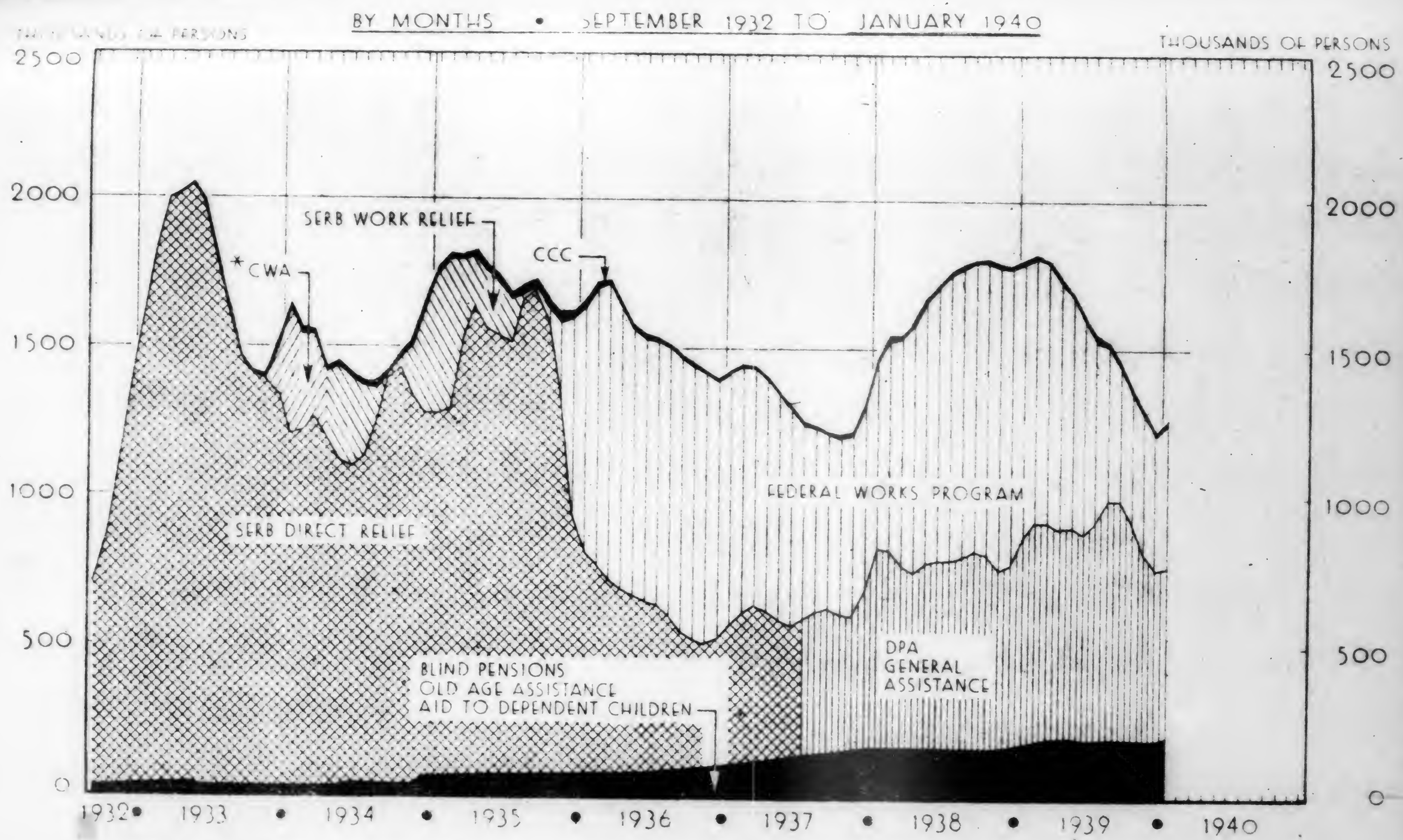

Figure 134 a. Total Number of Persons in Pennsylvania Dependent upon all Kinds of Public Assistance, 1932-1939

on relief. At the present time approximately three quarters of a million are on direct relief and about one-half million are employed under the Federal Works Program, on a total of 1,250,000 persons on all types of assistance.

How is the relief burden distributed? Figure 154b shows the proportion of people on all kinds of relief for 1934-35 in the various areas of the state,[4] by counties. As with other factors, the relief load distributes itself with varying intensity throughout the state. Practically the entire southeast is relatively well situated with respect to relief. This includes the Philadelphia Hinterland and the Pennsylvania Dutch Area. This same situation obtains to a lesser degree in the northern tier of counties, extending from Pike to Crawford. On the other hand, the Allegheny Plateau Region is an area of much relief, as are also the Allegheny Coal and Steel Region, and the Hard Coal Regions. Here, for example, is to be found Clearfield, with more than one-third (36 per cent) of its population supported out of public funds. This figure is to be contrasted with Pike County which has only 8 per cent of its population on relief.

A comparison of this figure with Figure 61 shows the very close correspondence between relief intensity and intensity of unemployment. The same areas, with but little variation, appear light and dark in the same places.

The per cent of persons dependent on public assistance of all forms in Pennsylvania in 1939 is shown in Figure 155. These data are five years later than the previous ones. Two things are outstanding here in comparing Figure 155 with the previous one; first, the sharp decrease in the incidence

4. Source: Ibidem.

COLOR PLATE

Figure 134b. Per Cent of Public Assistance in Total Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties from July 1934 to June 1935.

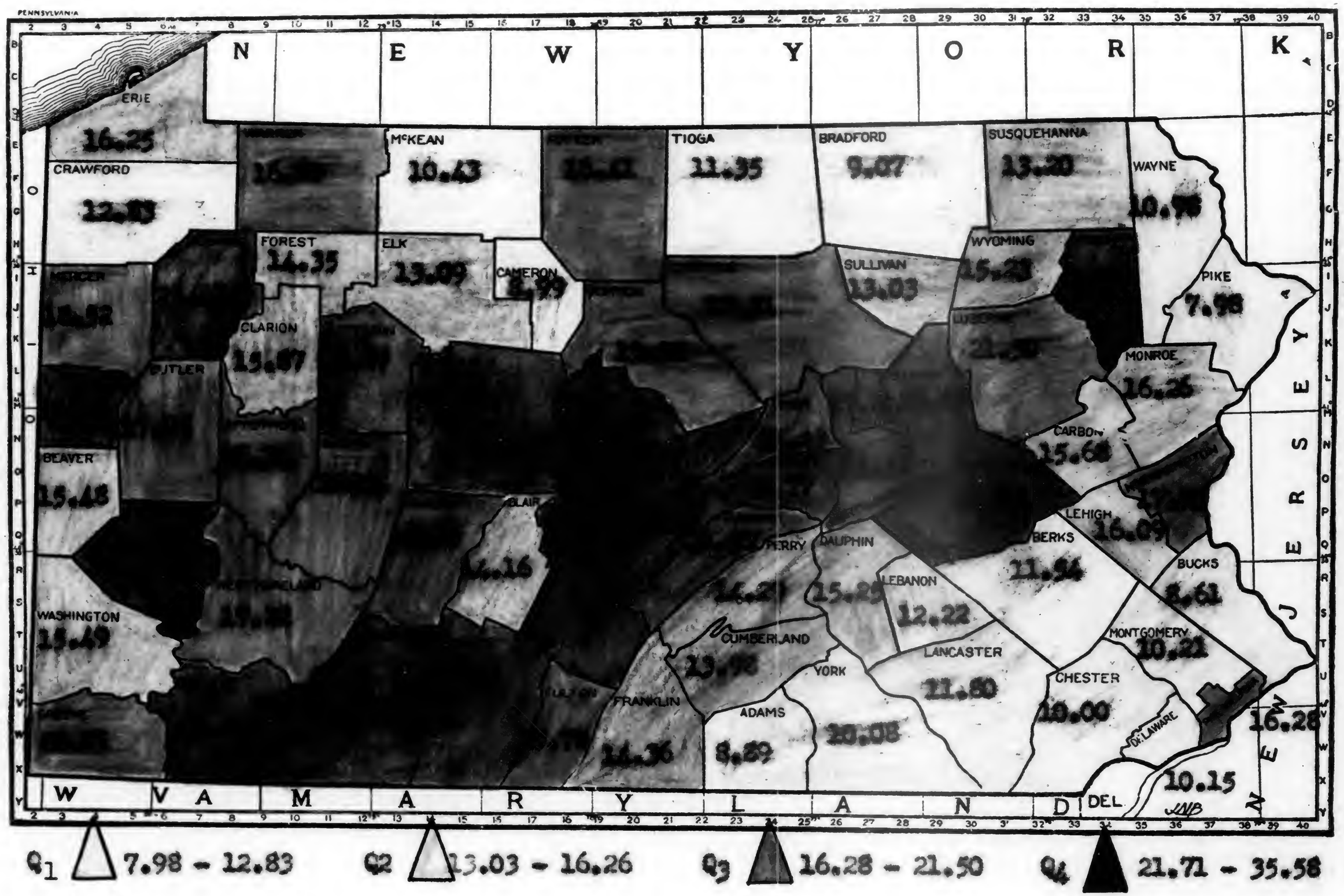

Figure 134b. Per Cent of Public Assistance in Total Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties from July 1934 to June 1935.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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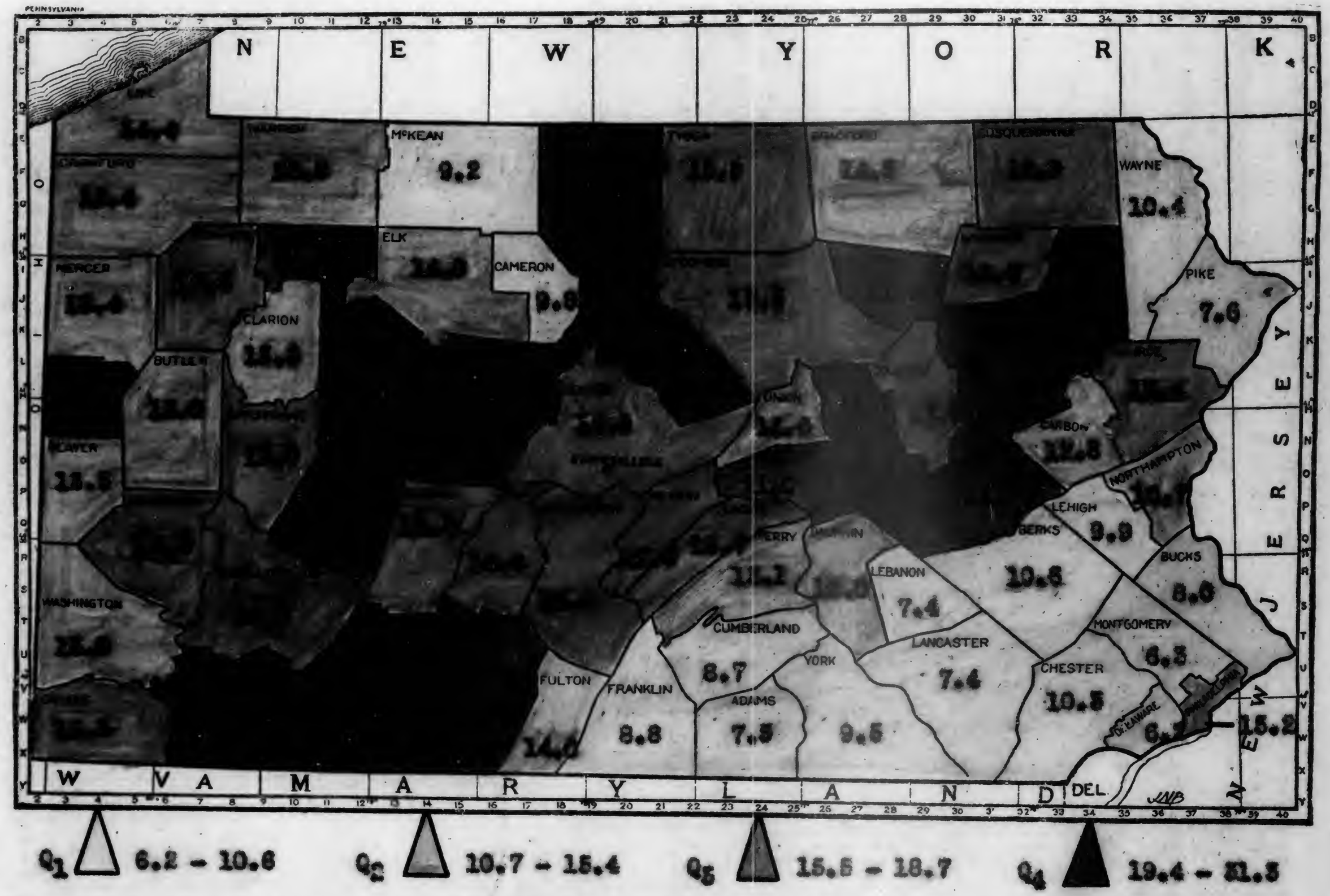

Figure 135. Per Cent of Persons Dependent on All Forms of Public Assistance, in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

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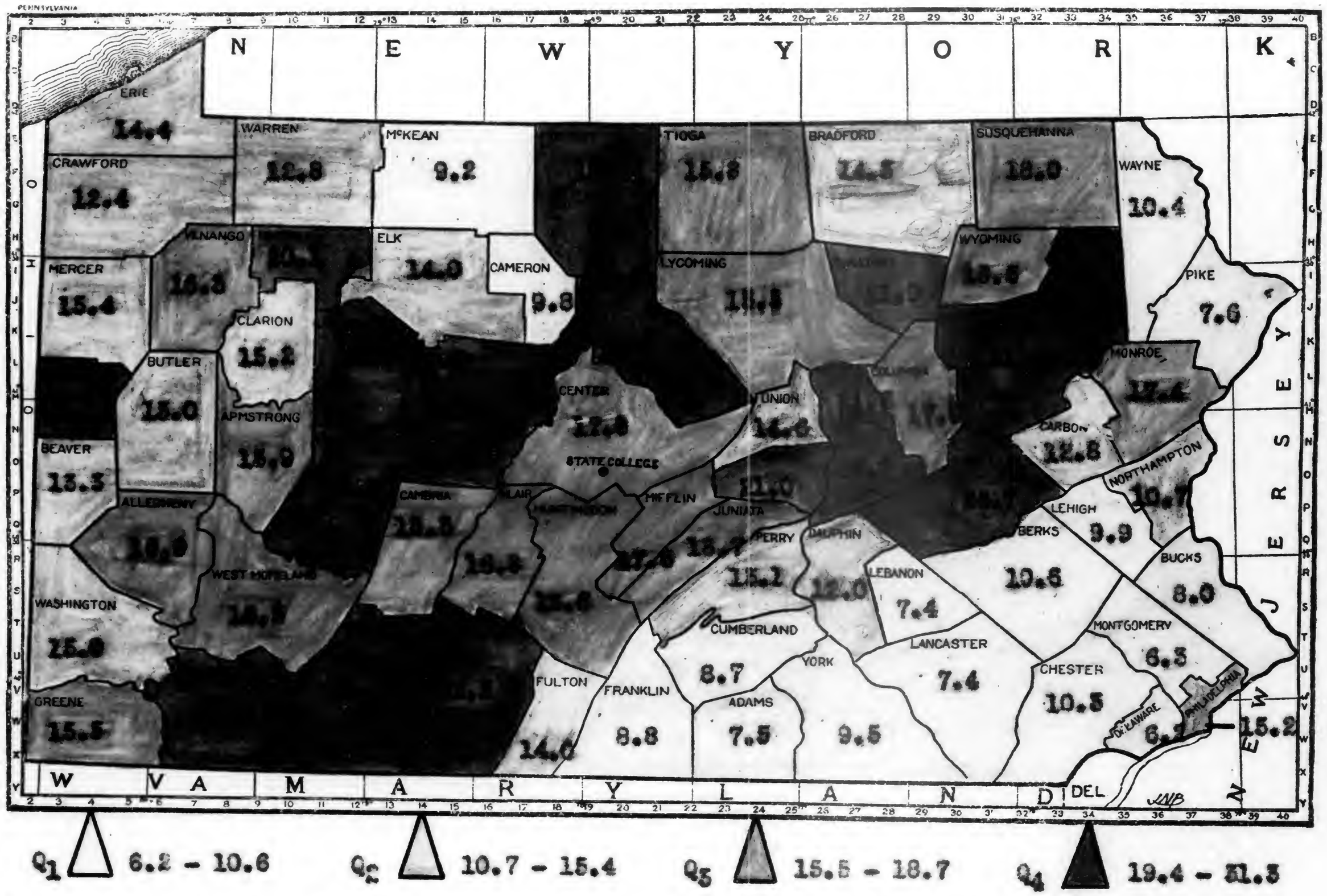

Figure 135. Per Cent of Persons Dependent on All Forms of Public Assistance, in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

of public assistance; and second, the perpetuation of the pattern of relief. Thus we see again that the Allegheny Mountain and Plateau counties are particularly high. Most of these counties are in one of the two coal mining areas. Most of the third quarter counties were also found in the Allegheny Plateau. In general, the counties in the second fourth were in western Pennsylvania, while the lowest incidence of dependency is to be found in the two southeastern socio-economic areas. Here we notice a cluster of 12 counties in the first quarter. The range was from 31.3 per cent in Clearfield County to 6.2 per cent in Delaware County in the southeast.

There is practically no correlation (+.06) between this factor and the index of rurality, largely because of the heavy assistance load in the coal areas. There is, however, a significant association between the amount of public assistance and the plane of living of the total population. Here the coefficient of correlation was -.58. In other words the areas with low planes of living have a large amount of public assistance.

The foregoing figure was based on total assistance. Figure 156 shows the incidence of general assistance in November 1939.[5] In the main, the figures have much in common, with a low relief rate in the southeast and a heavy concentration in the two coal regions. Two general shifts are evident: one is the somewhat mitigated relief situation in the extreme western part of the state and the second is the increased intensity in the dairy counties in northeast Pennsylvania, where only 6.7 per cent of the total population was on general relief, ranging from 14 per cent in Lackawanna to 1.5 per cent in Fulton County. The correlation between the per cent of persons on general assistance and the plane of living for the total population was -.31.

5. Source: Ibidem.

COLOR PLATE

Figure 156. Per Cent of Persons Receiving General Relief Assistance in Pennsylvania, by Counties, November 1939.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

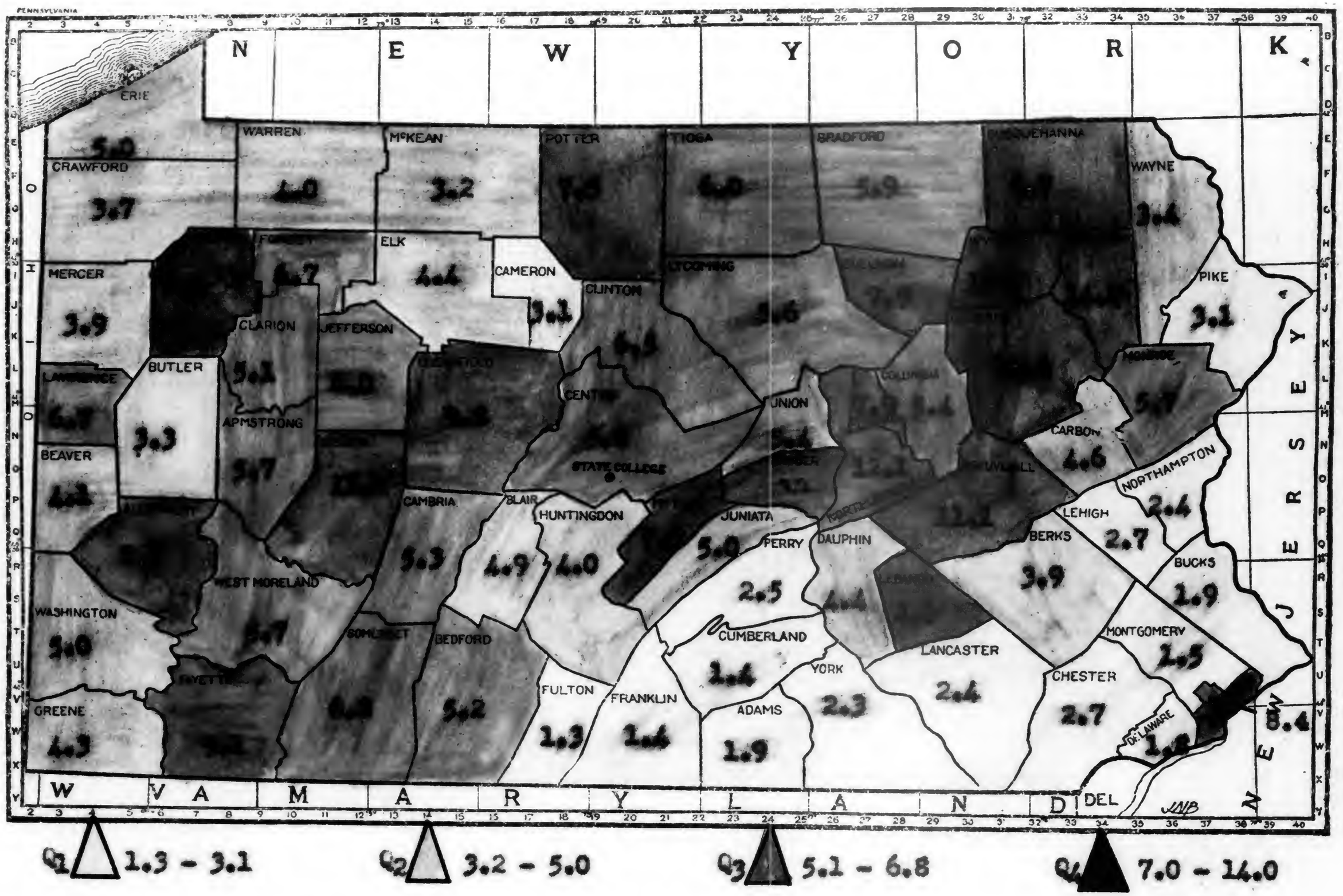

Figure 136. Per Cent of Persons Receiving General Relief Assistance in Pennsylvania, by Counties, November 1939.

The cost of general relief in November 1939 averaged 69 cents per capita, for the month, for the total population. The range was from $1.58 in Lackawanna County to 11 cents per capita in Fulton County. No map has been made showing the distribution of this set of factors because of the correlation between incidence of relief and its cost is +.87.

There is considerable discussion in the agricultural press regarding the prevalence of relief in the farm population. Many agricultural journalists maintain that relief for "honest-to-goodness" farmers is negligible throughout the state. They suggest that farm relief is purposely confused with rural relief to serve as a propaganda device for those favoring increased expenditures for unfortunates generally. The writer was unable to find any data which would substantiate or discredit this maintenance, even though federal statistics[6] show that 22,200 farm operators were receiving relief grants in June 1935.[7] This is 12 per cent of the total farm families in the state. Others insist that a great majority of such recipients were urban people temporarily squatting on small holdings for the duration of the depression. The only county data available are based upon the rural population in which, of course, mining and industrial fields loom large in Pennsylvania. Figure 137 shows the rural relief situation for 1935 in Pennsylvania counties. Here it is seen that the soft coal counties especially were heavily hit. Practically the entire area is included in the highest one-fourth of the counties. In one of these counties, Fayette, more than half (51.5 per cent) of the rural population was on relief. In contrast, Adams County, at that time had but 1.7 per cent of its population on relief. Eastern Pennsylvania, and notably southeastern Pennsylvania, has had an unusual low rural relief problem, not only in comparison with the rest of the state but in comparison with

6. Rural Poverty - Federal W.P.A. Washington. Figure 6.
7. Source: Dept. Public Assistance, Harrisburg.

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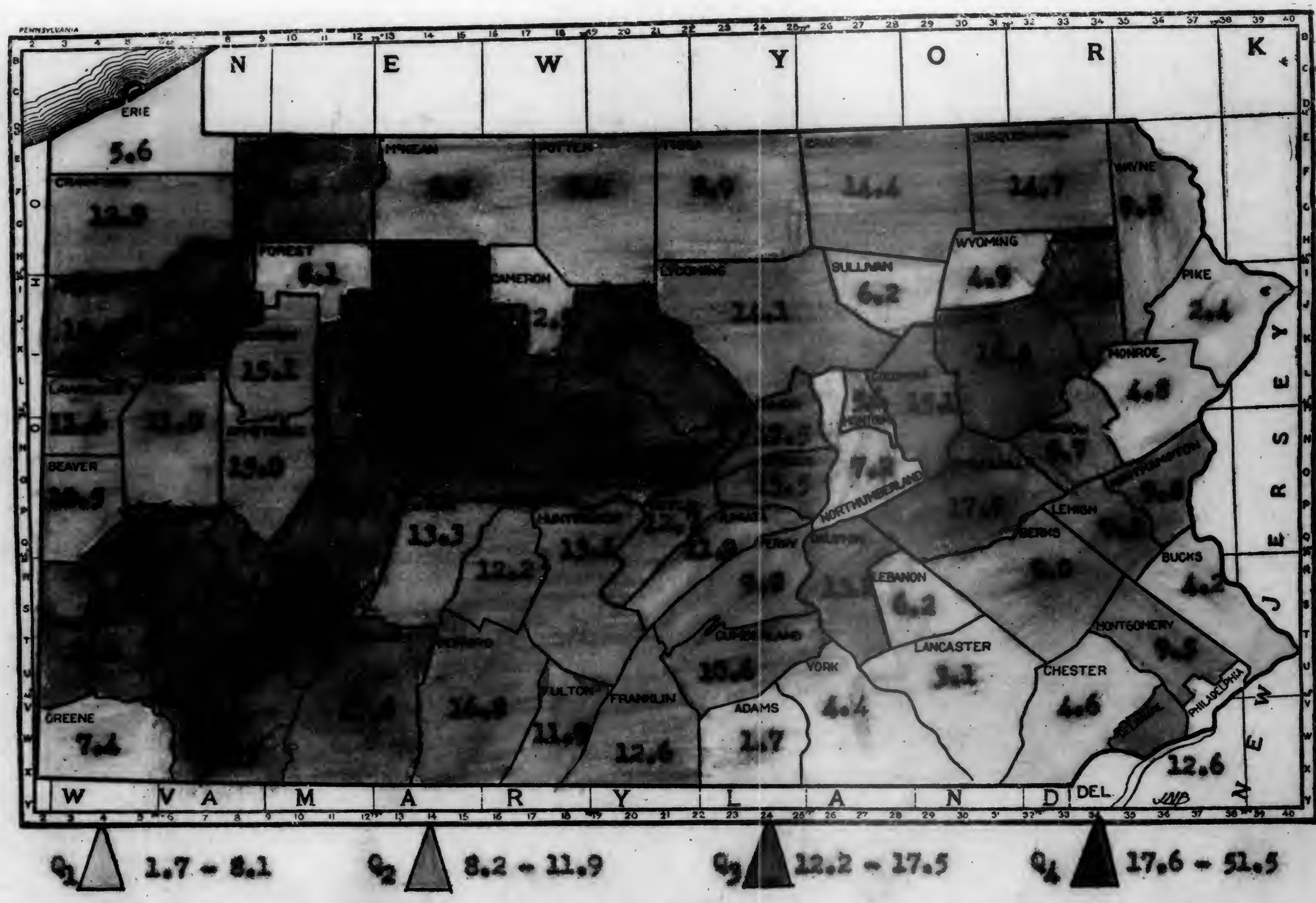

Figure 137. Per Cent of Rural Population on Relief in Pennsylvania by Counties, October, 1933.

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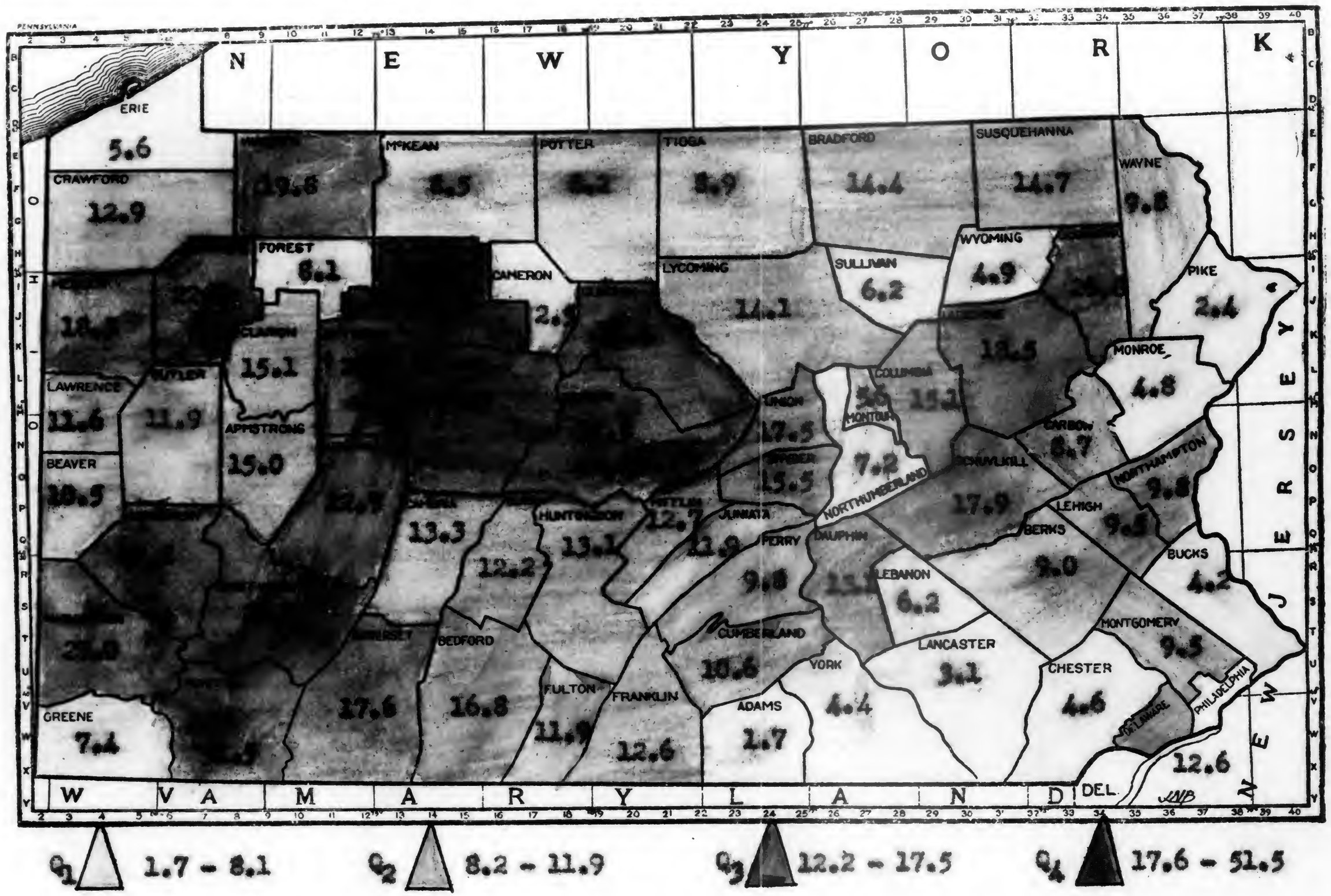

Figure 137. Per Cent of Rural Population on Relief in Pennsylvania by Counties, October, 1935.

the northeastern United States as a whole.

What is the cost of relief in the counties of Pennsylvania? Public assistance per capita in Pennsylvania averaged $11.11 in 1938 for the entire state. Figure 158 shows that the range was from $4.15 in Montgomery County to $18.59 in Philadelphia County. Again, all of the counties comprising the lowest quarter of the counties were in the southeast in the Pennsylvania German Region and in the area outside Philadelphia. Two predominantly urban counties, Philadelphia and Allegheny Counties, were high. Such was also the case in all of the soft coal mining counties in the Allegheny Plateau and in the Hard Coal Region. The oil counties were relatively light and the counties comprising the good agricultural land in the Piedmont had very light costs. There is little relation between this factor and the index of plane of living. The coefficient of correlation is -.19.

The cumulative cost of federal aid to Pennsylvania Counties is given for the years 1935 to 1938.[8] This does not include A.A.A. payments made to farmers. Two areas stand out as being especially low in the amount of Federal aid accepted (Figure 159). These were the Dairy Region in the northeast and a part of the Pennsylvania German area in south central Pennsylvania. Neither of these territories include great concentrations of population. The Allegheny Plateau received the most aid, especially in the more rugged parts along the southern border and through northwest central Pennsylvania. The Hard Coal Region of northeastern Pennsylvania was similarly hit hard. Philadelphia and Pittsburgh carried the counties which they dominate with them into the highest quarter, receiving a sizable part of the total amount paid to Pennsylvania during this four-year period.

8. Source: Ibidem.

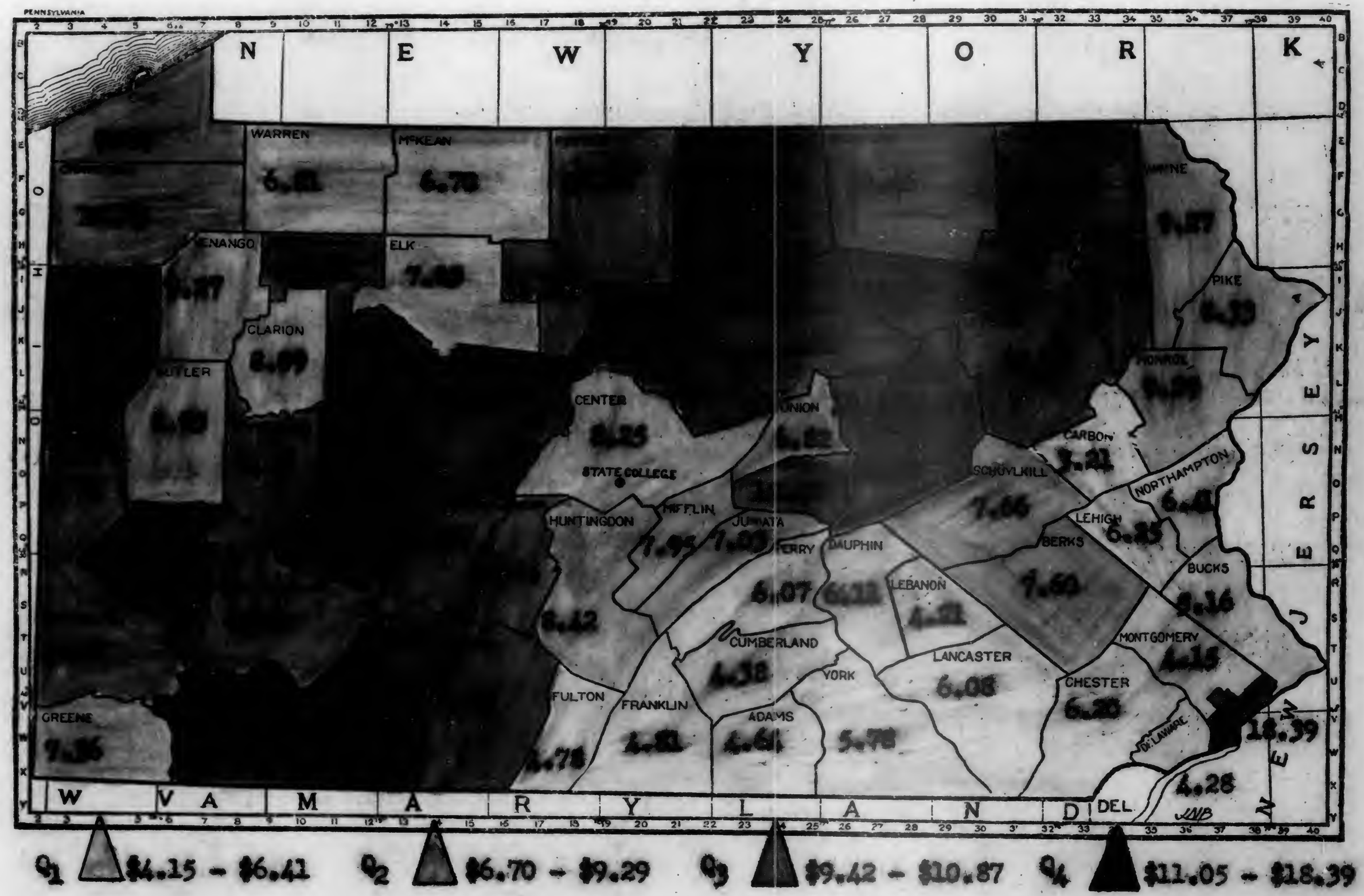

Figure 138. Total Cost of Public Assistance Per Capita in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938.

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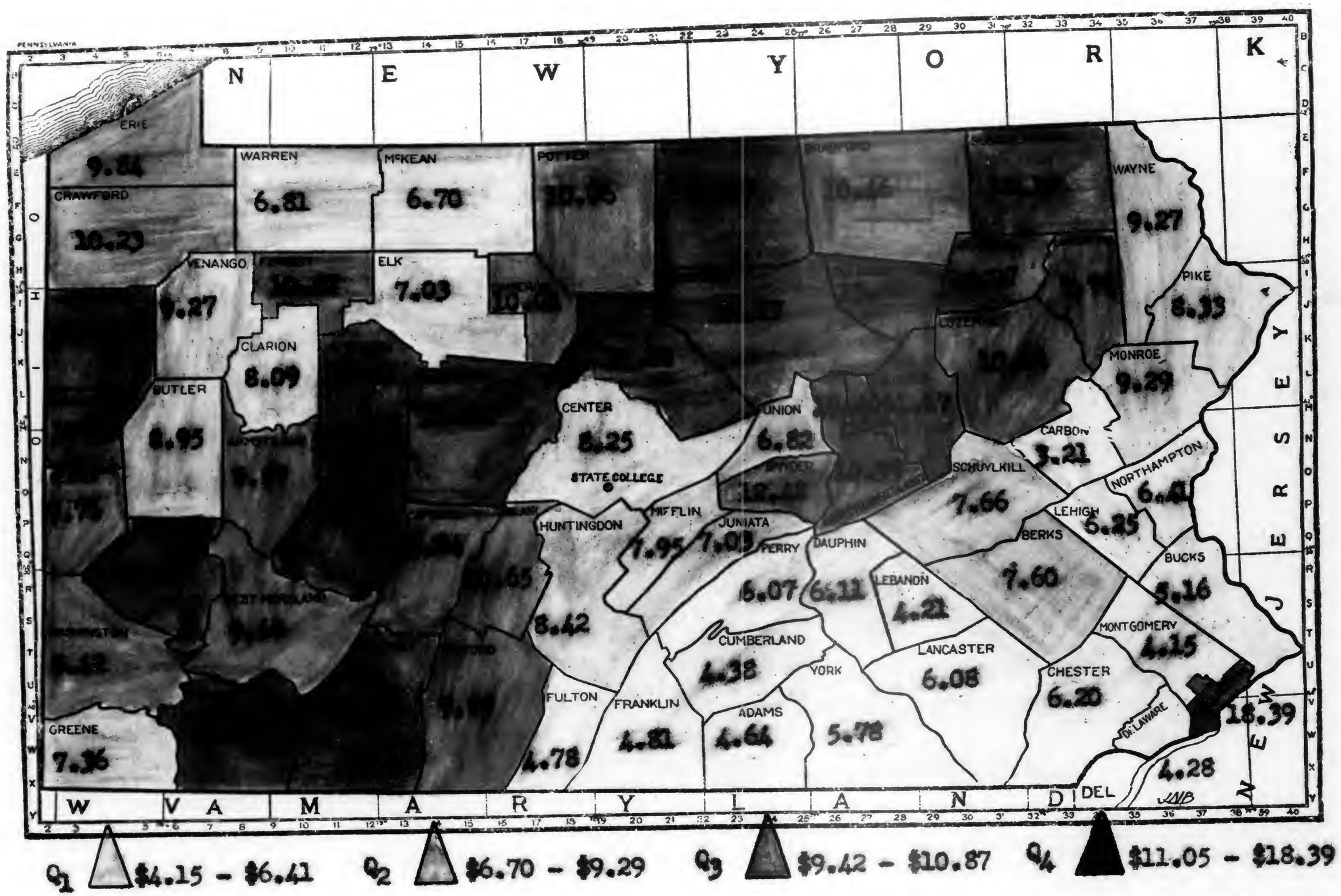

Figure 138. Total Cost of Public Assistance Per Capita in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1938.

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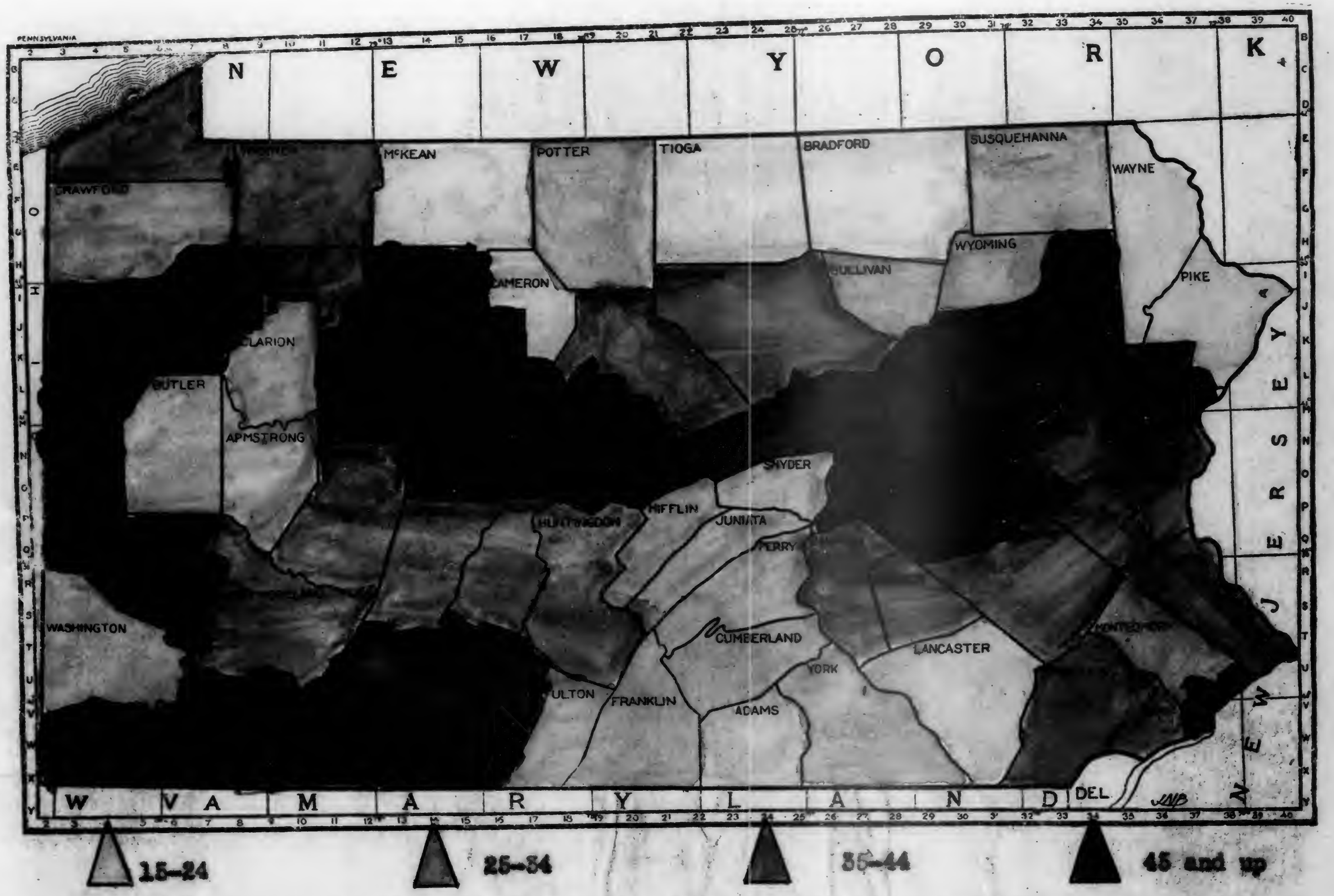

Figure 139. Federal Aid (Dollars) Per Capita of Total Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1933-1936.

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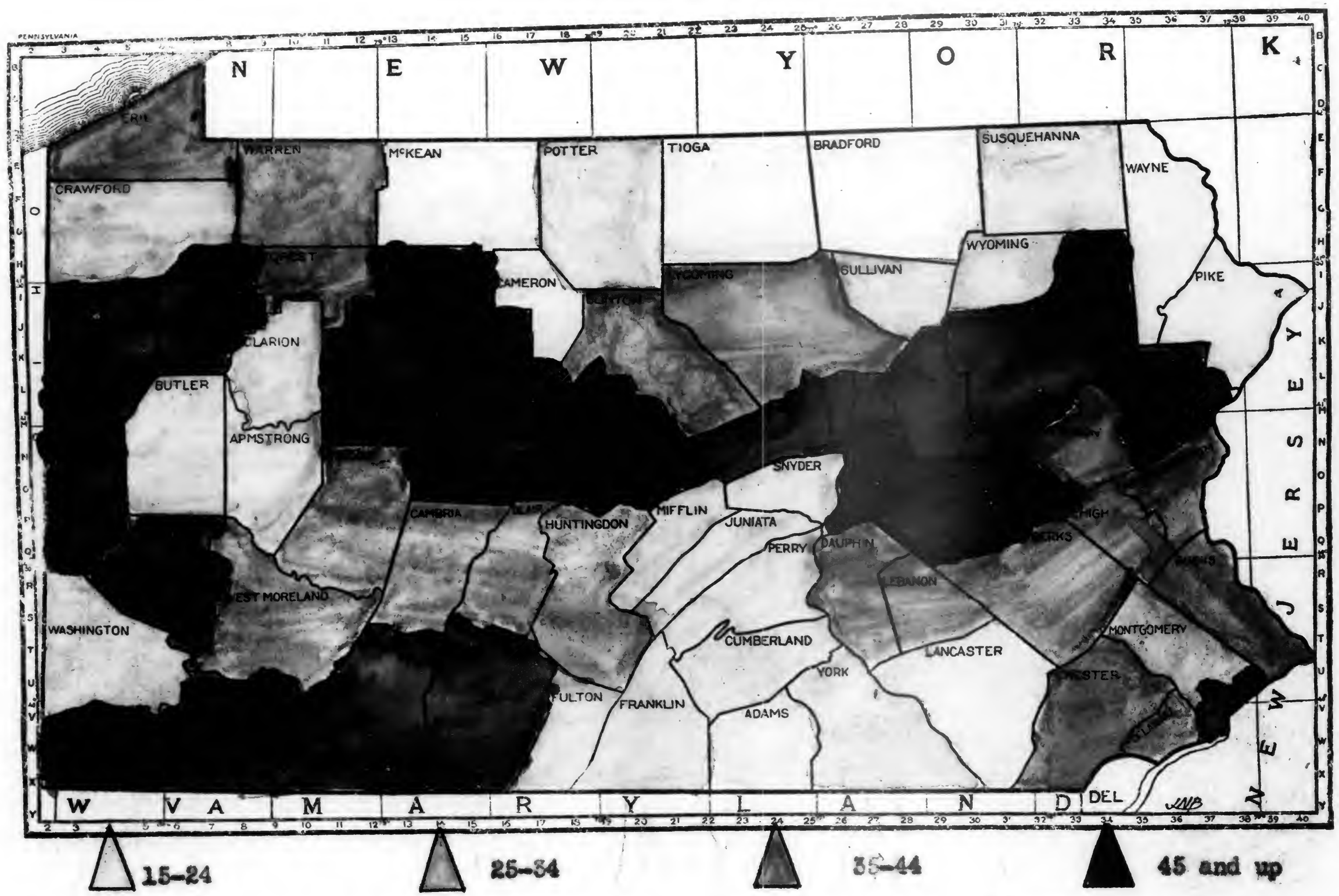

Figure 139. Federal Aid (Dollars) Per Capita of Total Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1933-1936.

Figure 140 shows the per capita cost of poor relief by counties in 1937.[9] These funds are the ones which were raised and administered by the county in 1937. One of the largest items is the maintenance of almshouses and poor farms. Since that time this poor relief work has been taken over by the state and is now administered as a part of the Public Assistance program.

A glance at this map shows that the entire northern part of Pennsylvania has been assuming a high per capita poor relief cost. On the other hand, southern Pennsylvania, especially southwestern Pennsylvania, has been putting much less money into tyis type of welfare. From the foregoing maps it is evident that relief in these counties comes from funds otherwise appropriated. The average for the state as a whole in 1937 is $1.55 per person. The range was from $4.96 in Carbon County to 28 cents in Fulton County.

2. Farm Security Administration.

The Farm Security Administration was established in 1937 as a part of the United States Department of Agriculture. This agency has three divisions: Rural Rehabilitation and Rural Resettlement, which were formerly under the Resettlement Administration, and thirdly, the Tenant Purchase Division which is concerned with carrying out the provisions of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenancy Act.

The chief purpose of the Rehabilitation Division is to assist farmers in reestablishing themselves in the farming business by making loans, adjusting private debts, and assisting in the suitable development of a farm and home plan. Only those farmers unable to secure credit on reasonable terms elsewhere are eligible for help. Rehabilitation supervisors

9. Source: Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg.

Figure 140. Per Capita Cost of Poor Relief in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1937.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

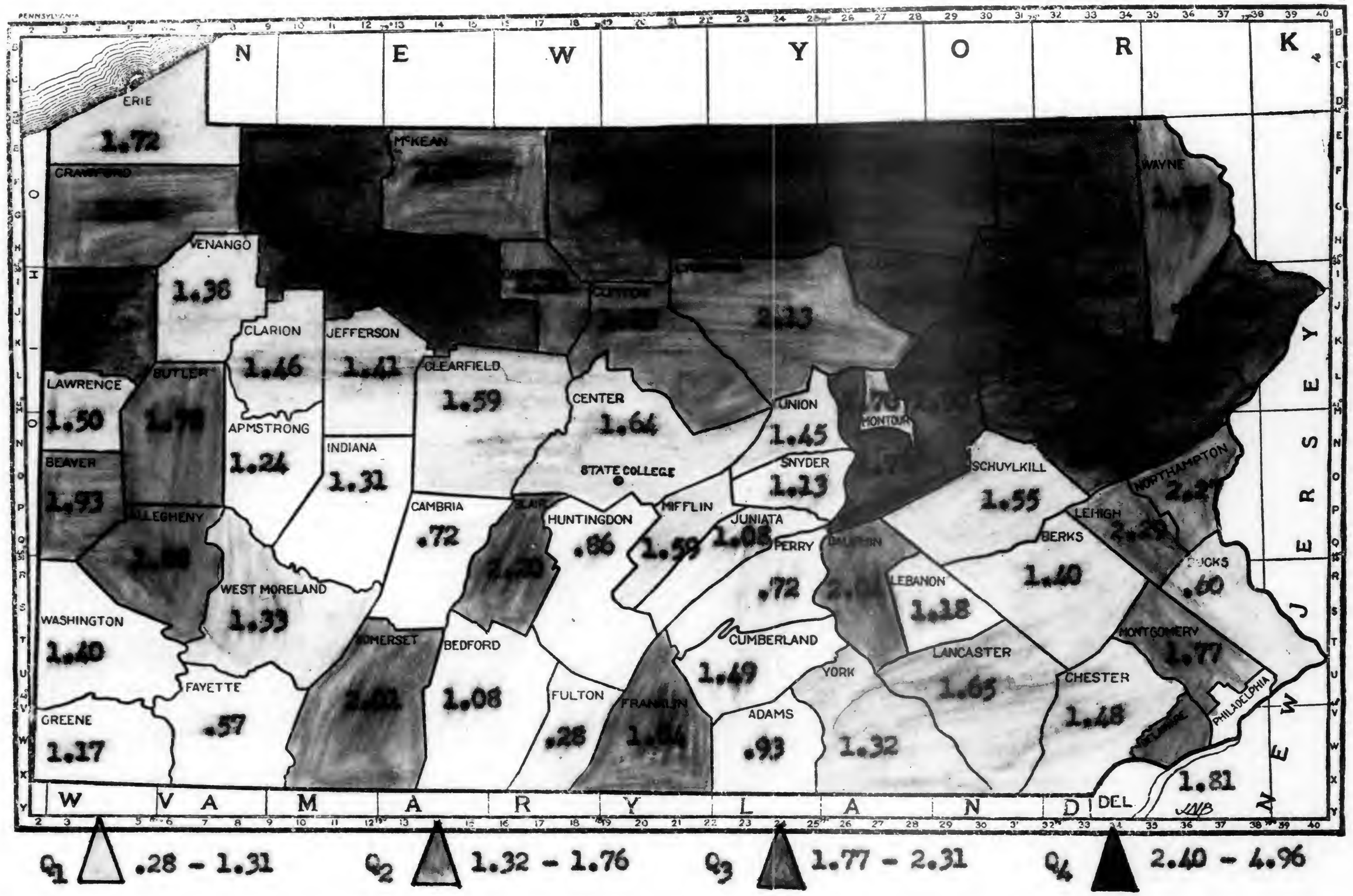

Figure 140. Per Capita Cost of Poor Relief in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1937.

recommend loans and help the farm family to work out a plan whereby the economic status is improved. The interest rates on these loans are low, and all loans are expected to be repaid. Besides the loans, an attempt is made to adjust the private debts of a family in order that these debts may ultimately be paid off. A county rehabilitation committee works in cooperation with the county supervisors on this project.

Since its inception $2,448,512 has been loaned to clients in Pennsylvania (to March 1, 1940). This money has gone to 4,616 farmers who now are operating under farm and home plans. This is an average of $530.40 per case, about 1300 of these cases were handled during 1939. This number does not include 255 persons who have been given emergency loans as outright grants of $165,787. In addition to the loans, private debts were adjusted in a number of cases.[10]

The Tenant Purchase Division makes loans to tenants and farm laborers for the purpose of acquiring farms. Thus far this program in Pennsylvania has operated in 21 counties but at the present time it is operating in only 13.[11] To date, this division has made 75 loans, totaling more than $440,000. The average amount of each loan for purchasing a farm is $5,867.60. The average size of farms purchased has been approximately 123 acres. These farmers are mostly young men. The average age is 37.

The purpose of the Rural Resettlement Division is to establish projects for securing and developing productive farm land onto which families may be moved from land which has been acquired by the government for non-agricultural uses. Also, it is intended to aid farmers on poor land to locate on better farms.

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10. Source: Farm Security Office for Pennsylvania, State College, Pennsylvania.
11. Berks, Butler, Centre, Cumberland, Erie, Fayette, Greene, Lancaster, Lycoming, Mifflin, Northumberland, Susquehanna, and West Moreland.

Table 14 gives some idea of the distribution of the 4636 cases which had been handled by the F.S.A. up to October 1, 1939. Over half of these were active standard rehabilitation loans while another fifth were active emergency loans. It is seen that but 9 per cent of loans made have been paid up so far.[12]

Table 14. Cumulative Number and Per Cent of Farm Security Administration Cases by Types in Pennsylvania, October 1, 1939.

Type of Case	Number of cases	Per cent of total
Total	4636	100.0
Active standard rural rehabilitation loans	2656	57.5
Active emergency rural rehabilitation loans	951	20.5
Inactive rural rehabilitation loans	287	6.2
Paid-up standard rural rehabilitation loans	256	5.5
Paid-up emergency rural rehabilitation loans	163	3.5
Cases receiving grants	245	5.2
Resettlement Farm loans	41	.9
Tenant Purchase loans	39	.9

3. Works Progress Administration.

The Works Progress Administration was established in Pennsylvania in 1935 in order to provide useful work for the destitute unemployed. Work of a comparable nature had been carried out before this time under both federal and state sponsorship. At the present time these works' projects are commonly planned and sponsored by state and local public agencies. They are set up in local communities and carried out under the supervision of the state WPA office. Typical projects are the construction and repair of roads, recreational facilities, school buildings, swimming pools, parks, water mains, and the like. In addition, articles of clothing are made, books renovated, school lunches served, clerical help provided, research projects undertaken, and other such projects are carried on

12. Ibidem.

through the Education-Recreation Division. During 1939 the average monthly number of WPA workers in Pennsylvania was 178,396. These included only those that were certified as relief workers. In addition, there were approximately three per cent non-relief workers receiving a wage from W.P.A. funds.[13]

Figure 141 shows the per cent of persons that were dependent on work relief in 1939. It is seen that work relief is highest in the Allegheny Plateau and Mountains and in the Hard Coal Region. Most of the fourth quarter counties were located in these areas. Clearfield with 19.7 per cent was at the upper extreme while Pike County with about 1.9 per cent is at the lower. The two regions in southeastern Pennsylvania are particularly low in per cent of persons on work relief. Practically the whole area is in the first quarter. Much of the western part of the state was in the second fourth.

Thus we find a high correspondence between the incidence of work relief and total public assistance. The correspondence between this figure and Figure 135 is +.92.

During 1939 the state spent a total of 170 million dollars on WPA projects. The range in expenditure was from $49,000 in Pike County to 26 million in Allegheny County.[14] The distribution of this expenditure in terms of per capita cost is seen in Figure 142. The Hard Coal Region is flanked by three other counties to form a solid block of eight counties in the fourth quarter. A cluster of five counties in the upper Plateau were also found in this fourth. The Allegheny Plateau included practically all of the counties in the next fourth while the lowest expenditures of WPA

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13. Source: Pennsylvania WPA office, Harrisburg.
14. Ibidem.

COLOR PLATE

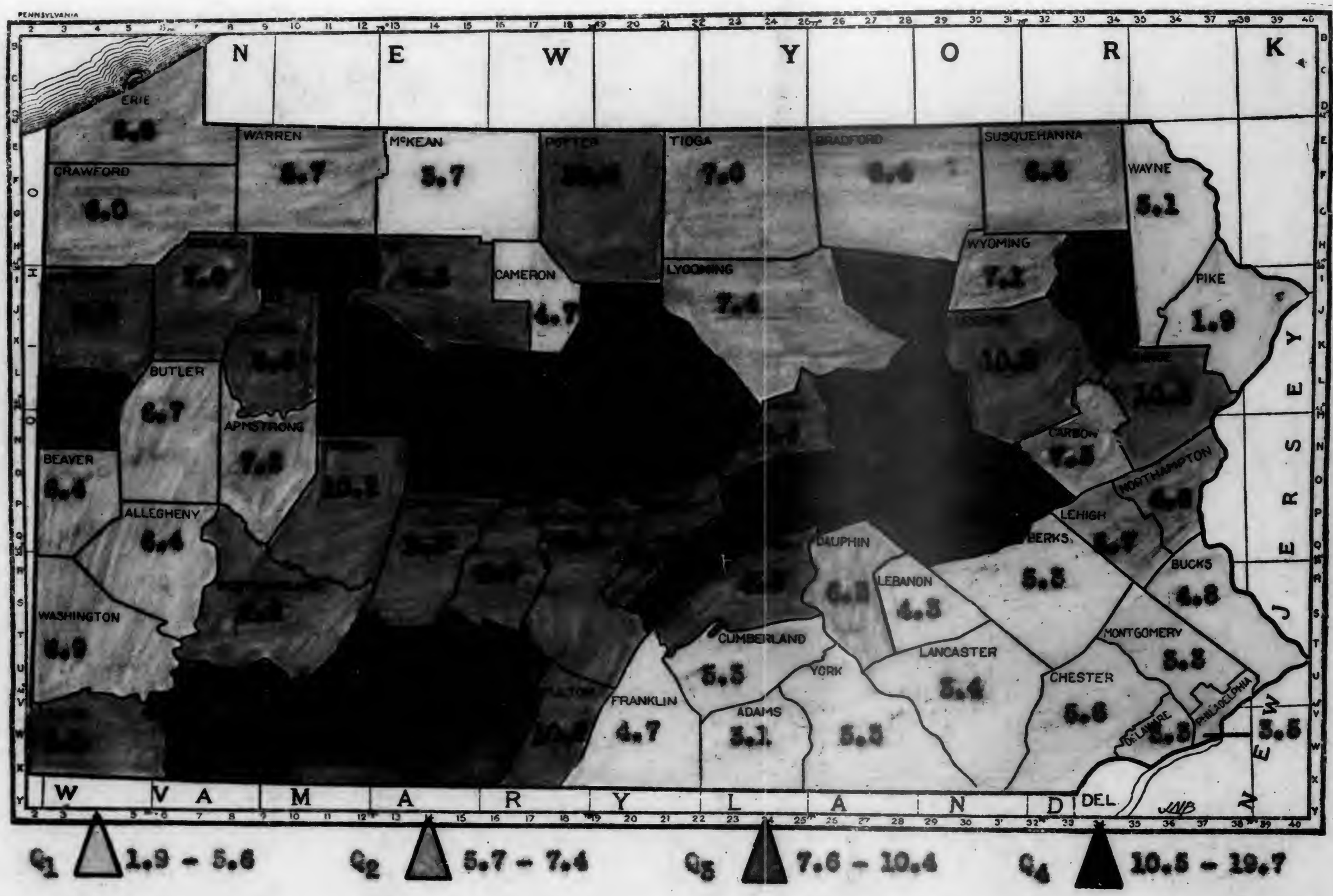


Figure 141. Per Cent of Persons Dependent on Work Relief in Pennsylvania, by Counties, for 1939.

COLOR PLATE
INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

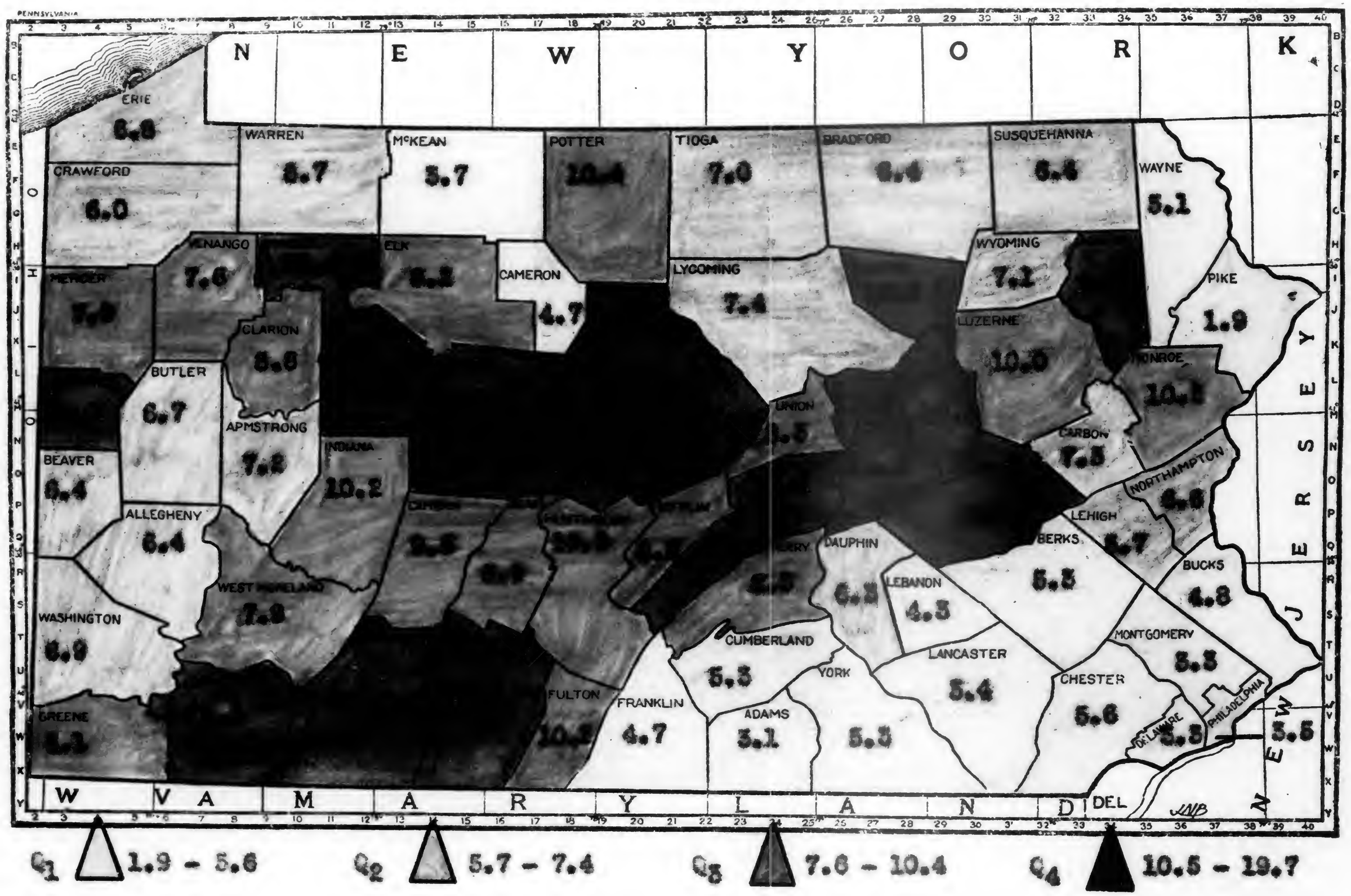


Figure 141. Per Cent of Persons Dependent on Work Relief in Pennsylvania, by Counties, for 1939.

COLOR PLATE [I]

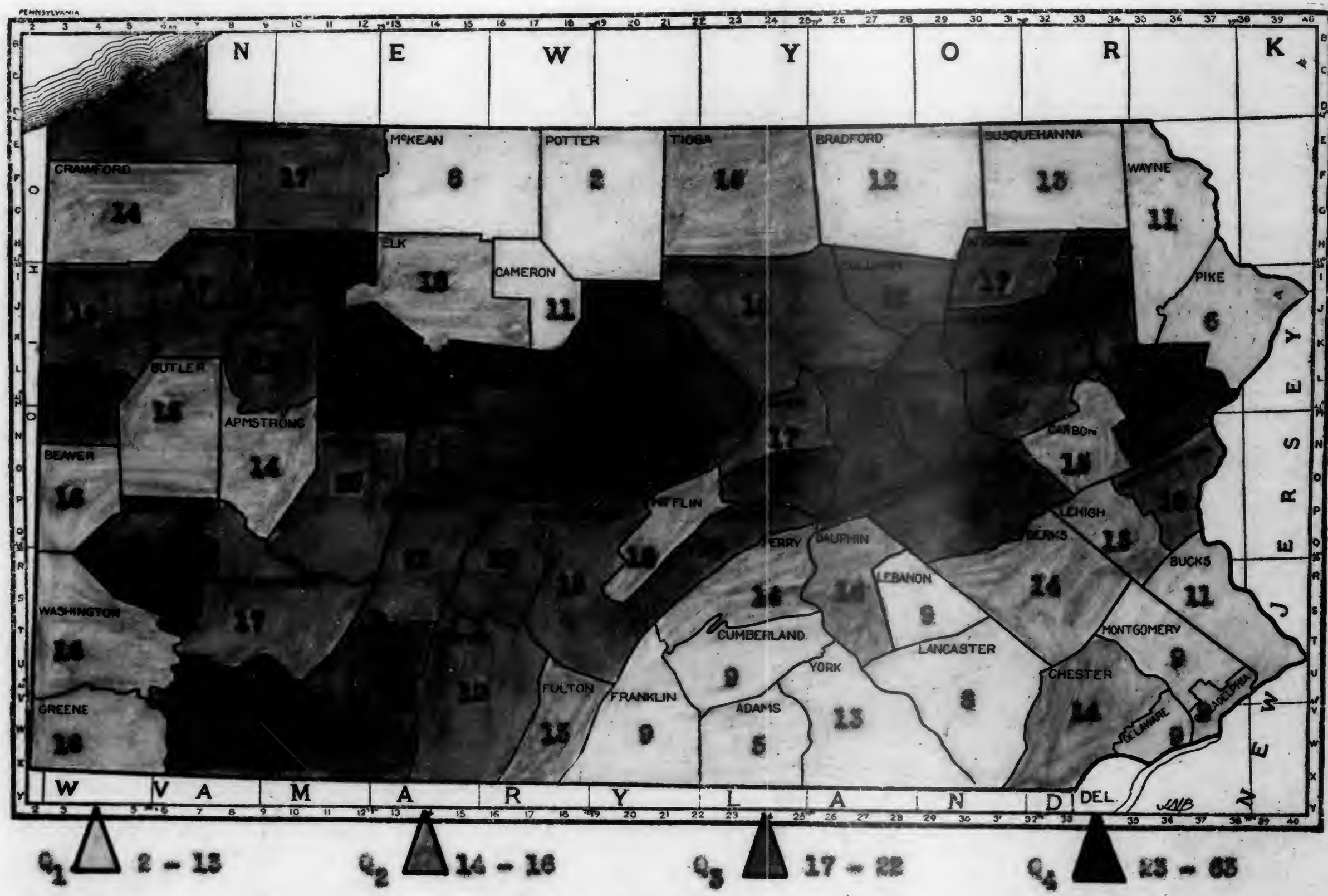


Figure 142. Per Capita Expenditure of W.P.A. Funds in Pennsylvania, by Counties During 1939.

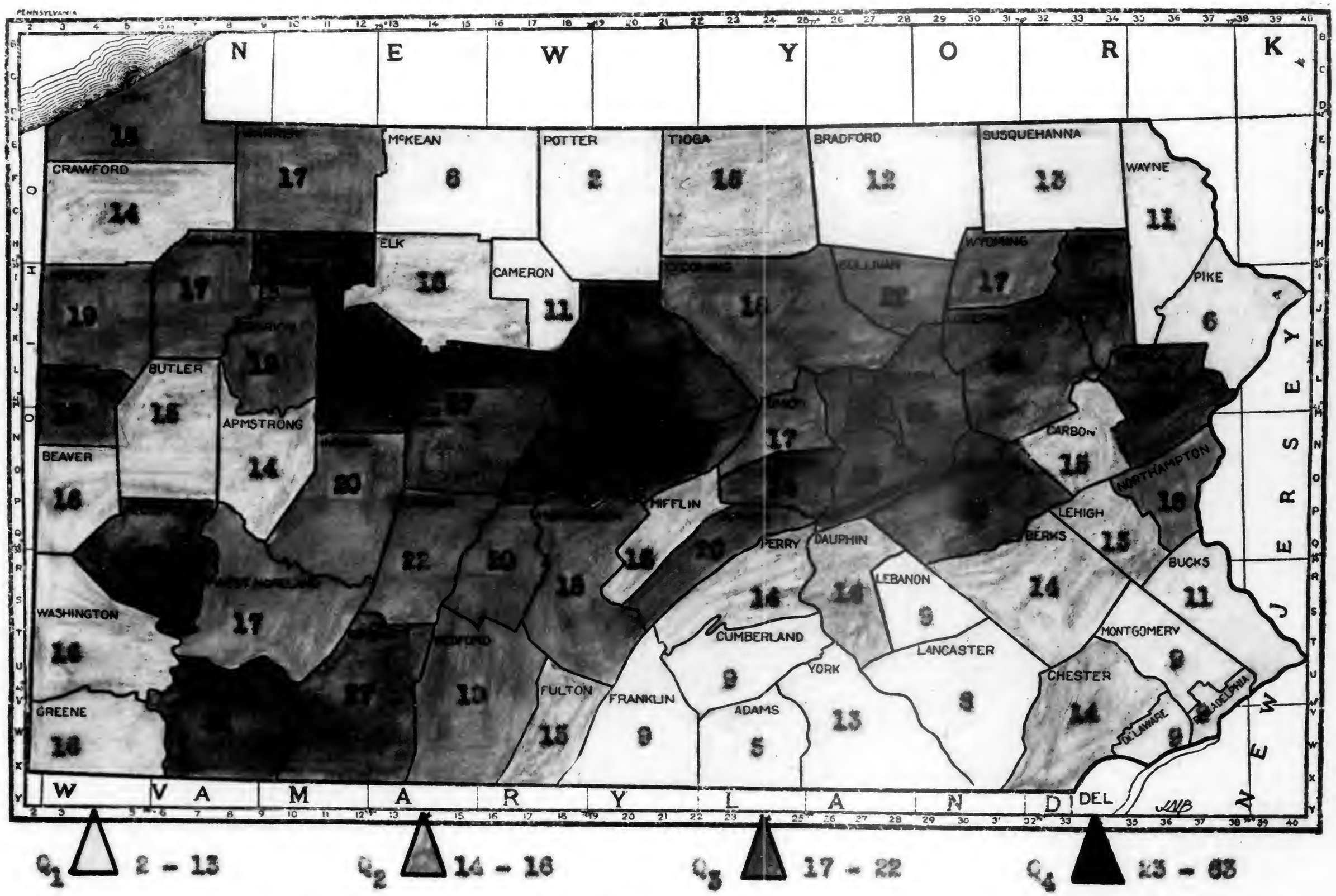


Figure 142. Per Capita Expenditure of W.P.A. Funds in Pennsylvania, by Counties During 1939.

COLOR PLATE

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

funds per capita were in the northern tier and in the two regions in southeastern Pennsylvania. The range of per capita expenditure was from $65 in Allegheny County to $2 in Potter County. This expenditure represents an enormous sum. But certainly not all of this money was misused. For it provided needed assistance to some 500,000 persons and was the means of constructing 20 new public buildings, repairing 1300 others, building 2400 miles of new roads and streets, erecting 3100 new culverts, developing 95 athletic fields, building and improving 210 playgrounds, creating 125 tennis courts, planting 500,000 trees, renovating 500,000 school and library books, producing 4 million garments, and serving 450,000 hot school lunches. The list could be extended.

4. National Youth Administration.

The National Youth Administration created in June 1935 is really a part of the Works Progress Administration. It has operated in Pennsylvania since October 1935. Its aims are to provide economic assistance for worthy young people, particularly students in high schools, colleges and universities. To accomplish these objectives, the administration has developed two programs:

(1) Student aid program which is designed to aid needy students between the ages of 16 and 24 who are in regular attendance at some accredited institution.

(2) Part-time employment which gives work on public projects for a definite wage to out-of-school youth between the ages of 18 and 24.
In addition guidance, placement and counseling services for unemployed youth are provided to all under either of these programs.

As with the W.P.A. the scope of the work covered ty NYA is wide. Shop work, sewing, conservation, constructing recreational facilities and public

buildings, recreational leadership, clerical work, improvement of parks, and help to hospitals and libraries are some of the projects covered. In addition, a large corps of workers receives occupational guidance and training in such fields as automobile mechanics, shop work, cafeteria operation, and commercial work.

In 1939 the program in Pennsylvania operated in 850 high schools and 52 colleges and universities. Over 40,000 students were employed in these student work programs. This phase of the program is highly decentralized, the principals and department heads being responsible for assigning the tasks and checking the results.

The operation of the N.Y.A. program is directed by a state director, 4 regional directors, and county supervisors who are assisted by a small staff of field supervisors. Projects during the last year numbered over 2000 in 66 of the 67 counties of the state. Pike, a republican county, was the exception. Over 23,000 youth worked on this type of program. In 1939 a total of 63,000 youth were aided to the extent of 7,000,000 dollars. About 3900 of these persons were rural youth, coming mostly from small village centers. Not over 800 of these were farm youth. The range in distribution was from 4312 in Philadelphia County in 1939 to 5 in Perry County. Approximately twice as many boys participated in this program as girls.[15]

5. Civilian Conservation Corps.

The program of the Civilian Conservation Corps is designed to provide employment and training for unemployed, unmarried boys between the ages of 17 and 25. (There are a few camps of unemployed war veterans.) These young men must be physically fit and are required to sign up for a camp term of six months. The maximum time limit a boy may remain in camp is

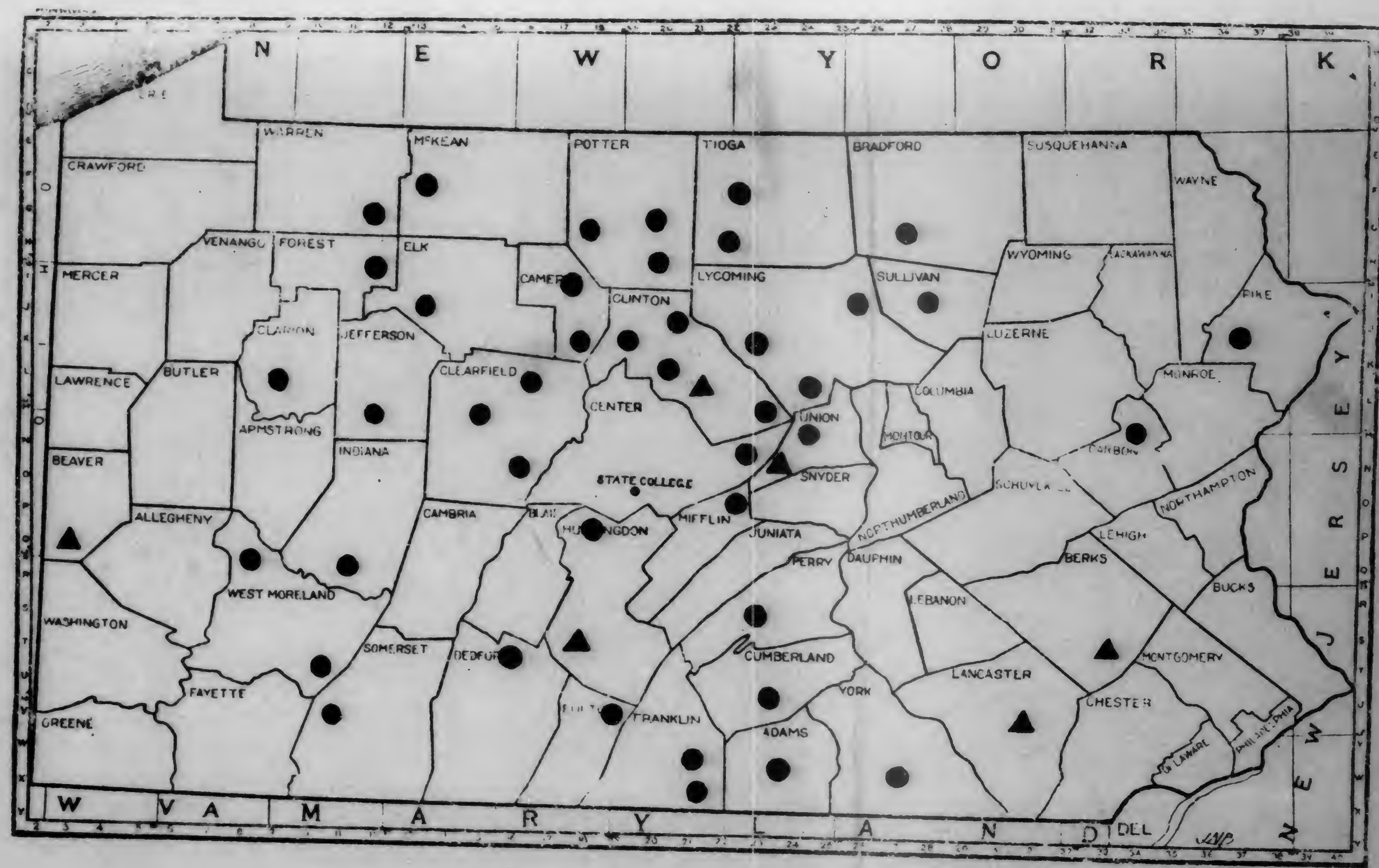
15. Source: Pennsylvania N.Y.A. office - Harrisburg.

two years. An enrollee receives a cash allowance of $30 a month in addition to clothing, board, and keep. In addition, they receive medical care, educational programs and recreation. About 91 per cent of the boys are enrolled in camp education and training programs. These boys must come from relief families; and $23 of the $30 each boy receives is sent to the family while $7 goes for the boy's spending money. In certain instances, this $23 is retained by the CCC authorities until the enrollee leaves camp permanently, when it is handed over to him. During the year 1939 an average monthly load of 14,380 young men was carried in Pennsylvania. From April, 1933, when the program was launched in Pennsylvania to November, 1939, a total of 155,490 men were given employment in CCC programs. So far 119 million dollars have been spent on CCC work (Oct. 1, 1939).[16]

Pennsylvania had 49 camps in 1939 scattered over the commonwealth. Seven of these were soil conservation camps, 6 were national park camps, 3 were national forest camps, while 33 camps were concerned with state forest projects. Each camp is designed to accommodate about 200 boys or men.

Six of these 49 camps are for veterans of the World War while 43 were composed of young men. The work done by these two classes of enrollees was substantially the same. Figure 143 shows the distribution of camps throughout the state. Seven out of eight of these camps were located in the Allegheny Mountains and Plateau. They were concentrated especially in the upper Allegheny Plateau where forestry, game preservation, road building, and park development could claim their labor. The scattered camps were located primarily at federal soil conservation projects. The CCC program in Pennsylvania is generally thought well of.

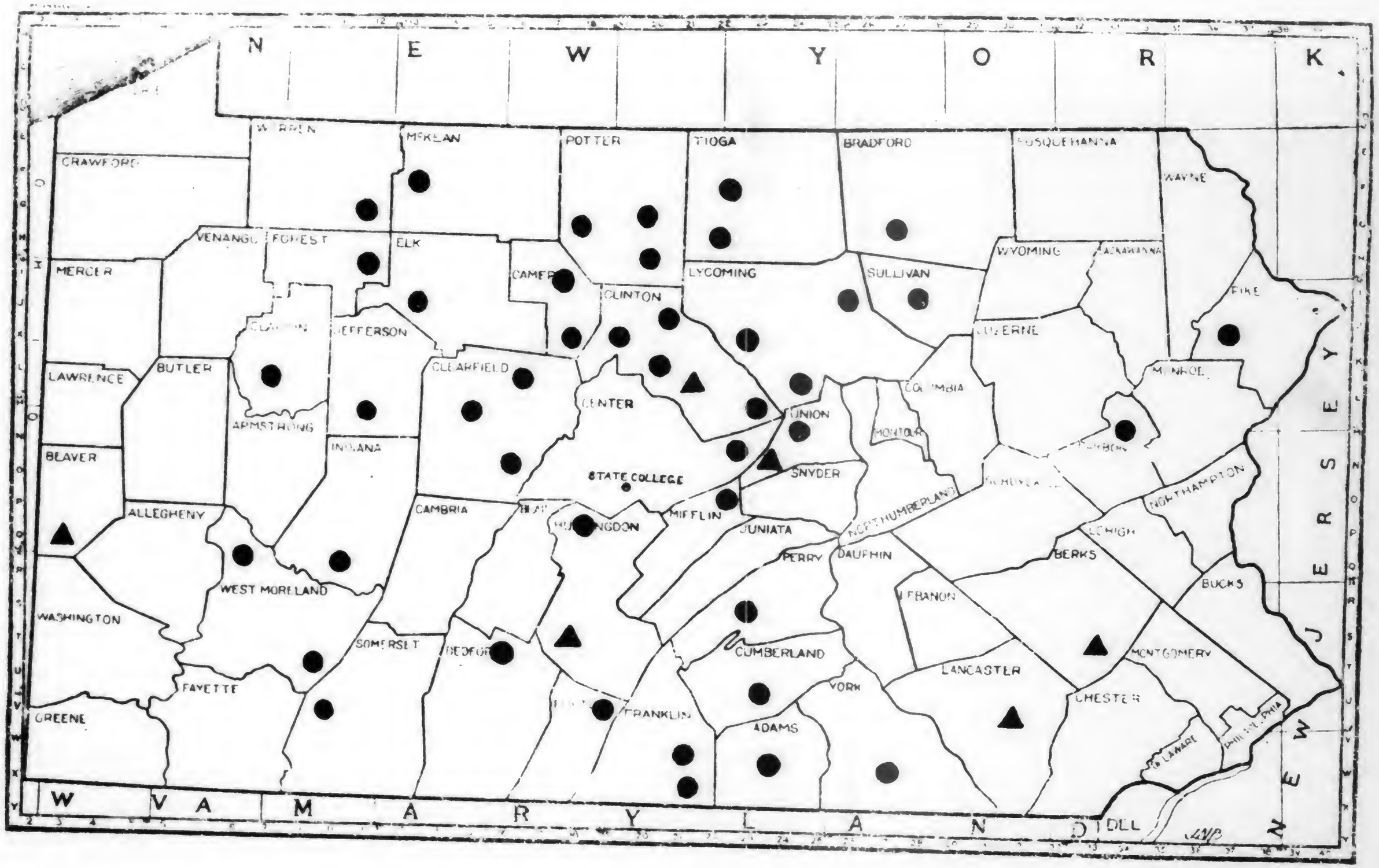
16. Source: State CCC Headquarters. Harrisburg.



● Youth Camps ▲ Veterans' Camps

Figure 148. - Location of CCC Camps in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



● Youth Camps ▲ Veterans' Camps

Figure 148. - Location of CCC Camps in Pennsylvania, 1939

6. Department of Public Welfare.

In many states the Department of Public Welfare handles relief and public assistance. In Pennsylvania, this department is primarily concerned with the maintenance of institutions for the indigent, delinquent, and unfortunate persons of the commonwealth. Figure 144 shows the location of these institutions.[17] In general, there is a bureau in the Department of Public Welfare to take care of each type of social pathology.

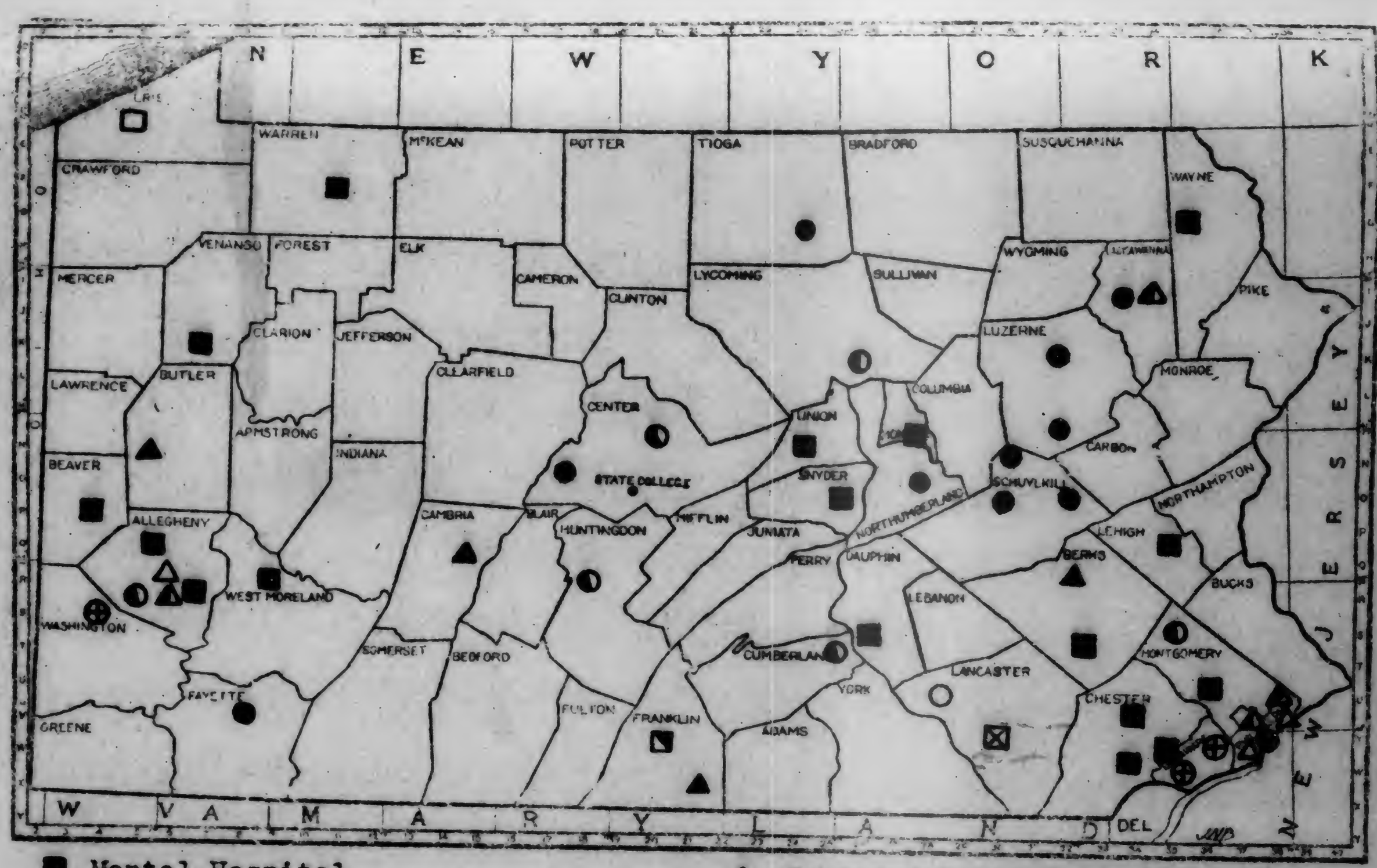
The Bureau of Community Work is interested in family and child welfare, county homes and hospitals, safeguards to children, and is especially concerned with child welfare legislation.

The State Council for the Blind is an administrative board within the Department of Public Welfare concerned with preventing blindness and rehabilitating blind persons. Under its jurisdiction come the three schools for the blind as shown in Figure 144.

The Bureau of Mental Health is primarily concerned with the maintenance, care, and training of mental defectives but this bureau is also entering the field of mental clinics and experimental child guidance centers. Figure 144 shows the location of the mental hospitals. This includes both types - amentia and dementia. In all, there are 17 institutions in the state located primarily in the areas of greatest population density. Thus there are four near Philadelphia and four near Pittsburgh.

The Bureau of Corrections is charged with the supervision of penal and correction institutions. This includes both prisons and industrial schools. There were seven such institutions in the state in 1939 as shown by Figure 144. There are two major penitentiaries for men and two industrial schools for adults. Delinquent boys and girls, unrehabilitable

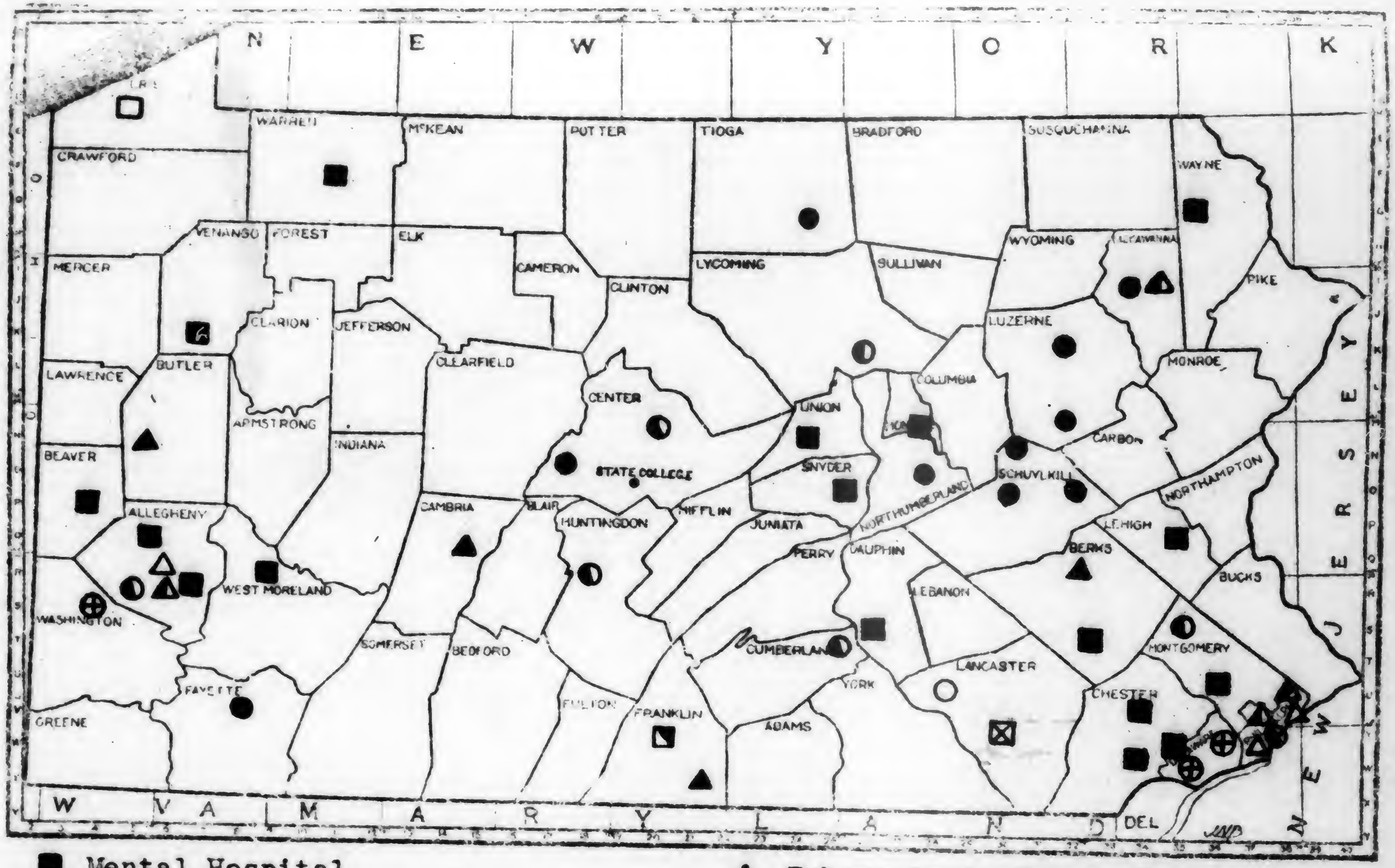
17. Source: Department of Public Welfare, Harrisburg.



- Mental Hospital
- Medical and Surgical Hospital
- School for Delinquent Children
- Penal or Correctional Institution
- Vocational Education School
- Tuberculosis Sanatorium
- School for Blind
- School for Deaf
- Hospital for Crippled Children
- Soldiers' and Sailors' Home
- Soldiers' Orphan School

Figure 144. - Location of State Welfare Institutions in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



- Mental Hospital
- Medical and Surgical Hospital
- School for Delinquent Children
- Penal or Correctional Institution
- Vocational Education School
- Tuberculosis Sanatorium
- School for Blind
- School for Deaf
- Hospital for Crippled Children
- Soldiers' and Sailors' Home
- Soldiers' Orphan School

Figure 144. - Location of State Welfare Institutions in Pennsylvania, 1939

in society, are committed to three other industrial schools.

In the anthracite and bituminous mining regions the department has established ten general hospitals for medical and surgical cases. These are maintained entirely with state funds. Preference is given to injured miners.

There is but one state school for vocational education operated by the commonwealth. This is at Lancaster, but draws from the entire state.

Other institutions under the control of the state welfare department are four schools for the deaf, one hospital for crippled children, a soldiers and sailors' home near Erie, and the soldiers' orphan school at Chambersburg.

The Bureau of Industrial Management is concerned with the task of outfitting and maintaining the physical facilities for its pathological cases. Recently a considerable program of expansion and improvement of these public buildings has been undertaken through WPA aid. The policy has been to operate farms along with these institutions to reduce expenses as much as possible through the raising of foodstuffs used by patients.

The last division in the Department of Public Welfare is Research and Statistics. They reveal that for the biennium 1937-1939 approximately 40 million dollars were spent in welfare work in the state. Most of this money, more than 10 million dollars, or 25 per cent, was spent on mental hospitals. The second largest share, 21 per cent, was for aid to non-state medical and surgical hospitals.

Seventeen per cent, or 7 million dollars, was spent on penal and correctional institutions. The next expenditures in order were: state aided mental hospitals, 9 per cent; mentally deficient hospitals, 9 per cent;

state owned medical hospitals, 7 per cent.

The per capita annual cost of taking care of patients in state institutions has declined steadily from 1929 to 1957. During the last two years, however, there has been an upturn in expenditures.

7. American Red Cross.

The American National Red Cross was incorporated in 1881 and is one of a federation of National Red Cross Societies in existence throughout the world. In 1939 there were 3,716 chapters in the United States with 7,133 branches of these chapters. There were 5,668,000 members in 1938 and 7,556 junior members.

In Pennsylvania in 1939 there were 111 chapters with a total membership of 460,656 persons. In addition there were 84 chapters of Junior Red Cross with a total of 670,372 members. Further there were 3,622 schools enrolled in Junior Red Cross work.[17]

The purpose of this agency is to furnish aid to sick and wounded soldiers, to carry on relief in time of peace, and to mitigate suffering caused by pestilence, fire, floods, and other disasters. In order to take care of these kinds of emergencies, the following divisions have been set up within the organization: Disaster Relief, Nursing Service, Home Hygiene, Civilian Relief, First Aid, Life Saving, Accident Prevention, Home Service, and Volunteer Service. This work is financed by the $1.00 membership fee together with special donations and contributions solicited in certain cases of disaster.

The program of activities in Pennsylvania has included many worth while projects. In 1939, 302 persons were aided in disasters: an average

17. Source: American National Red Cross Office, Washington.

of 124 nurses were on duty throughout the year handling a total case load of more than 45,000 persons. In addition these nurses visited 200,000 patients and inspected 8,000 school and pre-school children. An average of 3,500 home service cases and 1,600 civilian relief cases were handled each month by the Red Cross.

There were 146 instructors in Pennsylvania working in home hygiene and care of the sick. In 1939 nearly 5,000 certificates were issued bringing the total since 1914 to 80,000. Nearly 1,400 instructors were working on the Red Cross program of first aid. During the year 26,000 first aid certificates were issued making a total of 170,000 issued in the state since 1910.

More than 7,600 persons in Pennsylvania passed Red Cross life saving tests in 1939 under the instruction of 1,386 instructors. Since 1914 a total of 70,000 persons have been so instructed in the state. Seventy-four first aid highway stations and nine mobile units were in operation during the year. The motor corps made 879 calls during this period. In the Volunteer Department 25,000 garments were produced and over a million surgical dressings were made. And nearly 4,000 volunteer workers assisted in making Christmas bags, aiding the blind, and other such services.

Seventy-eight of the 111 chapters in Pennsylvania employed 355 full-time paid workers in 1939. In addition, as has been indicated above, there are several thousands of special representatives in first aid, nursing, life saving, and accident prevention.

Figure 145 shows the location of Red Cross chapters in Pennsylvania. It is seen that this agency covers the entire state. Usually the units are located in county seat towns and in the larger cities. But it will be

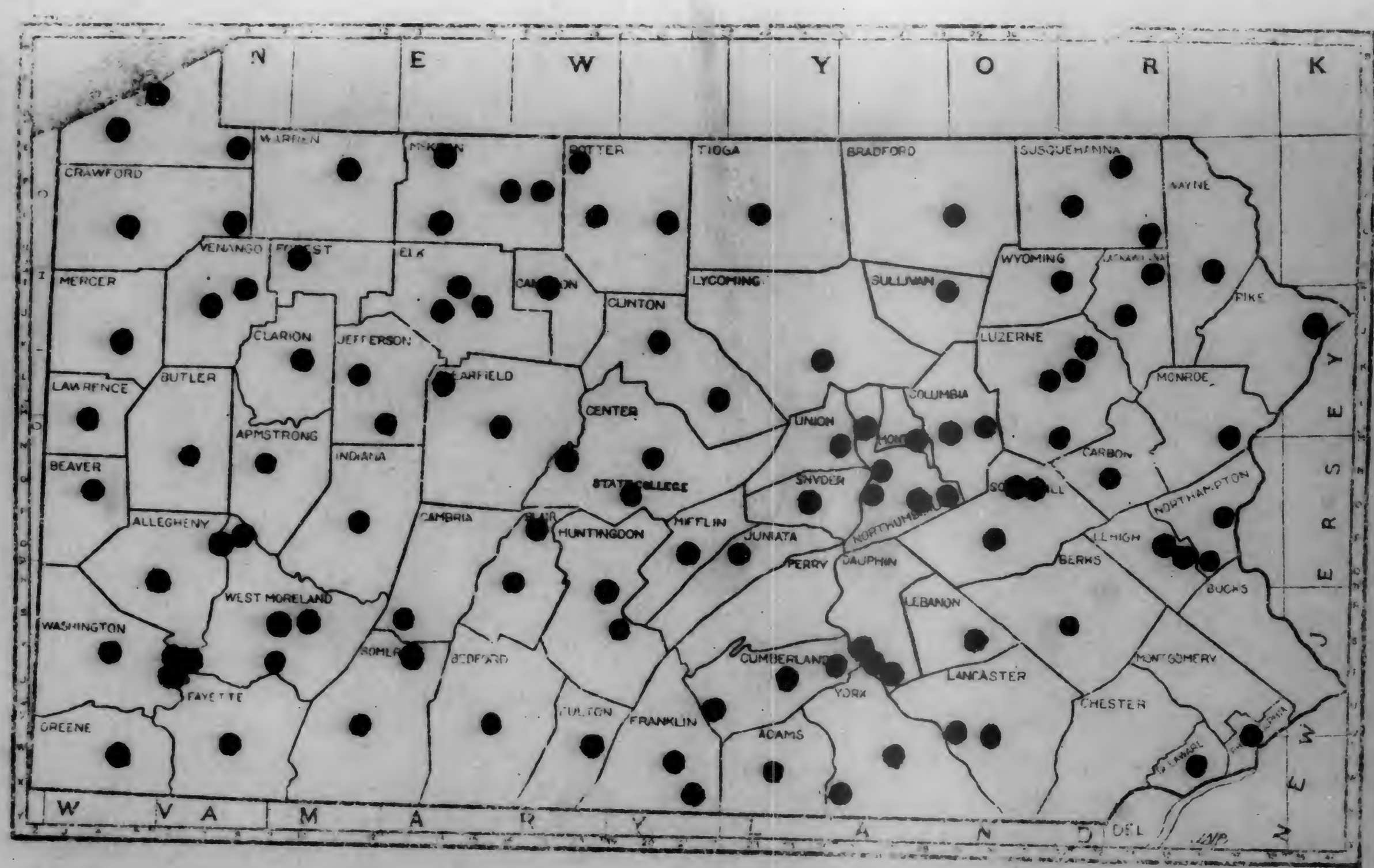


Figure 145.- Location of Red Cross Chapters in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

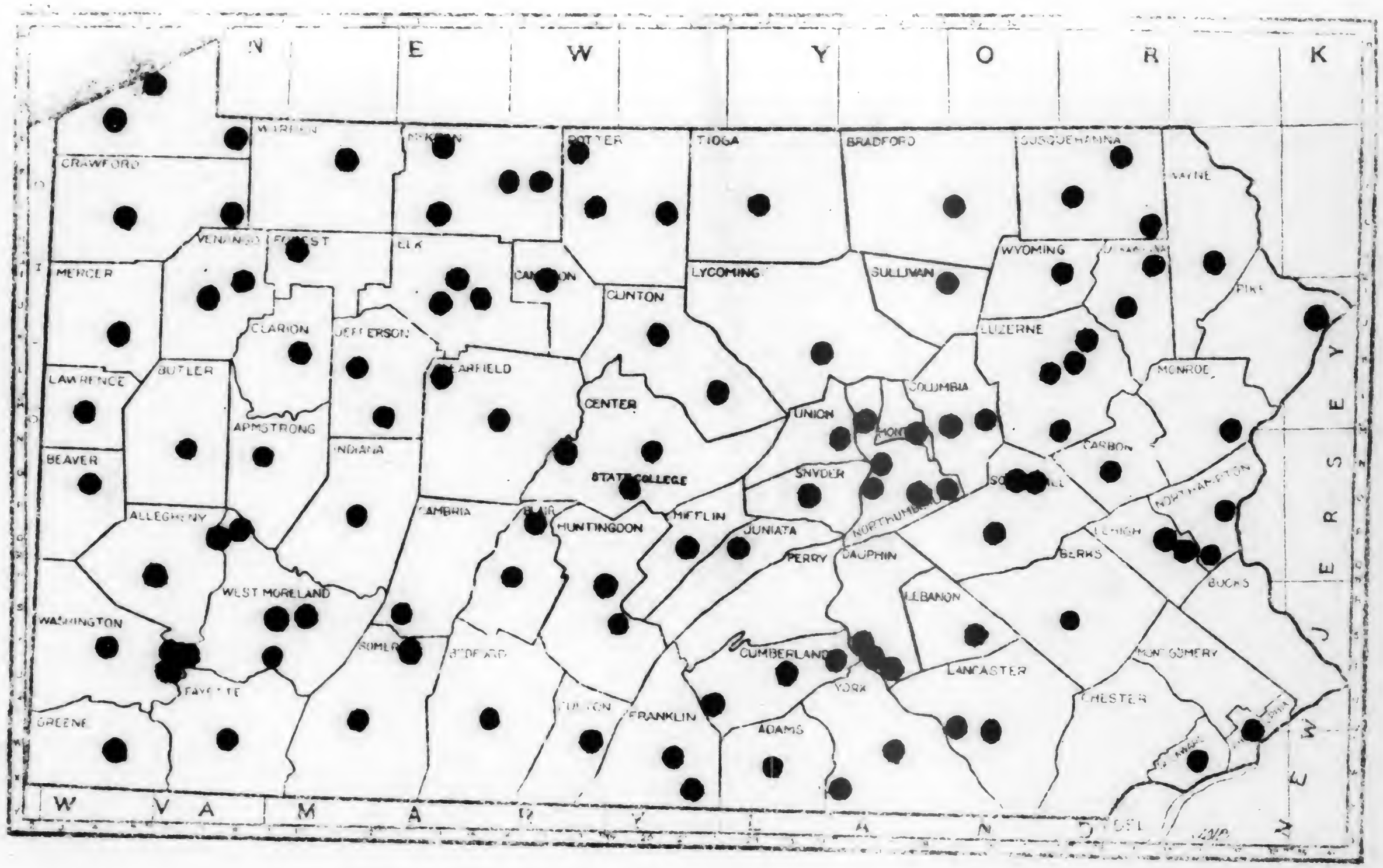


Figure 145.- Location of Red Cross Chapters in Pennsylvania, 1939

noticed that no area is very far distant from the service which this agency can render. It is seen also that there is a strong tendency for these units to be located in the areas of greatest need — the coal sections, in problem industrial towns, and in the impoverished Allegheny Plateau.

Throughout this chapter we have seen a series of recurring patterns in relief and public welfare. In all of the maps showing the intensity of public assistance we find that a disproportionately large number of indigent persons are to be found in four regions — Hard Coal, Allegheny Plateau, Allegheny Coal and Steel and the Forested Region. Relief expenditures were, of course, high here also. On the other hand, the Pennsylvania Dutch Region, the Philadelphia Hinterland, and the Northeast Dairy Region show a much lighter picture of indigence. Agencies and monies needed in these latter areas were, therefore, less frequent because they were less needed. Thus welfare appears to relate itself to the different socio-economic areas of state.

However, here we are not measuring the distribution of agencies. For there are agencies of welfare covering the entire state in as uniform a manner as the state department can detect. What is being measured is the intensity of public assistance and welfare which, being a direct function of socio-economic conditions, sould follow socio-economic areas if those areas are properly outlined. Therefore, we have little proof yet that there is much relation between agency distribution and ecological areas.

Chapter X

AGENCIES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Properly considered, many of the agencies already discussed could readily be included in the present chapter. Schools, libraries, roads, health organizations and welfare agencies are all integral parts of local government. It is apparent that any classification of agencies can not be made mutually exclusive. The present chapter is concerned simply with a few aspects of government which have not been otherwise analyzed.

1. Units of Government

Pennsylvania is divided into 67 counties. In these counties are 2,561 municipal units which include 47 cities, 1 town, 936 boroughs, and 1,577 townships. These cities, boroughs, and towns are, in turn, divided into 2,584 separate school districts. In all there were 5,212 units of local government in Pennsylvania in 1939. Allegheny County with 244 had the most while Philadelphia, the other populous county, had the least3. The population of these larger units of government, the counties, has been indicated in Chapter III. The same is true of the size, numbers, and location of cities and boroughs. All of these small units collect taxes and maintain governmental organizations with elected and appointed officials which total over 100,000. Since the state, the counties, townships, urban centers can all perform many of the same duties, it is confusing to the average citizen to know where the power of one ends and the other begins. This is seen, for example, in the write-up of the court system of Pennsylvania which follows later. It is manifested also in the highway system and in the police and prison system of the state as well as in the collection of taxes. The number and kind of local government units is seen in Table 15.

Table 15. The Number of Classified Units of Local Government in Pennsylvania, by Counties, in 1939.[1]

	Cities	Boros	Townships 1st class	Townships 2nd class	School district	Counties	Total number of units
Adams	-	11	-	21	34	1	67
Allegheny	4	65	24	29	121	1	244
Armstrong	-	17	-	28	46	1	92
Beaver	1	26	4	22	53	1	107
Bedford	-	13	-	25	40	1	79
Berks	1	30	-	44	68	1	144
Blair	1	8	-	15	25	1	50
Bradford	-	14	-	38	54	1	107
Bucks	-	23	-	31	55	1	110
Butler	1	22	1	32	57	1	114
Cambria	1	32	1	29	61	1	125
Cameron	-	2	-	5	8	1	16
Carbon	-	12	-	12	26	1	51
Centre	-	11	-	25	35	1	72
Chester	1	15	-	57	74	1	148
Clarion	-	13	-	22	36	1	72
Clearfield	1	19	-	30	49	1	100
Clinton	1	7	-	21	29	1	59
Columbia	-	9*	-	24	32	1	66
Crawford	2	15	-	35	55	1	108
Cumberland	-	12	-	22	34	1	69
Dauphin	1	16	1	22	40	1	81
Delaware	1	25	10	11	46	1	94
Elk	-	3	-	10	13	1	27
Erie	2	16	1	21	40	1	81
Fayette	2	14	-	24	43	1	84
Forest	-	1	-	8	9	1	19
Franklin	-	6	-	15	20	1	42
Fulton	-	1	-	11	12	1	25
Greene	-	7	-	20	27	1	55

1. Adapted from Report of Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg.

Table 15. (Continued)

	Cities	Boros	Townships 1st class	Townships 2nd class	School district	Counties	Total number of units
Huntingdon	-	18	-	30	48	1	97
Indiana	-	14	-	24	42	1	81
Jefferson	-	11	-	23	35	1	70
Juniata	-	4	-	13	17	1	35
Lackawanna	2	19	1	20	42	1	85
Lancaster	1	18	-	41	62	1	123
Lawrence	1	8	-	17	28	1	55
Lebanon	1	8	2	16	25	1	53
Lehigh	1	8	1	14	25	1	50
Luzerene	4	33	4	32	73	1	146
Lycoming	1	9	-	42	52	1	105
McKean	1	6	-	15	22	1	45
Mercer	2	14	-	32	48	1	97
Mifflin	-	5	-	10	14	1	30
Monroe	-	4	-	16	20	1	41
Montgomery	-	24	8	30	66	1	129
Montour	1	2	-	9	11	1	23
Northampton	2	19	-	17	39	1	78
Northumberland	1	12	1	23	38	1	76
Perry	-	9	-	21	29	1	60
Philadelphia	1	-	-	2	1	1	3
Pike	-	2	-	11	12	1	26
Potter	-	6	-	25	30	1	62
Schuylkill	1	29	-	37	68	1	136
Snyder	-	5	-	15	20	1	41
Somerset	-	23	-	25	48	1	97
Sullivan	-	4	-	9	13	1	27
Susquehanna	-	13	-	27	41	1	77
Tioga	-	10	-	30	40	1	81
Union	-	4	-	10	15	1	30
Venango	2	7	-	21	30	1	61
Warren	-	7	-	23	30	1	61
Washington	2	32	1	32	70	1	138
Wayne	-	6	-	22	28	1	57
Westmoreland	3	38	-	23	64	1	129
Wyoming	-	5	-	18	24	1	48
York	1	36	1	34	72	1	145
Total	47	937*	61	1,516	2,584	67	5,212

2. Fire Protection

In one sense, agencies for protection against fires belong in the same category with the agencies having to do with sickness, death, and poverty outlined above - crisis agencies. This is exactly what a local fire company is . In many sections rural communities are poorly prepared for any such emergencies.

The location of fire companies is shown in Figure 146. In this map we see an unusually high correlation with urbanization. It is to be expected that the location of fire companies follows closely the cities, towns, and larger villages as seen in Figure 9. It may be said, therefore, that this type of social agency is a function of urbanization, accompanying industry, mining, and manufacturing areas.

From the rural standpoint, however, it is interesting to observe that there is wide variation between the protection offered in various parts of the state. In general, rural communities in southeastern Pennsylvania are well situated; practically all of the small towns in Bucks, Berks, Lancaster, York and Adams Counties have fairly adequate facilities. As we go west and north, this situation ceases to obtain. There is to be found such situations as exist in Perry County, in which the entire western end of the county, including six villages, have no fire protection whatsoever. New Germantown, for example, is 24 miles to the nearest fire service in New Bloomfield. Needless to say, these villages pay a high rate for fire insurance.

Some efforts have been made in recent years to make the rural people in northern and western Pennsylvania more conscious of the need of fire protection. This has met with some success along the west branch

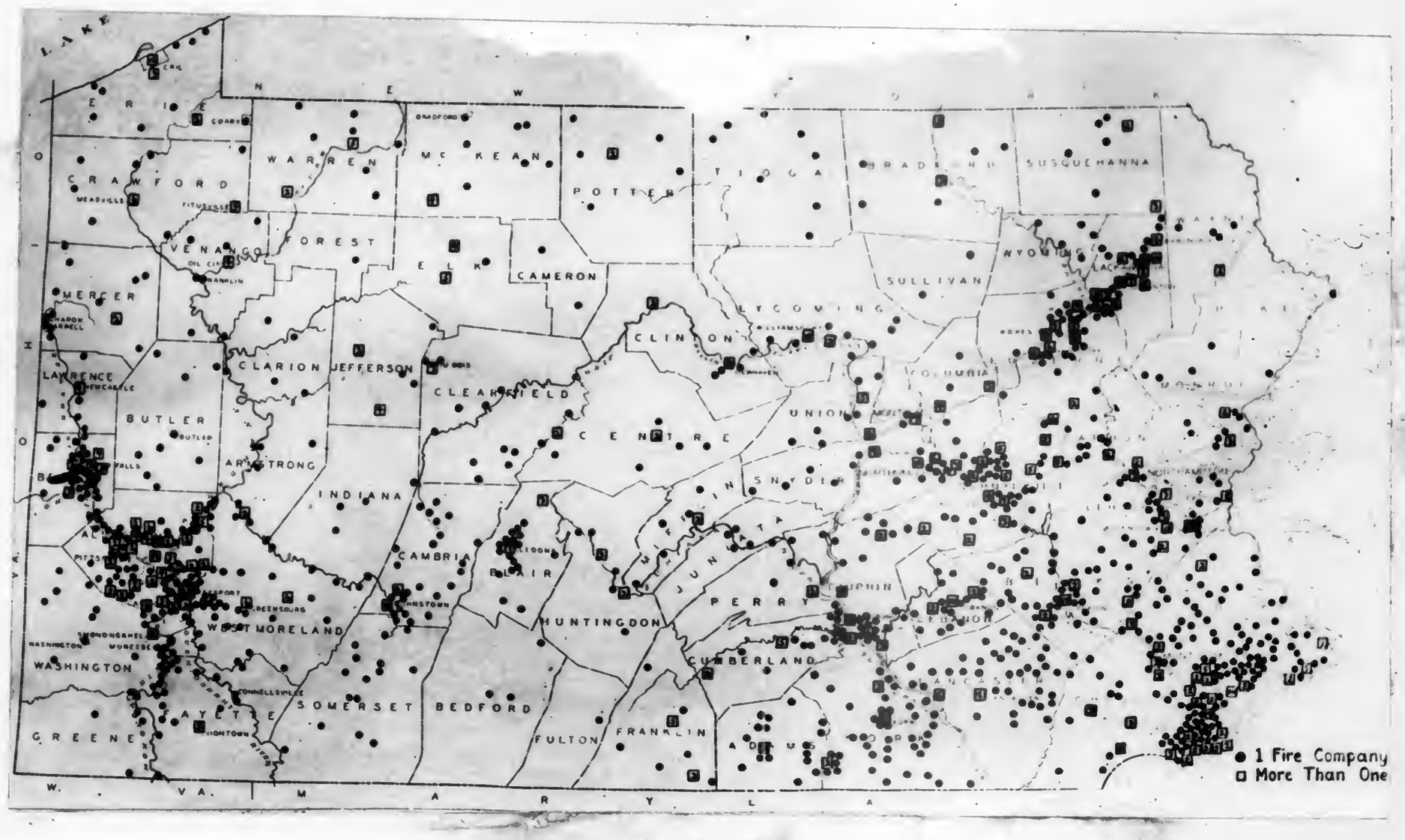


Figure 146. Location of Fire Companies in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

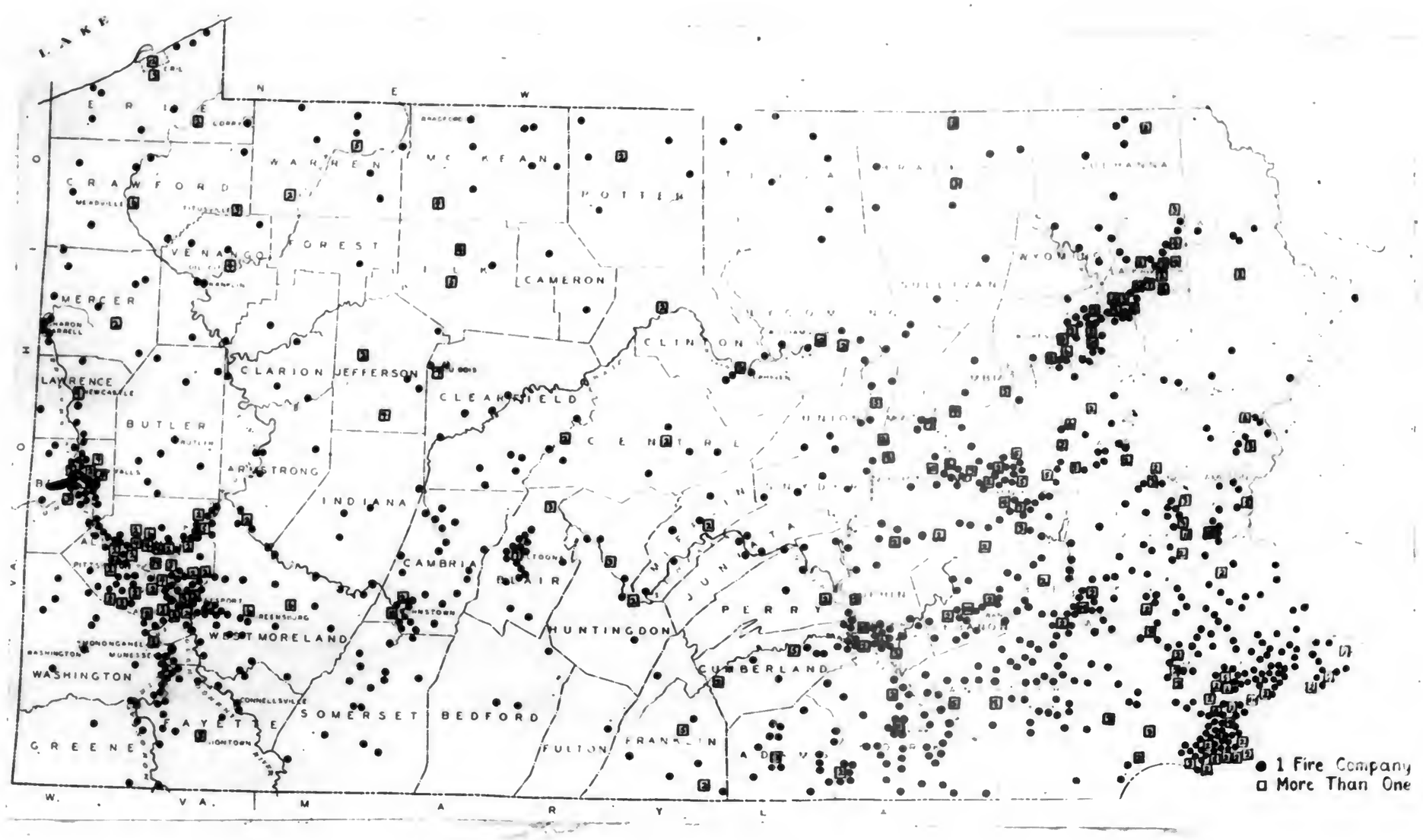


Figure 146. Location of Fire Companies in Pennsylvania, 1939.

of the Susquehanna River. For example, a group of villages have banded together, each purchasing fire equipment sufficient for small fires. When larger fires occur, they have an arrangement whereby the other villages automatically send their trucks and men while, at the same time, the villages of the migrant apparatus are guarded by still other villages nearby. This has proved to be an economical and efficient method of fire protection that is well within the economic possibilities of most areas. On the whole, however, much work needs to be done to make more general adequate fire protection and to reduce the cost of fire insurance.

3. Police and Justice

In the early days of the commonwealth rural trading centers were small, communities were well-knit, property was fairly evenly distributed, dire want was almost unknown, and even petty thievery was comparatively rare. In those days the strong social control prevalent was all that was needed to curb most potential offenders. Today the suppression of rural crime has become a task of first magnitude.[2] Rural life has changed and is changing. With industrial development in mining, forestry, and quarrying districts, wide areas of Pennsylvania have taken on aspects of urban development without having become cities. The improvement of transportation, the decline of agriculture, the infiltration of foreign population, and the depression have all contributed

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2. Cf. Smith, Bruce, Rural Crime Control. N. Y. 1933. pp. vi-viii

to this trend in certain rural areas. In spite of the increased seriousness of this phenomenon, however, it is believed that rural criminality is still considerably below that of the urban population.[3]

a. The Sheriff: The chief county officer for protection of the public is the sheriff. Sixty-six of Pennsylvania's counties have such officers. Philadelphia County and Philadelphia City are one unit and come under the jurisdiction of a mayor. The office of sheriff is one primarily concerned with the enforcement of laws imposed by the state. The sheriff, therefore, although an officer within the county and paid by the county, is actually a protective arm of the state.

The importance of the sheriff as a police agent appears to be diminishing in Pennsylvania. They are more concerned with swearing out warrants, the serving of notices, the sale of property on which taxes are delinquent, and other public responsibilities of this sort. The police power is increasingly being taken over by other agencies. And the fee system for civil work plus the political aspects of his office render the sheriff very willing in relinquishing this authority.

b. The Coroner: The coroner in many cases serves as a police officer and occupies an important position, particularly with reference to manslaughter and other crimes against the person. In many cases, however, this office is too intimately bound up with local politics to be of much significance to the population as a whole. Too frequently the county coroner in Pennsylvania is a man unable to perform either

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3. Sorokin, P. & Zimmerman, C. C. Principles of Rural-Urban Sociology. Henry Holt, New York, pp. 378-401.

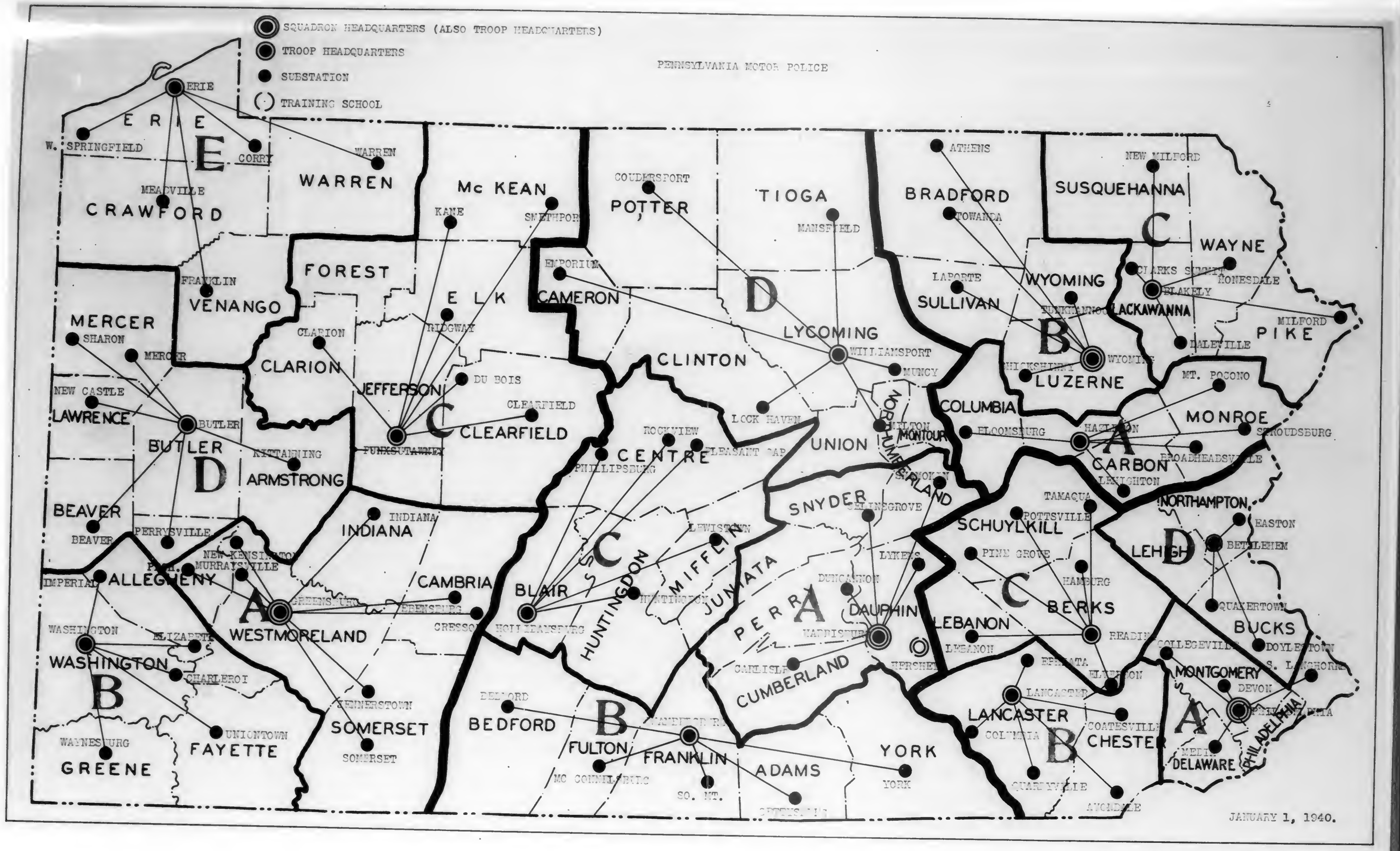
his legal or medical function. His salary is obtained on a fee basis and therefore legal restrictions have been placed upon over aggressive coroners. Cases are not unknown where the coroner has a discreet relation with local undertakers. Indeed, a few cases exist where the coroner is an undertaker. This, of course, is a business asset.

c. The Mayor: The mayor is the chief executive of boroughs and cities in Pennsylvania. In small centers all local and petty offenses for settlement or for release to a higher authority come to him. But in larger cities his time is given over to the management of the community. The mayor is in a strategic position, both through the wise execution of the duties of his office and through educational programs to aid greatly in reducing delinquency and crime in incorporated areas.

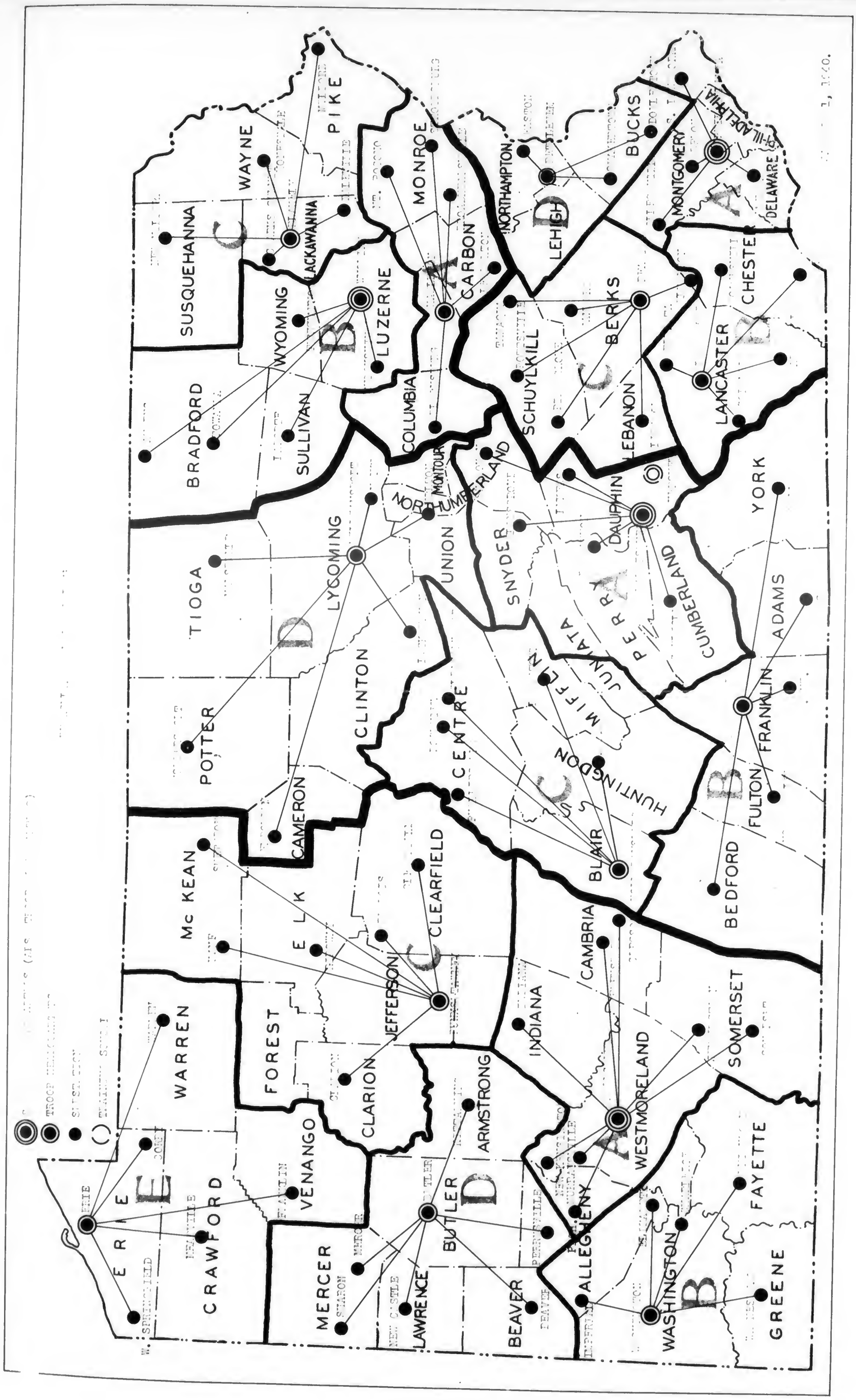
d. The Constable: The constable in Pennsylvania is the officer whose responsibility it is to render protective service in unincorporated places and in the open country. In many places, these officers are inefficient job holders who have little reason for continuance in office. They are a hold-over of an older time. And their work in Pennsylvania, largely taken over by state police, is negligible. Their source of official income is in terms of fees as service charges from the court of the Justice of the Peace.

e. State Police: The active agents of law and order and of apprehending criminals and violators of the law in rural Pennsylvania are the State Police. At the present time the State Police employs 1408 men who serve in 16 troop headquarters and 101 sub-stations or a total of 117 places in the commonwealth. As seen in Figure 147 these are strategically located in relation to density of population, type of population, and the road system. Only four rural counties - Forest,

Figure 147. Location of State Police Headquarters and Sub-stations in Pennsylvania, 1939.



JANUARY 1, 1940.



INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

Union, Juniata, and Montour do not have one or more stations.[4] They are on call at any hour of the day to take care of any emergency. In addition, they have regular schedules for covering certain roads and territory in the manner of the city policemen. These men are guardians of life and property on the road, they apprehend speeders and reckless drivers, and are commonly the first officials at the scene of highway accidents. In addition, they do detective work, straight police work, serve notices, and testify at hearings, and enforce all criminal laws. This body of men has made an enviable reputation in Pennsylvania and have doubtless done much to mitigate crime throughout the commonwealth.

The State Police was organized in 1905. In 1923 the State Highway Patrol was organized, and these two forces were merged in 1937.

Members of the force are chosen on the basis of mental and physical examinations. Those making the highest scores are given a six months course in criminal and motor vehicle law, use of firearms, detective work and the like. At the end of this period another examination is given and the best ones chosen from the force.

The State Police is replete with Bureaus of Investigation, Fire Protection, Radio Communications, Criminal Identification, and Crime Laboratory. It has 110 civilian employees, 100 horses, many (black and white) cars, and motorcycles.[4]

f. Justice of the Peace: The Justice of the Peace is the local court. He is an elective officer. These justices are located in all

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4. Source: Pennsylvania Motor Police. Harrisburg.

cities, towns and villages of any size. All local cases not handled, by the mayor are tried by them. A great deal of their work consists of taking care of charges brought up by the Pennsylvania State Police. Many of these cases are offenses for speeding and other traffic violations. The Justice of the Peace, on the basis of evidence presented by the defendant and by the State Trooper, adjudicates the case, imposes a fine, or acquits the defendant. Unfortunately, the Justice of the Peace's fee comes from the defendant's fine, earning him the title in many places of "Justice of the Plaintiff". Frequently, this task is a thankless one; many citizens would not consider accepting this responsibility because of the headaches it involves. Consequently, the office of the Justice of the Peace is filled by incompetent men who have little conception of justice. Many of these persons are old fellows who have difficulty in reading the state codes and even more difficulty in making out forms.

6. County Courts: Every county in Pennsylvania has a court house, the seat of justice of the political unit. Here are located general trial courts over which preside one or more judges, elected on a partisan ticket for a term of 10 years. They are rarely supervised by the state, yet their rulings are subject to reversal on appeal to the state supreme court. Therefore, they are not really a part of the state system, and their welfare and term in office is more dependent on pleasing the people rather than pleasing the state authority.[5]

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5. Cf. Lane V. Lancaster, Government in Rural America. VanNorstrand Co., N. Y. Ch. VIII.

The Constitution of Pennsylvania provides that all counties containing 40,000 inhabitants shall constitute separate judicial districts and that counties with less than this population may be formed into separate districts or attached to contiguous districts as the General Assembly may provide. There are 58 districts in 67 counties.

Technically speaking, all the judges of the district courts, except the judges of the special orphans' courts, are called judges of the court of common pleas. In other words, the same judges preside over the various courts established and try different cases under substantially different procedures and rules.

The number of courts and the complexity of court organization varies primarily with the population and size of the county. Sometimes these various kinds of courts are combined. The following types of courts gives a brief picture of the classes of cases to be handled.

(1) The court of common pleas is that in which disputes between parties are settled. It has power to hear and determine all pleas, actions and suits, and causes, civil, personal, real, and mixed, according to the Constitution and laws of the Commonwealth. (2) The court of quarter sessions of the peace has general jurisdiction to inquire of, hear, determine and punish all such crimes, offenses and misdemeanors whereof exclusive jurisdiction is not given to the court of oyer and terminer. The offenses given exclusively to the latter are those of major importance such as murder, manslaughter, treason, arson, and others in the same category. (3) The Court of oyer and terminer has exclusive jurisdiction over certain specified crimes of greater

magnitude and concurrent jurisdiction with the court of quarter sessions in all classes of crime except where the court of quarter sessions is given exclusive jurisdiction by statute. (4) The orphans' court has general jurisdiction over the probation of wills, the estates of decedents, the estates of minors, certain trust estates and adoption proceedings. In fifteen of the most populous counties there are separate orphans' courts with separate judges. (5) The juvenile court deals with cases concerning the treatment and control of dependent, neglected, incorrigible and delinquent children under the age of 16. This is a quarter sessions court.

The judge is but a part of the judicial machinery in Pennsylvania. A word should be said about the county or district prosecutor for he frequently is the most important part of the whole system of legal proceedings. He is an elected person who commonly acts also as an adviser in civil matters and handles such routine affairs as drafting legal papers of various sorts. He is the guardian of the public in all things related to law enforcement and is therefore bound to be a person of gemuine importance to society. One or more of those men are located in every county of the commonwealth.

h. Jails: The last agency of local government to be mentioned is the jail. Local jails are present in all community centers of any size. These are usually temporary conveniences used only until the person apprehended can be removed to another place.

The county jail is an agency of every county seat. Here, persons are kept for only a short time. They are either awaiting trial or are offenders serving short sentences. The turnover of the inmate population

is rapid, usually about 15 or times a year. Moreover, the number of prisoners in rural communities is small. So attempts at education and guidance are rarely made. The county jail is frequently under the control of the sheriff. To him the management of the jail is a business proposition. It is natural that the temptation to treat inmates inadequately in order to profit by it is often too strong to resist.

4. Financing Local Government

How do the people pay for the governmental services rendered them? How heavily are they assessed? Figure 148 gives some answer to this latter question.[6] It is apparent here that the people in western Pennsylvania are assessed far heavier taxes than those in the Allegheny Plateau, on a per capita basis. It is further seen that the people in eastern Pennsylvania, generally speaking, are levied a higher per capita tax than those in the Allegheny Mountains. Thus we find that Eastern and Western Pennsylvania have high per capita assessments while central Pennsylvania people have low tax levies. Tax assessment is highly related to the degree or urbanity; for the correlation between the index of rurality and this factor yields the figure -.79. The coefficient of correlation between the per capita tax levy and the index of plane of living for the total population was high, +.74.

How much does local government cost? Figure 149 gives some indication not only of the general cost of local government but the geographic

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6. Source: Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg.

COLOR PLATE

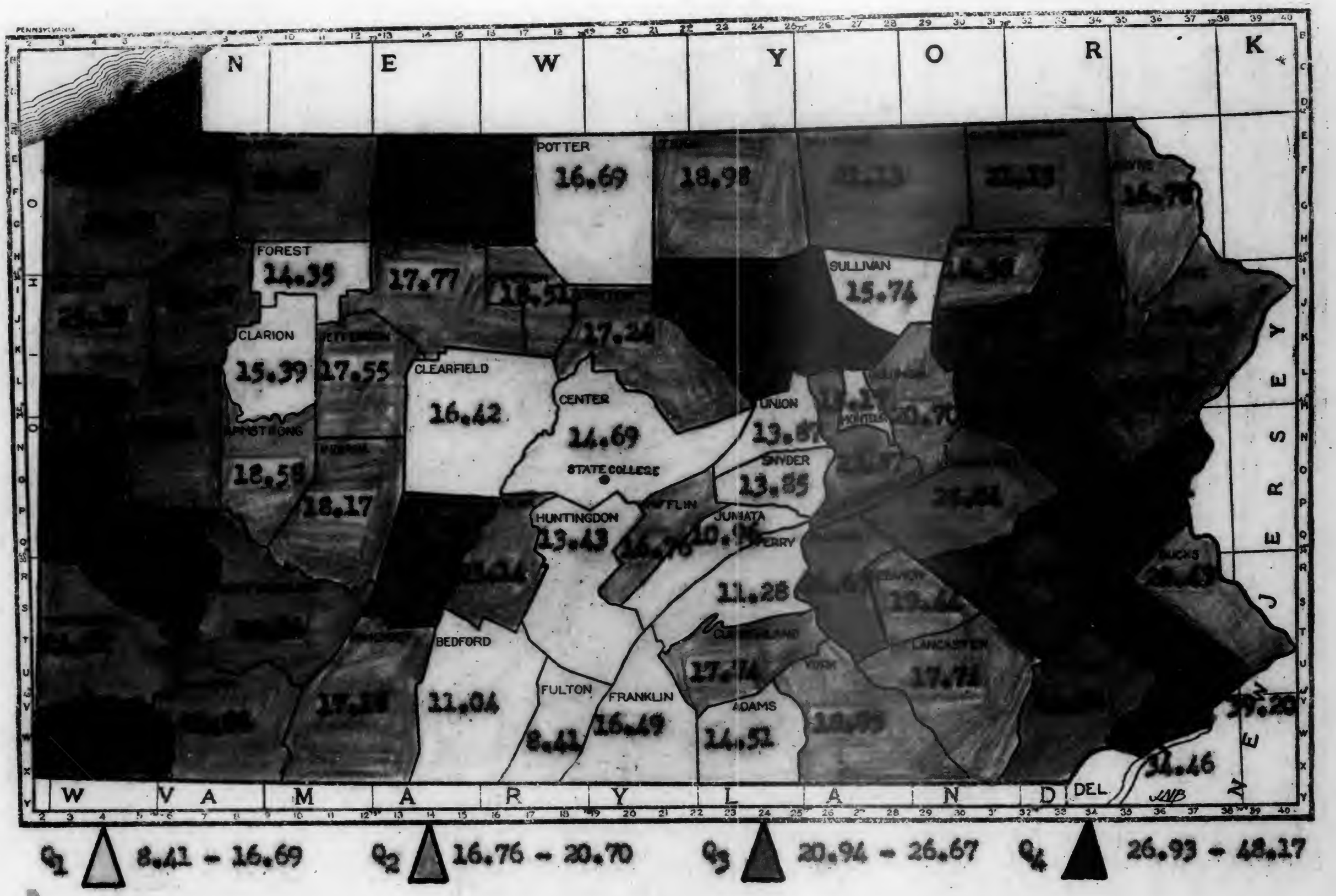

Figure 148. Local Taxes Levied per Capita in Pennsylvania by Counties, 1936.

COLOR PLATE

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

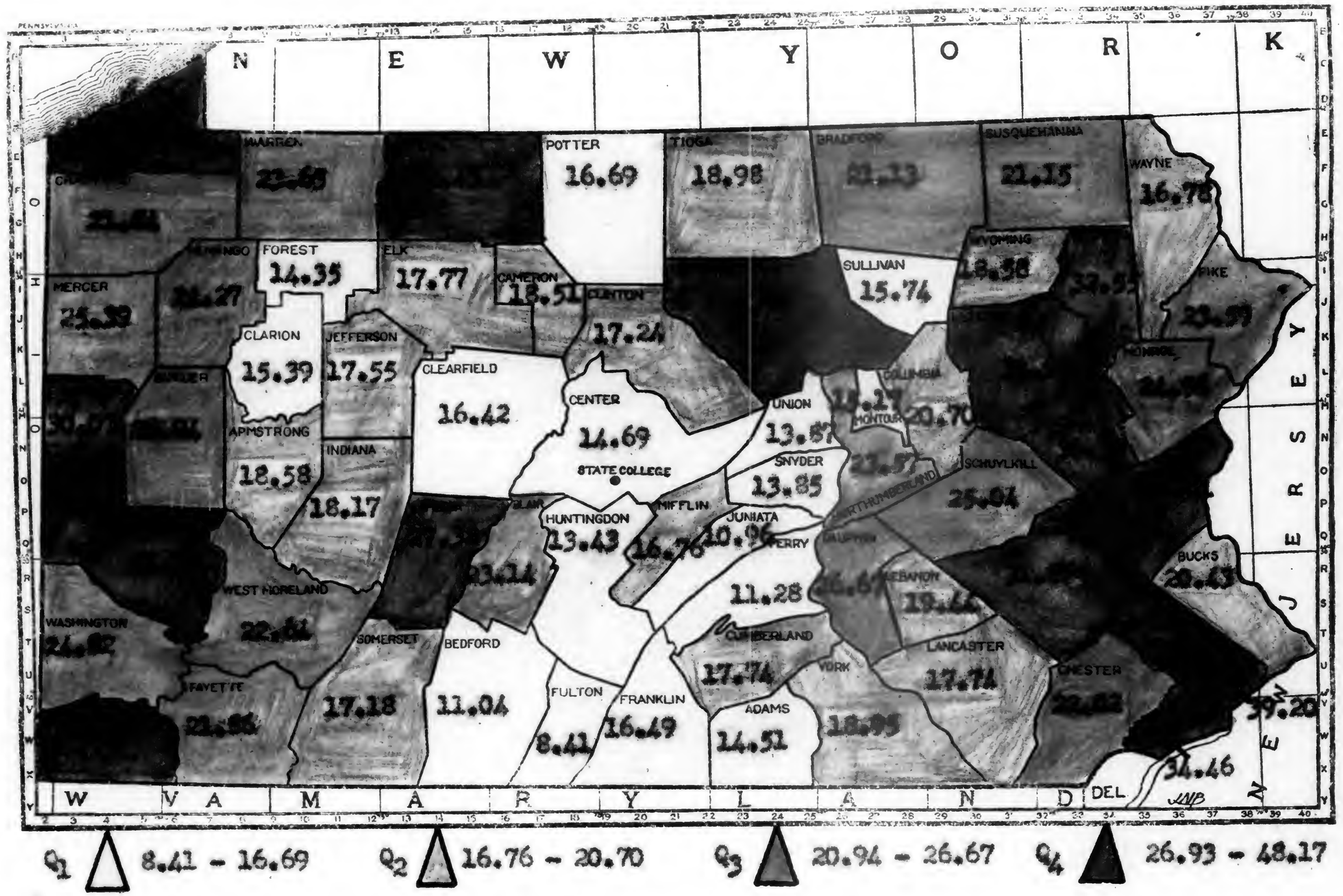

Figure 148. Local Taxes Levied per Capita in Pennsylvania by Counties, 1936.

COLOR PLATE

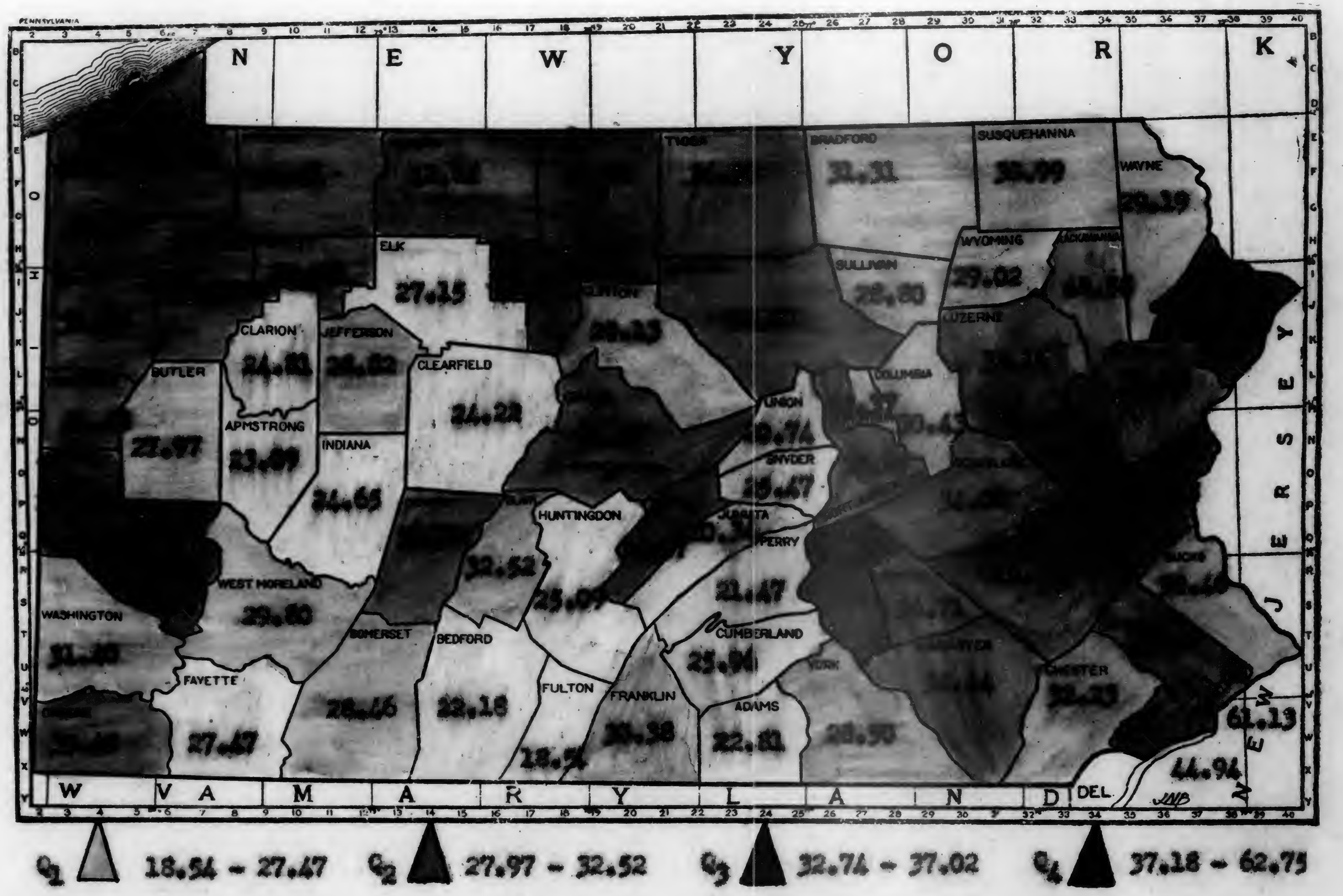

Figure 149. Per Capita Cost (dollars) of Local Government in Pennsylvania by Counties, 1937.

COLOR PLATE

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

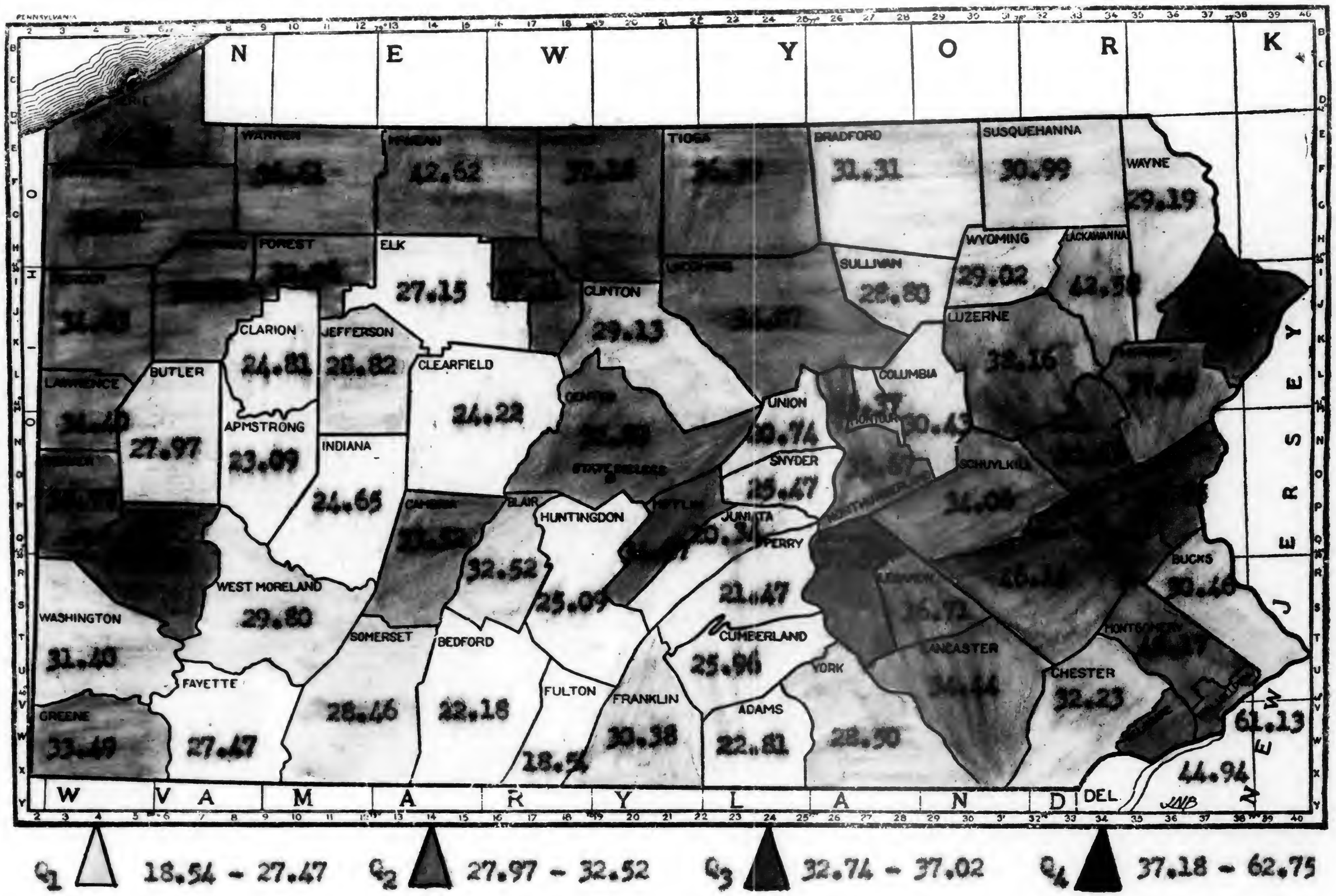

Figure 149. Per Capita Cost (dollars) of Local Government in Pennsylvania by Counties, 1937.

aspects of differential costs throughout the commonwealth.[7] It is seen, for example, that eastern Pennsylvania, especially in the Hard Coal Region and the industrial parts, and the Northwestern Dairy Region have relatively high per capita costs of local government. The average for the state was $44.48 in 1937, while the range within the state was from $62.75 in Allegheny County to $18.58 in Fulton County.[8] It is clear that the counties in the Allegheny Mountains and Plateau, while receiving limited incomes, are getting what they get in the way of local governmental service at a much less per capita cost than is obtainable elsewhere. Most of the money derived from local taxes are used for schools and for township roads. A glance back at the kind and quality of these services shows that the counties with low costs of this nature also have poor facilities for education and transportation.

Inasmuch as the cost of local government in 1937 was greater in most counties than the assessments in 1936 we have but two alternatives, either the costs and assessments of local government increased during those years or else indebtedness was being piled up during this period.

Going from the cost of local government to the per capita cost of county government, we see in Figure 150 something of a repetition of the situation.[9] Again, south central Pennsylvania has a relatively low

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7. Source: Dept. Internal Affairs, Harrisburg.
8. The seven classes of local taxes in the state amounted to 428 million dollars. Adding 223 millions to this for state taxes we find that the total 651 millions represented a total per capita cost of $67.60.
9. Source: Ibidem.

COLOR PLATE

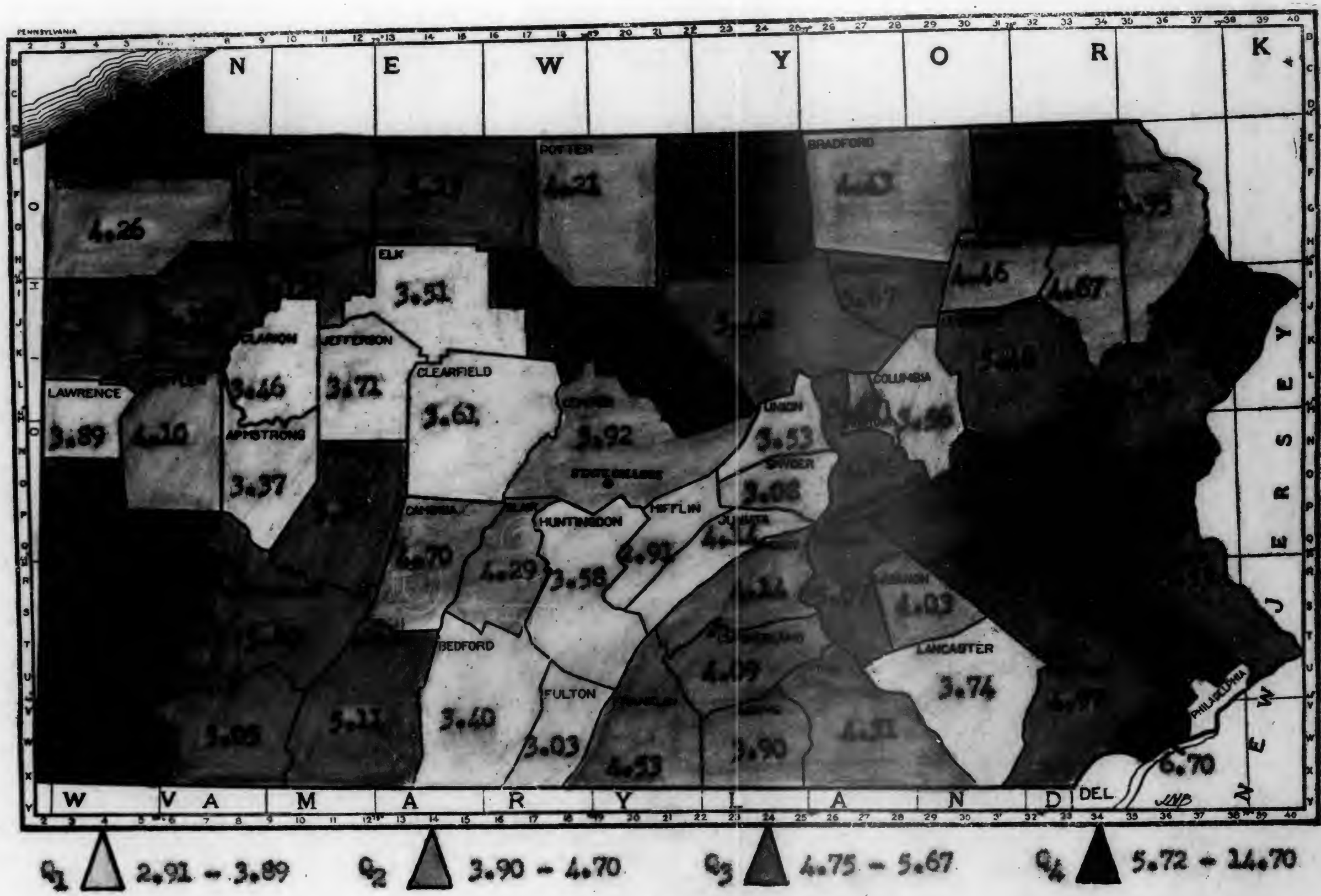

Figure 150. Per Capita Cost of County Government in Pennsylvania by Counties, 1937.

COLOR PLATE

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

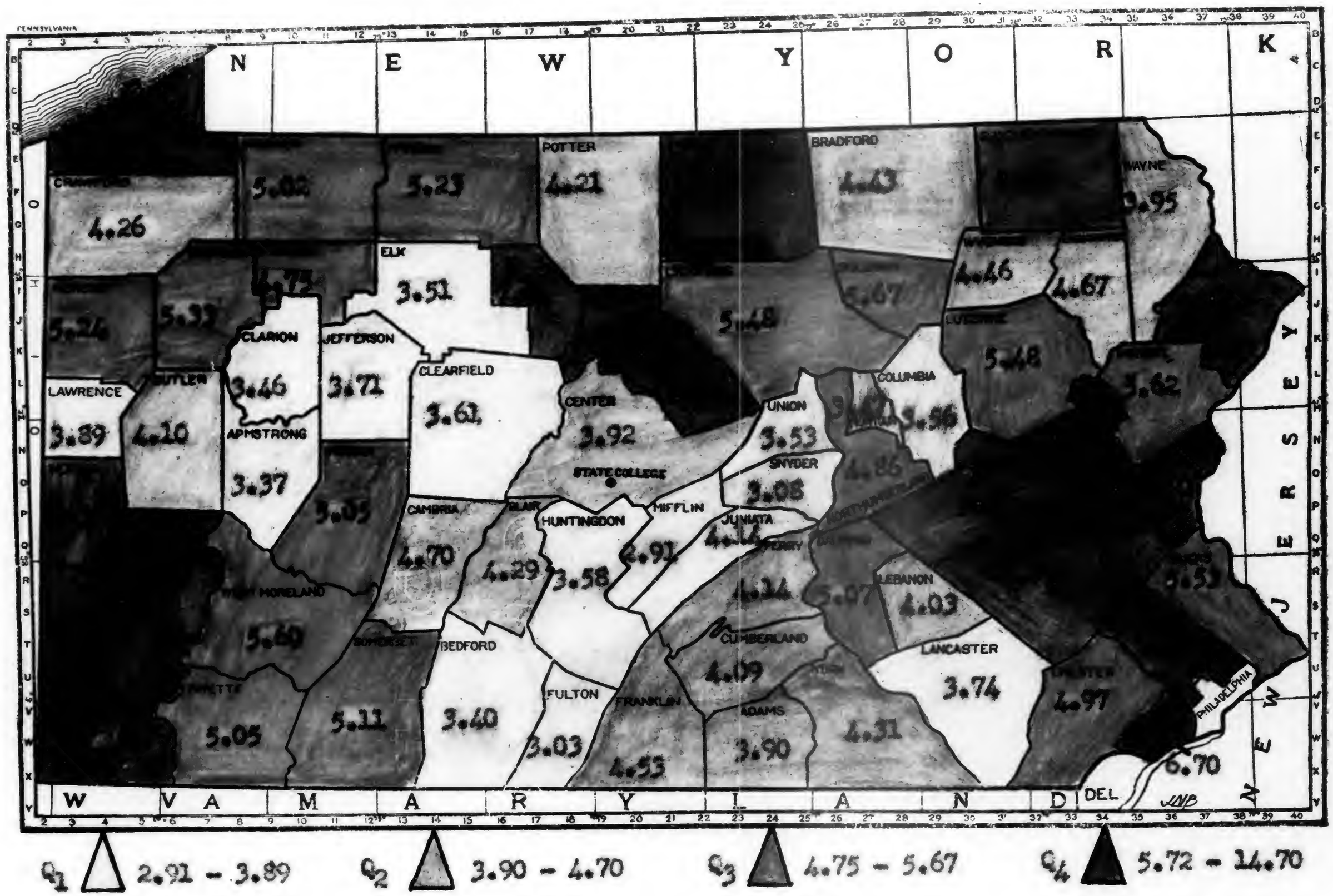

Figure 150. Per Capita Cost of County Government in Pennsylvania by Counties, 1937.

cost, while the cost of county government in the southwestern and the extreme southeastern parts of the state have increased considerably. The average cost per citizen, in the commonwealth, of county government was $5.51 in 1937. The range in this cost, however, averaged from $2.91 in Mifflin County to $14.70 in Allegheny County.

A look at these two maps throws a somewhat different light on the question of combining certain counties with a view to making these units of government larger and more efficient. As with the combining of school attendance areas, consolidations usually have the effect of increasing the cost. It is apparent here that the thinly populated counties with low resources in general have the lowest per capita cost of county government.

As would be expected, the amount of farm taxes levied per acre follows the valuation of farm property noted in Chapter IV. Thus we see in Figure 151. that the amount of farm taxes per acre in Pennsylvania is high in the two southeastern regions of the state and in the steel section of western Pennsylvania, while central and northern Pennsylvania has a relatively low rate.[10] The total per acre ranges from $14.58 in Philadelphia County to 42 cents in Fulton. In other words, the highest rate per acre is 35 times that of the lowest county. But whereas Philadelphia County farmers received an income of $92 an acre in 1938 Fulton County farmers received only $7. The average per acre tax for the state as a whole is $124.

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10. Source: U. S. Census, 1930.

COLOR PLATE

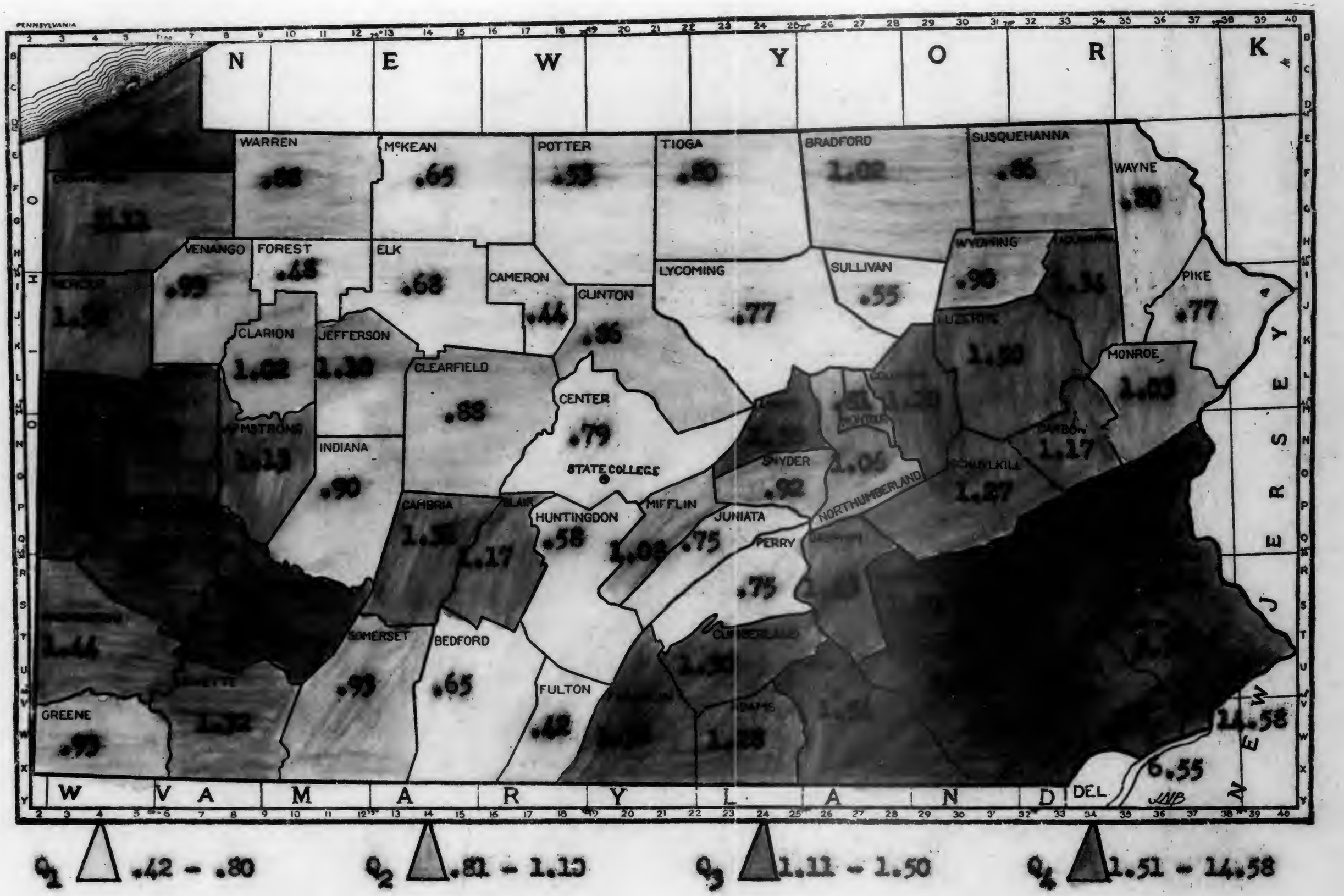

Figure 151. Amount of Farm Taxes (in Dollars) per Acre in Pennsylvania by Counties 1929.

COLOR PLATE
INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

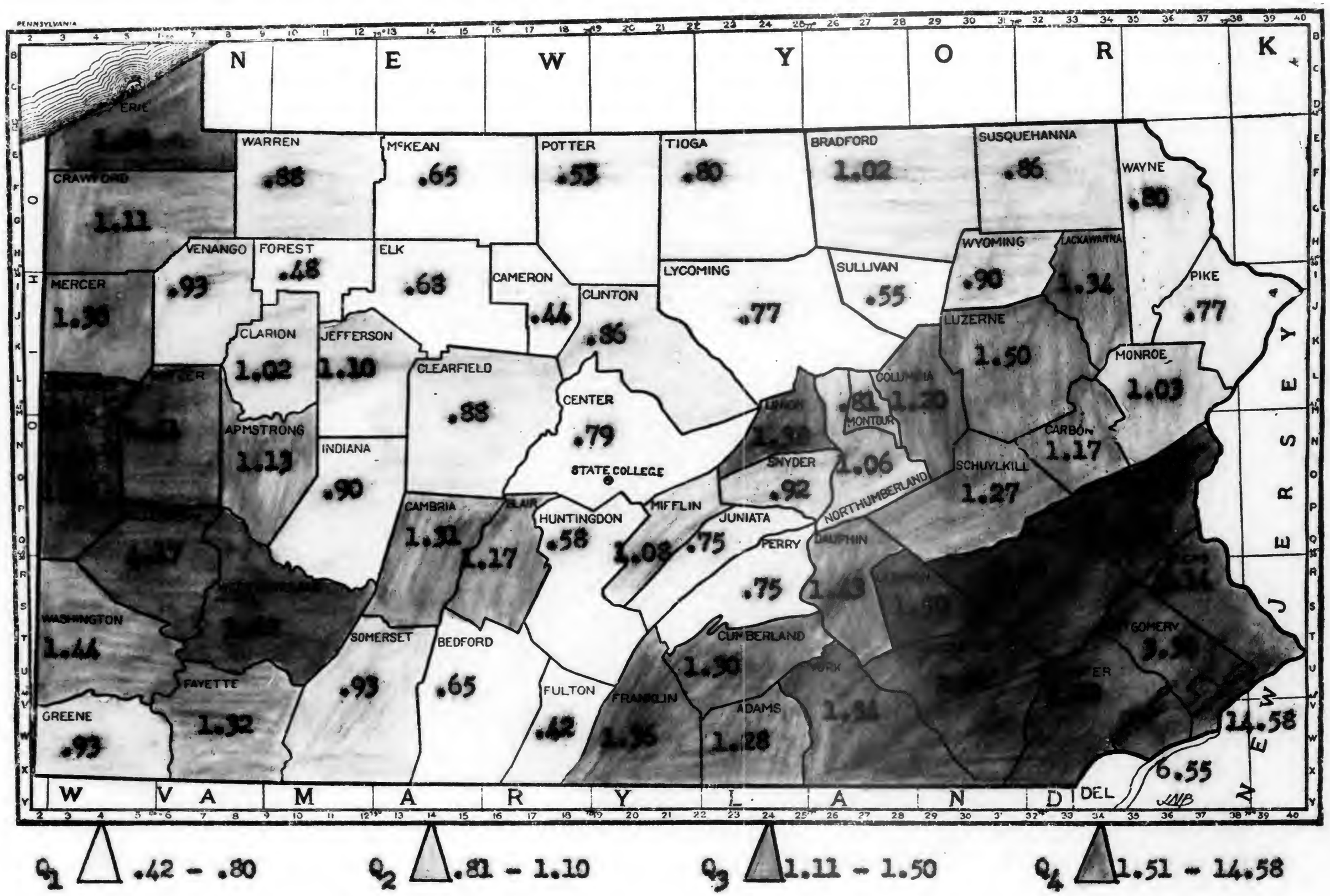

Figure 151. Amount of Farm Taxes (in Dollars) per Acre in Pennsylvania by Counties 1929.

The foregoing figure indicated the amount of farm taxes per acre. Figure 152 indicates the ratio between the farm taxes and farm valuation. It is therefore a better index of the burden of taxation. Although in previous maps the industrial territory appeared to pay a disproportionate amount of taxes, the present figure indicates that it is the more sparsely populated, low income counties that are assessed heaviest in terms of farm value. Thus, many of the Allegheny Mountain and the Allegheny Plateau counties appear in the first quarter. Likewise the Northwestern and Northeastern Dairy Regions are high, while the Oil section, Forest Region, and especially the Philadelphia Hinterland are low. The range in ratio is from 2.86 in Bradford County to 1.03 in Philadelphia County. The average for the state as a whole was 1.66.[11]

But can they collect? Figure 153 shows the distribution of tax delinquency.[12] Here the picture has changed from a vertical grouping of counties to a horizontal grouping. In general, the highest delinquency was to be found in the northern tier of counties, extending from Pike on the east to Mercer County on the west. In north central Pennsylvania, a group of 14 contingucus counties falls in the quarter of highest delinquency. One of these, Clearfield, had the highest rate with 52.26 per cent of the taxes levied in 1936 delinquent at the end of the year.

On the other hand, southern Pennsylvania, especially southeastern Pennsylvania seemed able to pay the increased amount of taxes per capita which were levied. Such industrial counties as Allegheny which, as we

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11. Source: Ibidem.
12. Source: State Department of Internal Affairs.

COLOR PLATE

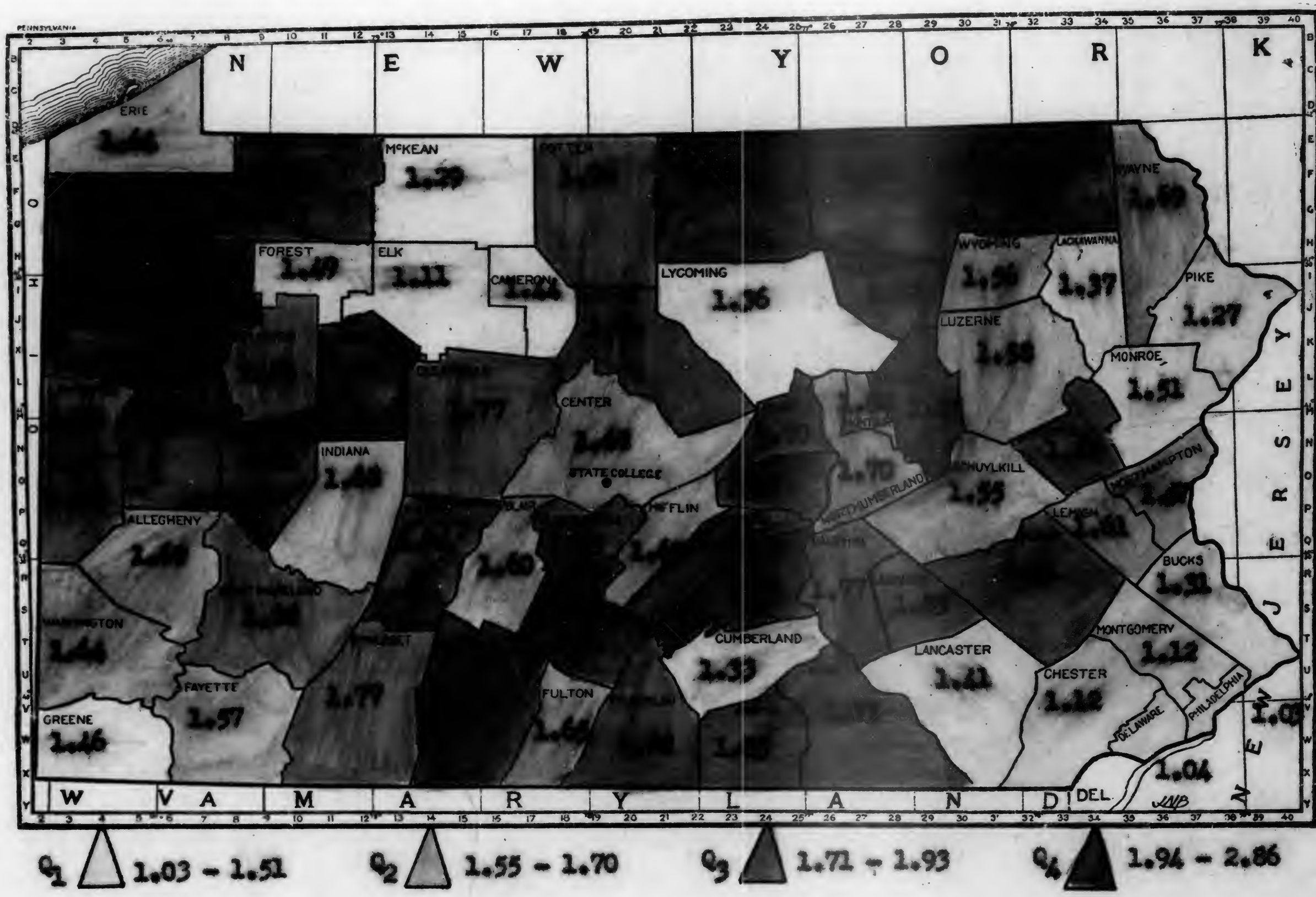

Figure 152. Ratio of Farm Taxes to Farm Value in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1929.

COLOR PLATE

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

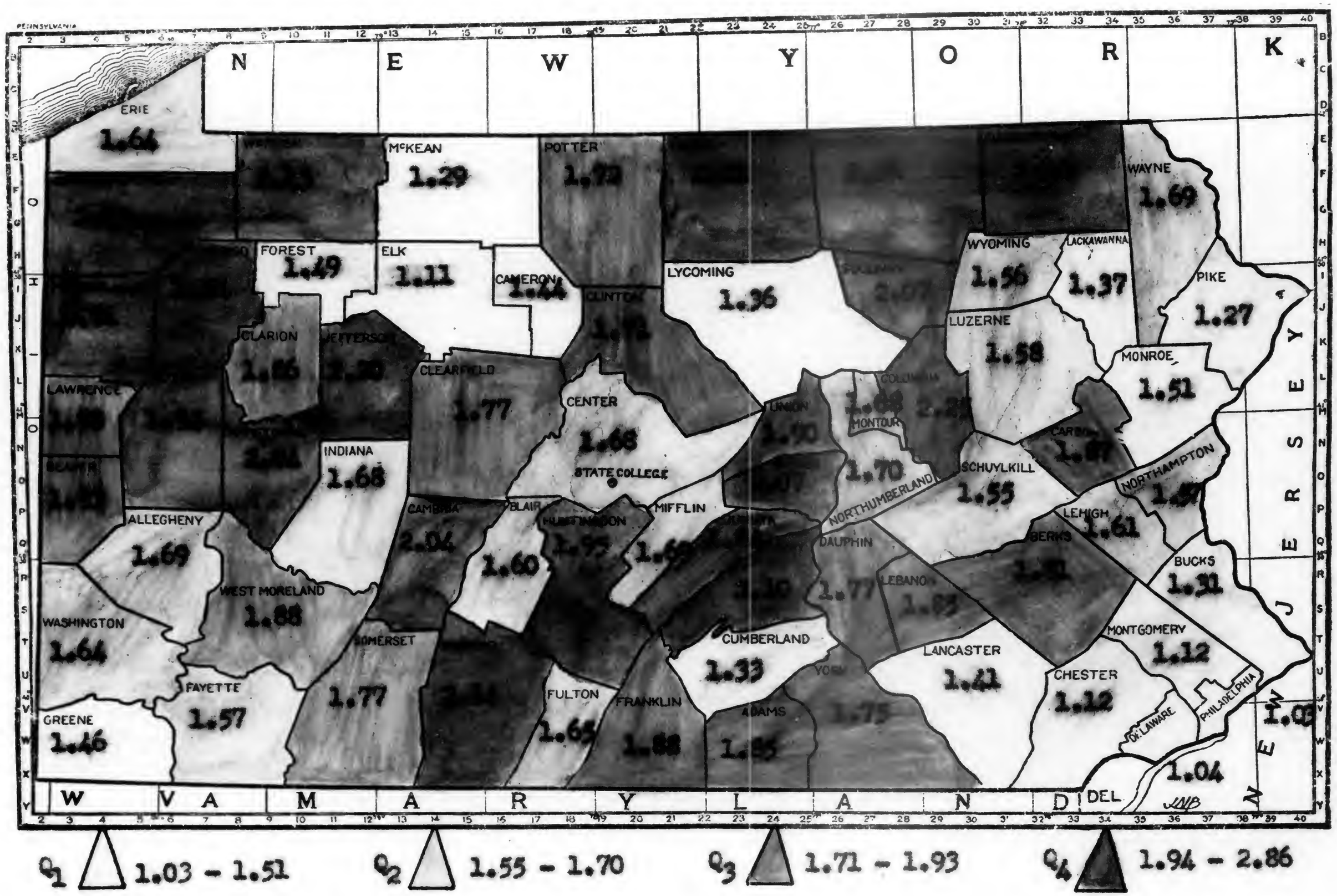

Figure 152. Ratio of Farm Taxes to Farm Value in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1929.

have seen above, had levied a tax of nearly $50 per capita had very little outstanding at the end of the year. There appears to be an inverse correlation between the amount of the assessment and the per cent of tax delinquency. Further, it is seen that tax delinquency is proportionately more prevalent in the rural counties. The correlation of this factor with the index of rurality shows a relationship of +.19. Tax delinquency is inversely correlated with plane of living; for here the coefficient is -.30.

The total amount of cumulative unpaid local taxes for the entire State is unknown. There is no place in the State where such information has been gathered and compiled. The Department of Internal Affairs, which has the authority to collect any data concerning local taxation which it considers useful, is only now attempting to ascertain the total amount of outstanding taxes.

Not only is there a total lack of information on this subject for the State as a whole, but there is no one place where such information can be found for any county. To obtain those data it is necessary to search through the past records of every school district, poor district, city borough, and township in the county and, in addition, examine the files in the county commissioner's office to ascertain the amount of delinquent county taxes. If the information is desired for a single city, it is necessary to consult the records of: 1. the city treasurer's office for delinquent city taxes; 2. the school board for delinquent school taxes; 3. the county commissioner's office for delinquent county taxes for the city; and 4. if the city has a separate poor district its records must also be examined.[13]

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13. Nicholson, Blake, E. Special Bulletin 1, Collection of Local Taxes in Pennsylvania. Department of Revenue. 1932. p. 118.

COLOR PLATE

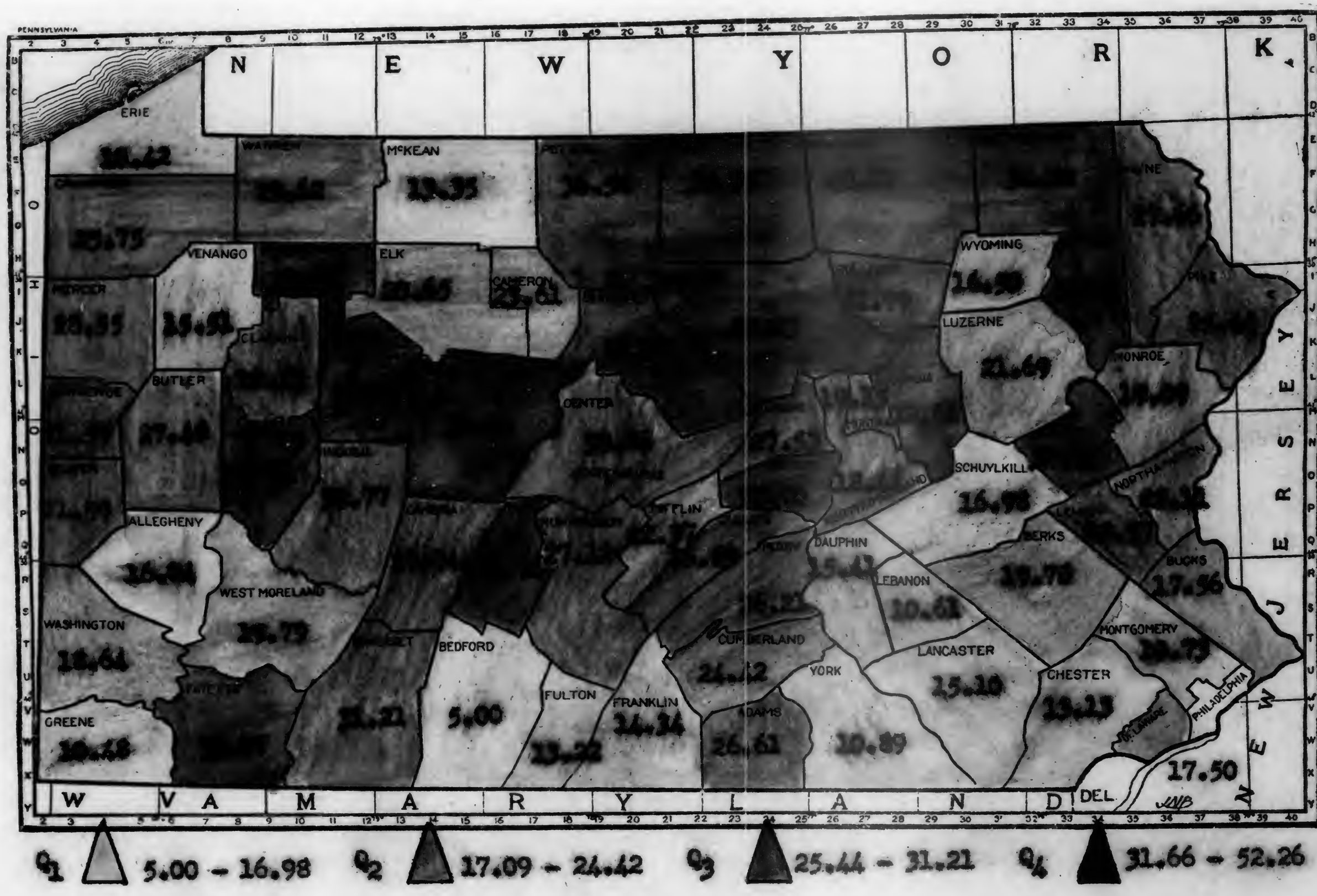

Figure 153. Per cent of Taxes Levied in 1936 delinquent in Penna. by Counties On January 1, 1937

COLOR PLATE

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

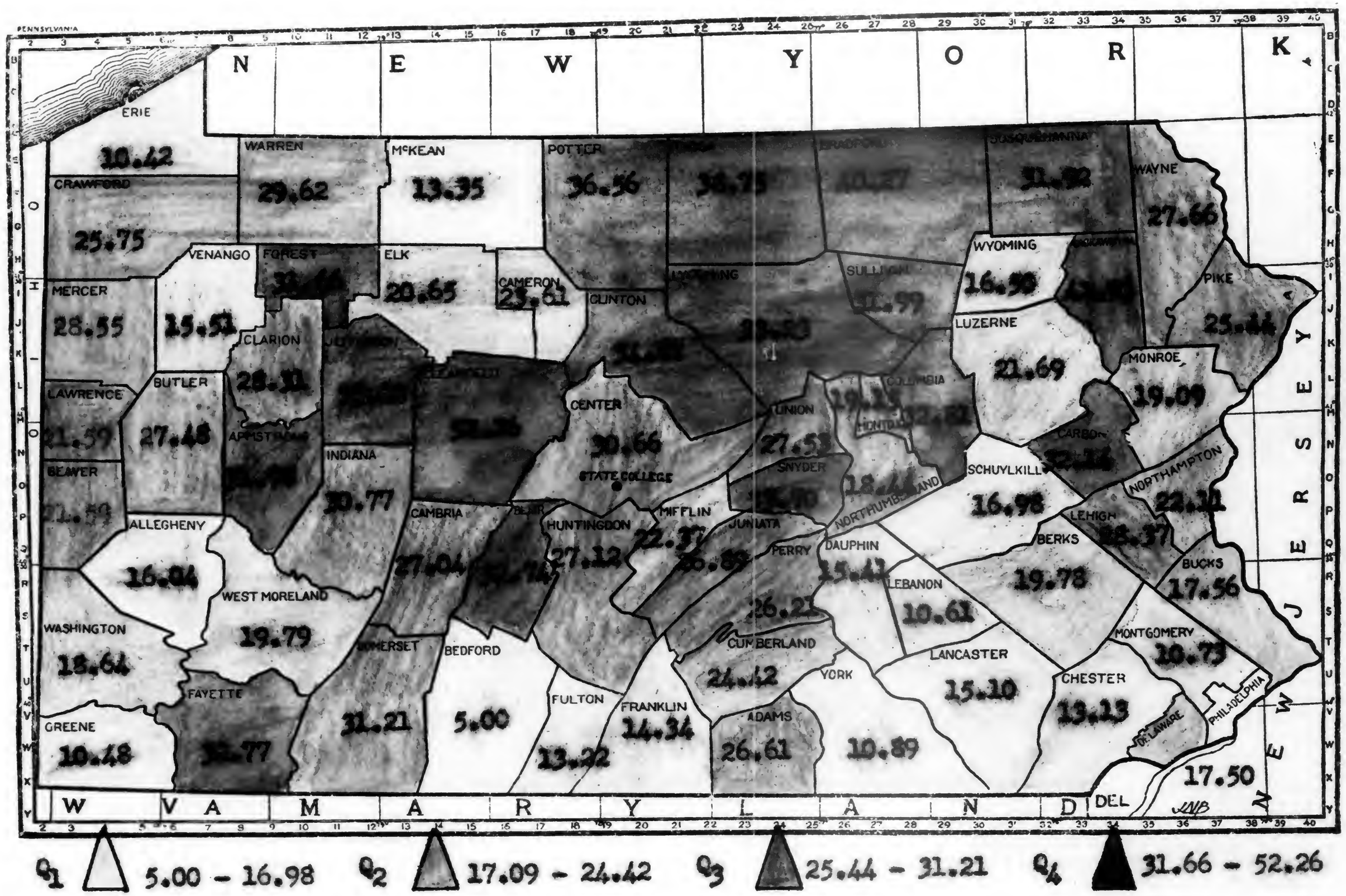

Figure 153. Per cent of Taxes Levied in 1936 delinquent in Penna. by Counties On January 1, 1937

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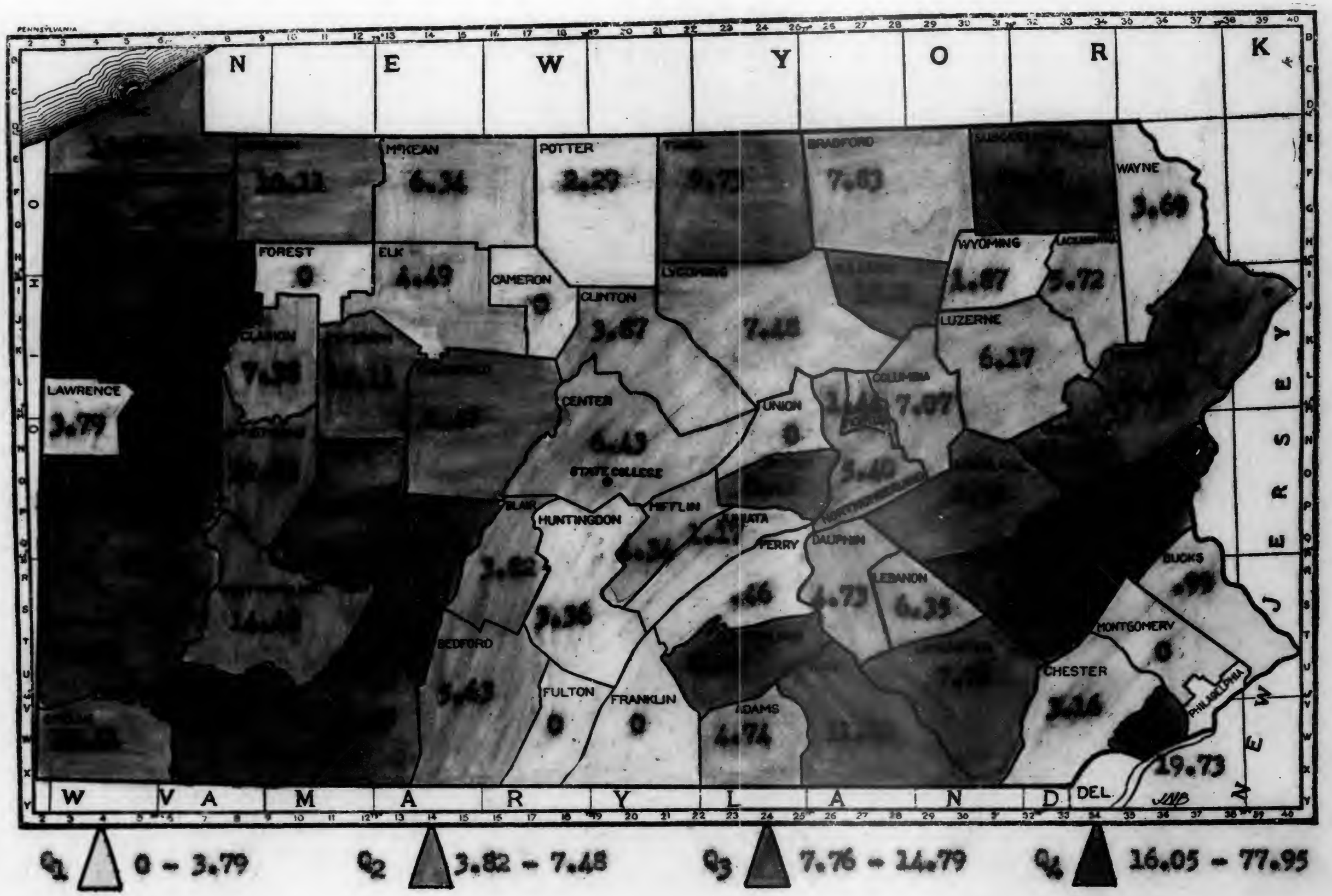

Figure 154. Local Bonded Indebtedness (dollars) per Capita in Penna. by Counties, Jan. 1, 1939.

COLOR PLATE

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

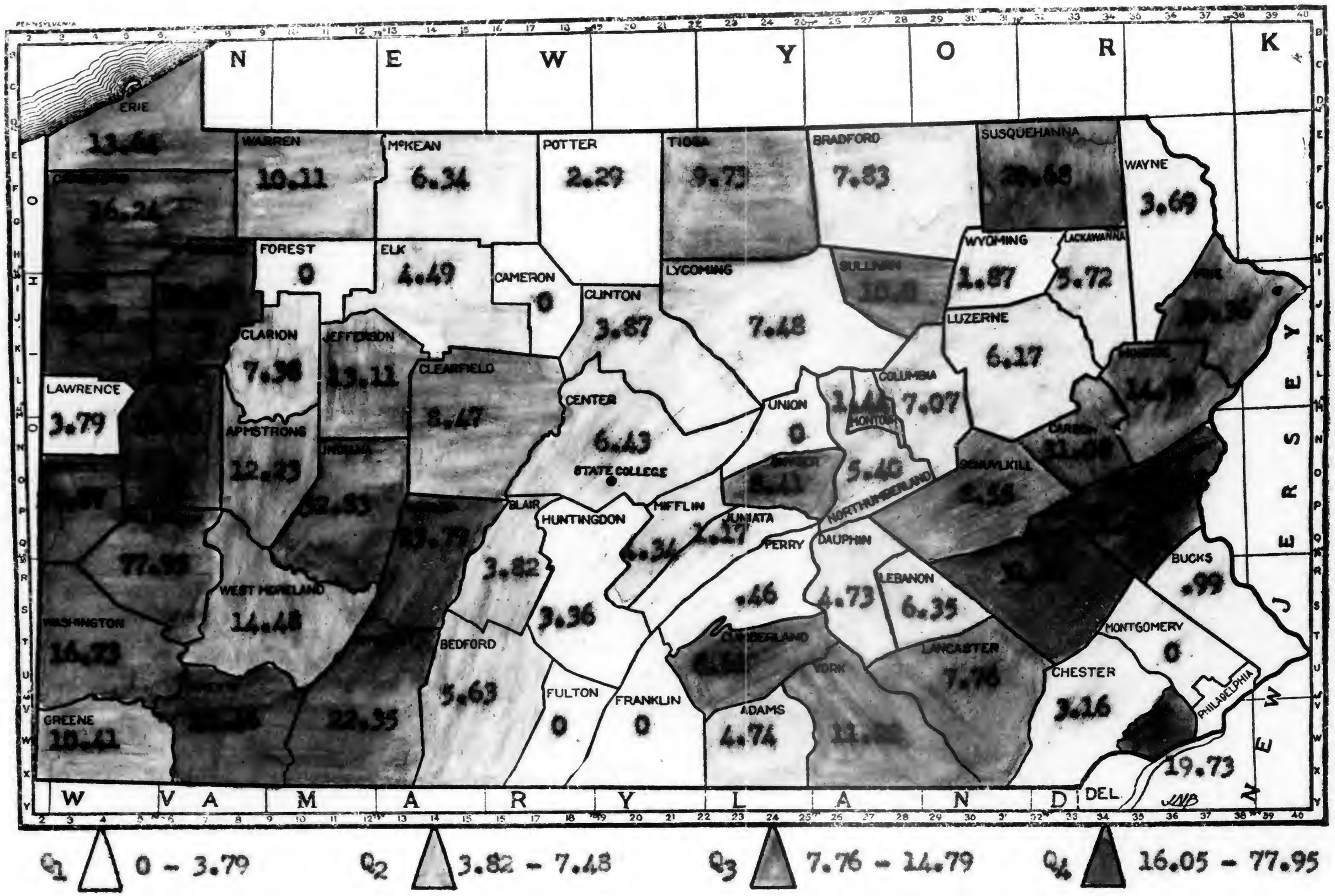

Figure 154. Local Bonded Indebtedness (dollars) per Capita in Penna. by Counties, Jan. 1, 1939.

Inquiry made of the proper authorities in many of the largest taxing districts[14] in the State revealed the fact that many of them do not know, with any degree of accuracy, the total amount of unpaid taxes in their respective districts.

Figure 154 shows the distribution of the local bonded indebtedness per capita in 1939.[15] The average for the entire state is $19.74. The range was from $77.95 in Allegheny County to zero in six counties of the commonwealth. These counties are Cameron, Forest, Franklin, Fulton, Montgomery and Union.

The greatest concentration of indebtedness is to be found in western Pennsylvania, running across the entire end of the state. The second area of heaviest indebtedness is in the Pennsylvania German belt across southeastern Pennsylvania. It will be noted that the suburban Philadelphia Counties and central Pennsylvania from north to south clear across the state have relatively light indebtedness. Thus the relation between the plane of living for the total population and the bonded debt is +.26, while the coefficient of correlation between bonded debt and rurality is -.32. In other words urban counties are the most in debt.

This picture has changed considerably even since 1936. Data are also available for that year. A comparison of the figures for the two years shows an intensification of the indebtedness in southwestern Pennsylvania and an alliviation of bonded indebtedness in southeastern Pennsylvania, especially in the suburban counties. The situation in

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14. This statement does not cover the Cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh.

15. Pennsylvania Department of Internal Revenue.

central Pennsylvania has remained very much the same during this three-year interval.

In talking with county leaders, it is clear that these persons are not overly concerned about county or local indebtedness. They say "But look what we have for our money. We have sewers, streets, schools, and parks. We are living better than the people in some other counties. It isn't money wasted. It is money used."

From this and other maps, it is apparent that many of the counties which are apparently in a precarious economic position, as far as income and standard of living are concerned, none the less keep the cost of government services, welfare and relief down. They had a low bonded indebtedness, low tax, and low tax delinquency. Fulton County, for example, has the lowest standard of living in the state, has the lowest income both in agriculture and other pursuits, yet it has the lowest tax rate, lowest bonded indebtedness, lowest cost of government and relief, and lowest tax delinquency. The answer, primarily, is subsistence and part-time farming. The people appear content to cut a narrow swath, living within their income, and make the most of their limited resources. How well they live is, of course, another matter.

Thus it appears that the regions in central Pennsylvania have fewer costs of government and fewer facilities of government than the wealthier parts of the state. Further these central regions are less able to pay for their poor services than the other regions are for their good services. The only redeeming feature of government in the Allegheny Mountains and Plateau Regions is low bonded indebtedness. The children of present inhabitants will not have as heavy local public debts to pay as the children elsewhere.

Chapter XI

RELIGIOUS AGENCIES

1. Churches

The church as here defined means a local body or congregation of worshipers. A church is therefore one unit of the whole of organized Christianity.

Pennsylvania is a religious state - more so than most. The reasons for this are to be found in the historical and nationality backgrounds of the population; for on the one hand we find a high proportion of Catholics in the non-farm population and on the other we find the religious Pennsylvania Germans, English, and ScotchPresbyterians on the farms.

Unfortunately the data from the last United States Census of Religious Bodies will not be available until about May 18 - too late to include in the present thesis. Therefore the writer has had to resort to 1926 census data which makes the material in this first section of the chapter not strictly comparable to the more recent information obtained for other agencies such as schools, clubs, and lodges.

In 1926 there were 13,843 churches in Pennsylvania having a total membership of 5,213,023, or 377 members per church. There were 6,191 urban churches (more than any other state) with 4,059,006 members, or an average of 656 persons per church. This is to be contrasted with 151 members per rural church. There were 7,652 of these rural churches embracing 1,154,017 members. In other words, urban churches in the state are more than four times as large as rural congregations. This fact, in itself indicates the comparative difficulty which rural churches are bound

to have in securing and paying qualified pastors, developing a diversified and helpful program, and maintaining the church plant. This is not only a matter of lesser numbers; it is also a matter of the farmer and villager being in a less favorable economic position to support such institutions. The average size of rural and urban churches for the United States was 115 and 546. Thus Pennsylvania's churches were 24 and 17 per cent larger than the rural and urban averages for the country.[1]

The ratio of males to females in Pennsylvania's churches was 84 to 100. This is higher than in protestant states. So also is the membership of children higher in Pennsylvania than in the United States as a whole. A fifth of all memberships were children from 1 to 12 years of age. Child members were relatively more frequent in the cities (21.6 per cent from 1 to 12 years) than in rural churches (16.9 per cent from 1 to 12).

The average value of urban churches was $66,671, of rural churches $12,234, or only one-fifth as much. Thus the ratio between church membership and the value of the edifice is about the same in rural and urban areas. Further, whereas the average annual expense for urban churches was $11,772, the expenditure per rural church was $2,468.

In all 54 per cent of Pennsylvania's population belonged to church. The county analyses (Figure 155) reveals a range of 25 per cent church members in Forest County to 72 per cent in Carbon County. Lumbering and conservation is strong in Forest County while Carbon County is largely composed of Catholic miners and Pennsylvania Dutch farmers - both highly

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1. Source: Census of Religious Bodies, 1926.

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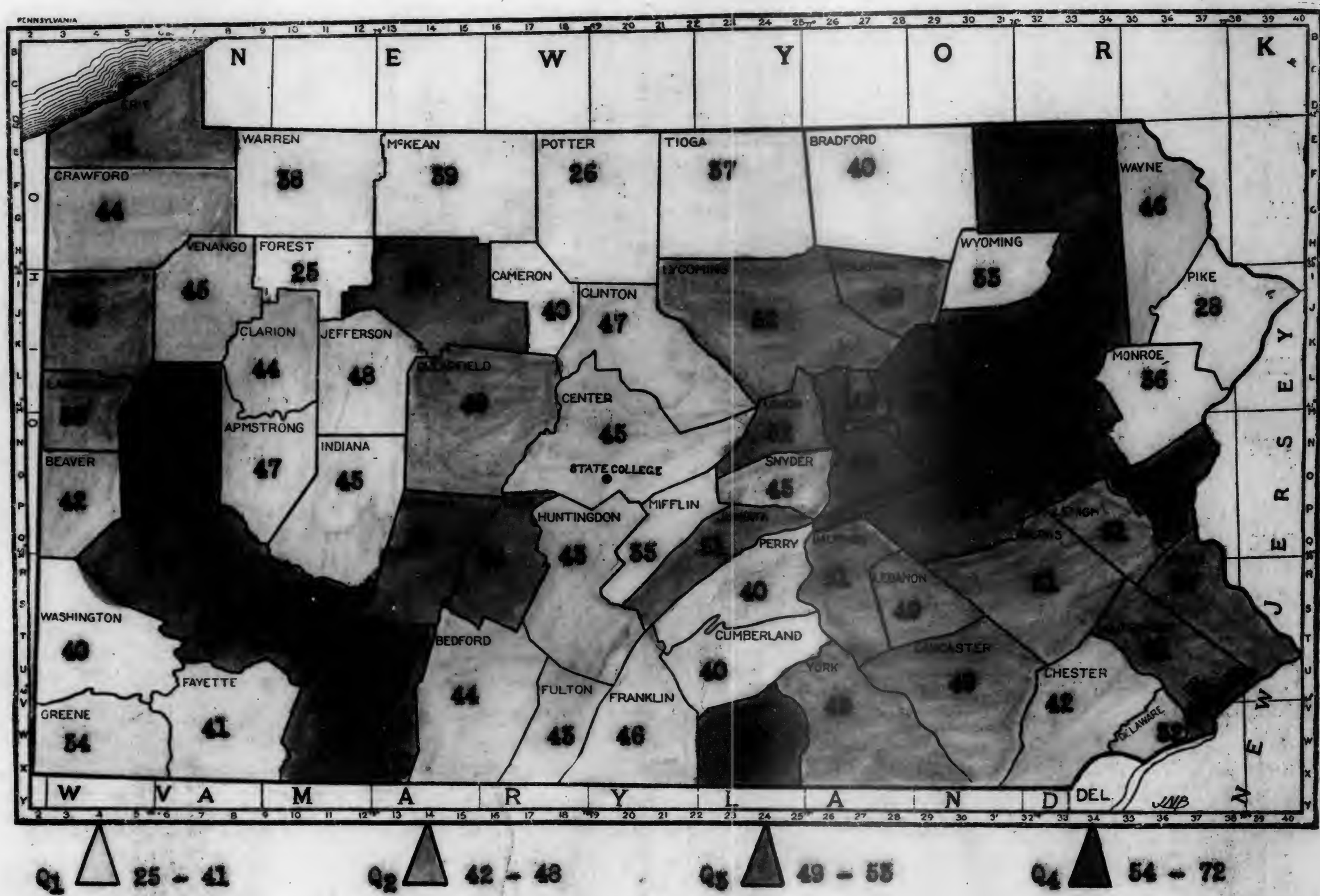

Figure 155. Per cent of Church Members in the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1926.

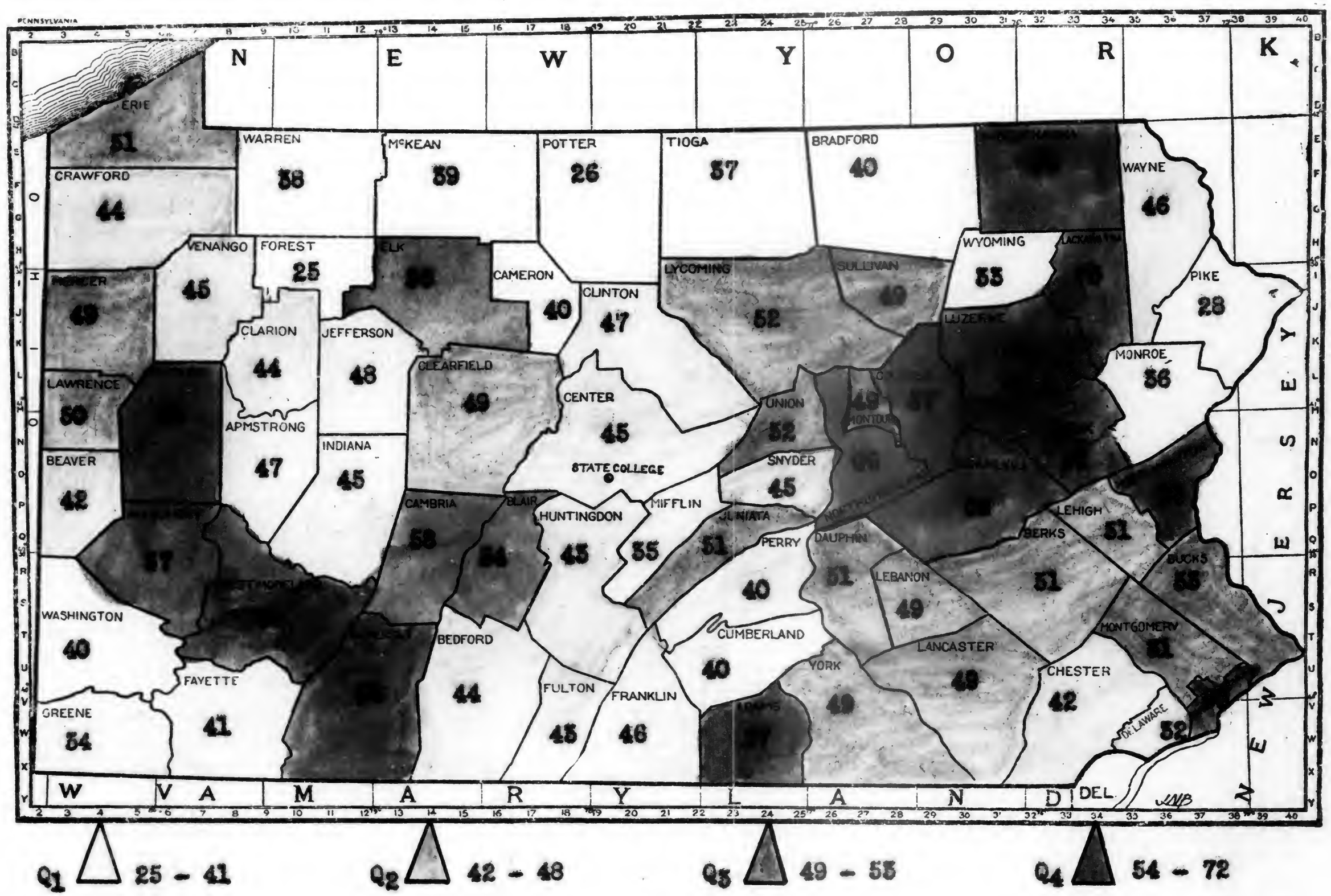

Figure 155. Per cent of Church Members in the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1926.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

religious groups. The areas of highest membership were the hard coal, soft coal, and industrial sections. Elk County, which is surrounded by counties of low religiosity, is in the highest quarter because of the presence of settlements of German Catholics, both farmers and industrial workers. St. Marys is the center of this settlement.

The Pennsylvania German counties of the southeast were in the next highest quarter rankings, while the Allegheny Plateau fell largely in the second quarter. The areas having least church members were the northern tier, the resort counties in the northeast, and the extreme south western part of the state.

The most important denominations in Pennsylvania are: (a) Methodist Episcopal, 2,167 churches; (b) Roman Catholic, 1,730 churches; and (c) United Lutheran, 1,443 churches. But on the basis of members the order is changed (a) Roman Catholic, 2,124,382 members or 40.8 per cent of the total church membership in the state; (b) United Lutheran, 551,202 members or 10.6 per cent; and (c) Methodist Episcopal with 452,145 members or 8.7 per cent of the total. There were but 293 Jewish congregations in the state, but their average memberships were the largest of any denomination, 1343 persons. Their total membership of 393,517 was 7.5 per cent of the total church membership.

Figure 156 shows the percentage distribution of the two and one-half million protestant members in Pennsylvania.[2] It is notable that all counties in the highest quarter ranking were in a contiguous block

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2. Ibidem.

COLOR PLATE

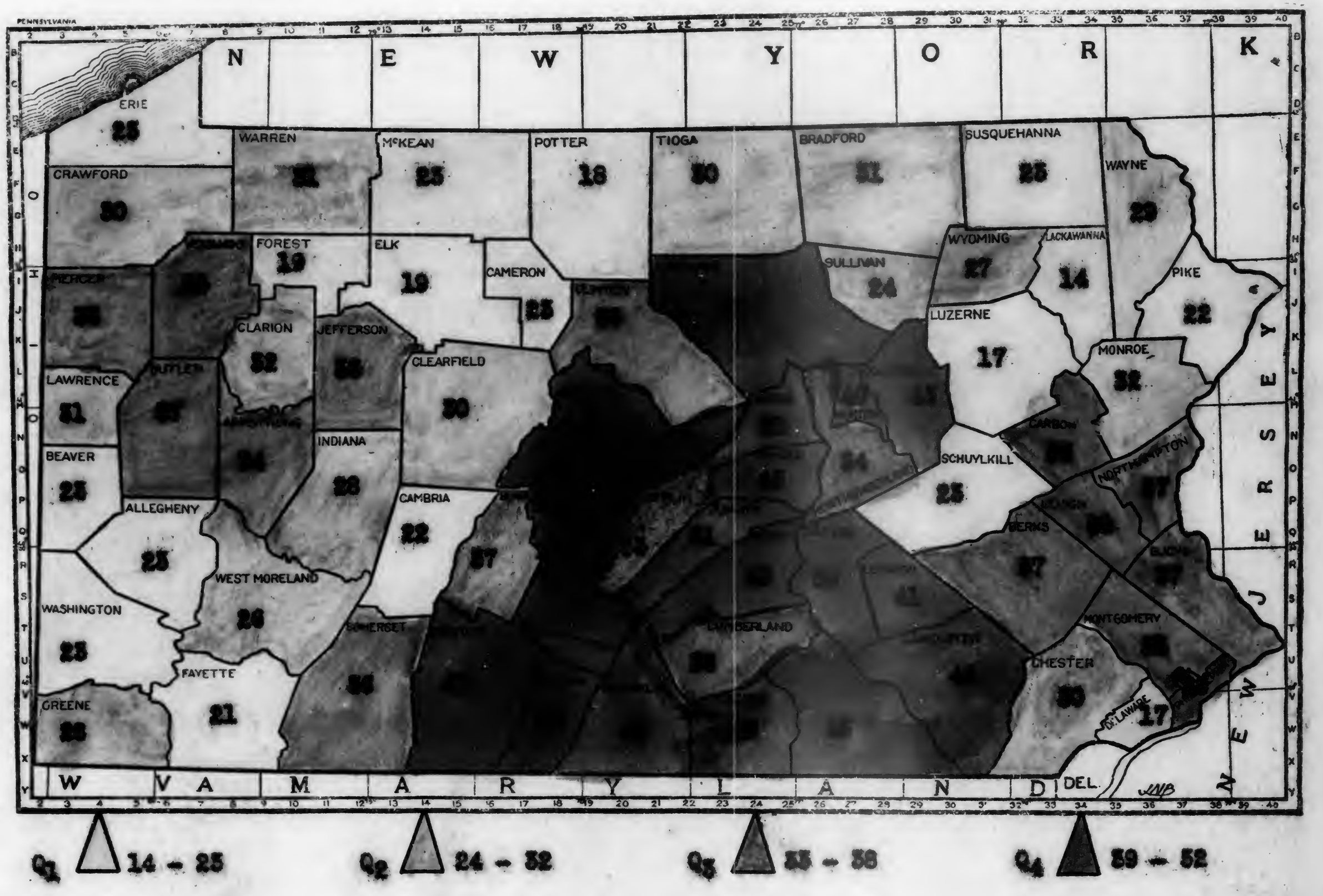

Figure 156. Per Cent Protestant Church Membership in the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1926.

Figure 156. Per Cent Protestant Church Membership in the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1926.

COLOR PLATE
INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

in south central Pennsylvania. The northwest and southeast agricultural counties were next in order, while the lowest group of counties were in the hard coal section, the steel section, the forestry area in the upper Alleghany Plateau. The range was from 14 per cent protestants in Catholic Lackawanna County to 52 per cent in Pennsylvania German Union County. This map is pretty much the reverse of the figure showing the percentage of foreign born. It is also a reversal of the following map which shows the percent of Catholics and Jews in the population by counties.

Figure 157 reveals the highest proportion of Catholics and Jews to be in the coal counties.[3] The next fourth of the counties, in red, is made up of industrial counties, while the next quarter is made up of upper Alleghany Plateau counties. The lowest quarter of counties are in the hill-and-valley counties of the Alleghenies. Here were found five counties with no Jews or Catholics. As indicated previously this map is dominated by the Catholic population of foreign stock. Jews, outside the Metropolitan centers are too few in number to affect the map greatly. The range was from 0 to 56 per cent in Lackawanna County. The present map corresponds highly with the figure in Chapter III showing foreign born population.

The Sunday School, as an auxiliary organization in connection with the church deserves special mention. At the last church census there were 2,092,351 persons registered in 11,509 churches. This was 40 per cent of the entire church membership, and it does not include the parochial or week day schools that are maintained by a number of bodies, particularly the Roman Catholic Church, Jewish Congregations, and certain Lutheran bodies.

3. Ibidem

COLOR PLATE

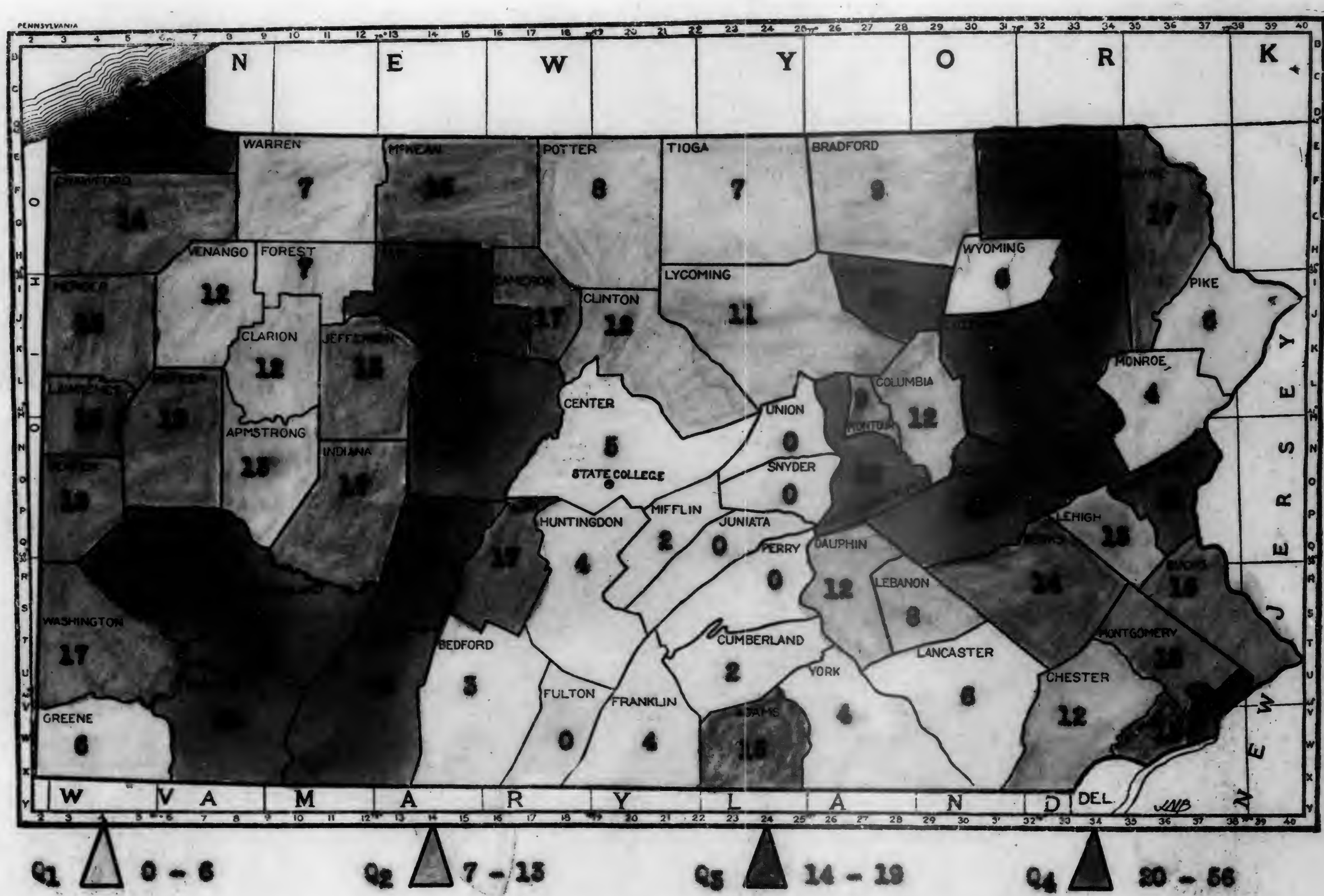

Figure 157. Per Cent Catholics and Jews in the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1926.

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INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

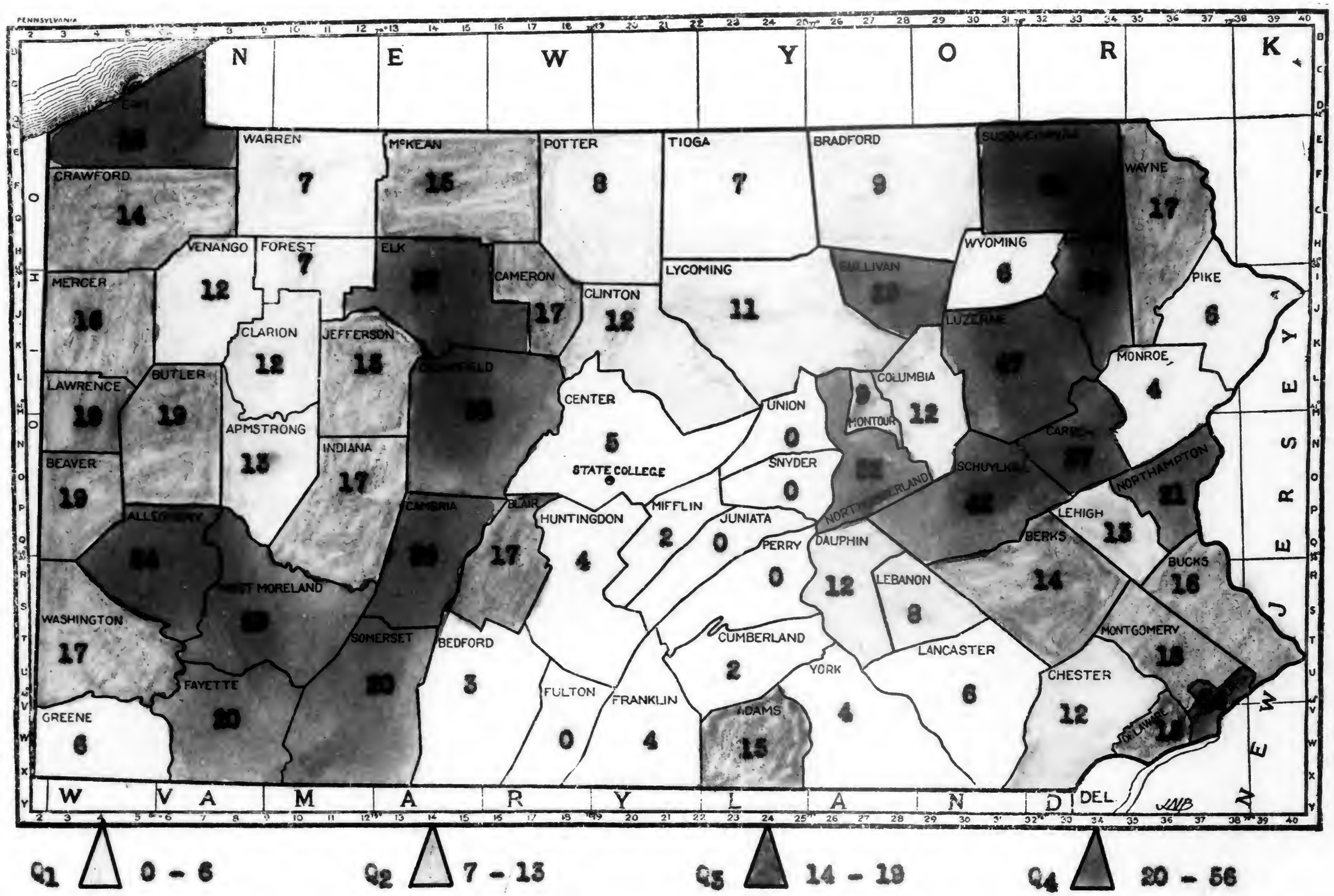

Figure 157. Per Cent Catholics and Jews in the Total Population of Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1926.

The Sunday School besides its ethical and religious educational value is the outstanding agency in the commonwealth for training volunteer leadership; for 196,685 offices and teachers are recorded as having accepted such responsibilities.

The Sunday School is a stronger organization in rural territory than in urban. In 1926 there were 763,092 members in 6,564 rural Sunday Schools with an average of 116 scholars each. In urban churches there were 1,329,259 scholars in 4,945 Sunday Schools. In other words, in relation to church members the index of rural Sunday School scholars was 61 while it was but 33 for urban churches.[4] The rural Sunday School is more than twice as strong as the urban. This again reflects Catholic and Jewish religious custom as suggested above. Furthermore, relatively more rural churchgoers have responsibilities as teachers and officers than their city brethren.

Figure 158 shows the location of Baptist churches in Pennsylvania in 1939.[5] The distribution seen is unusual, as is the case with so many of the denominations in the state. Here we see four important clusters of churches, each in a corner of the state. The southeast concentration is in the Philadelphia Hinterland. The Northeast concentration corresponds with the Northeast Dairy Region. The Northwest Dairy Region is not fully covered by Baptist churches but the Pittsburgh coal and steel area shows a fairly heavy sprinkling. The 300 mile

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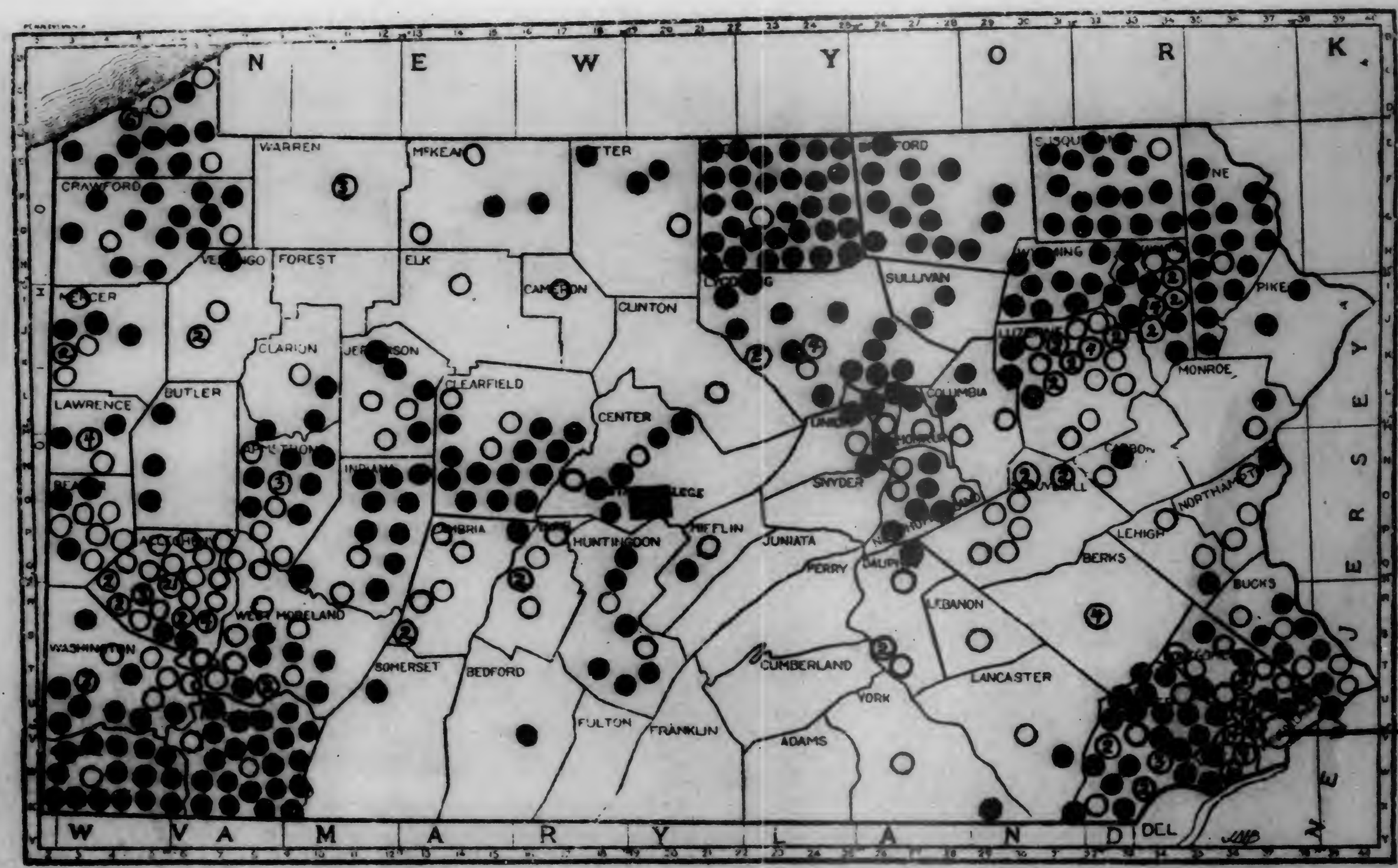
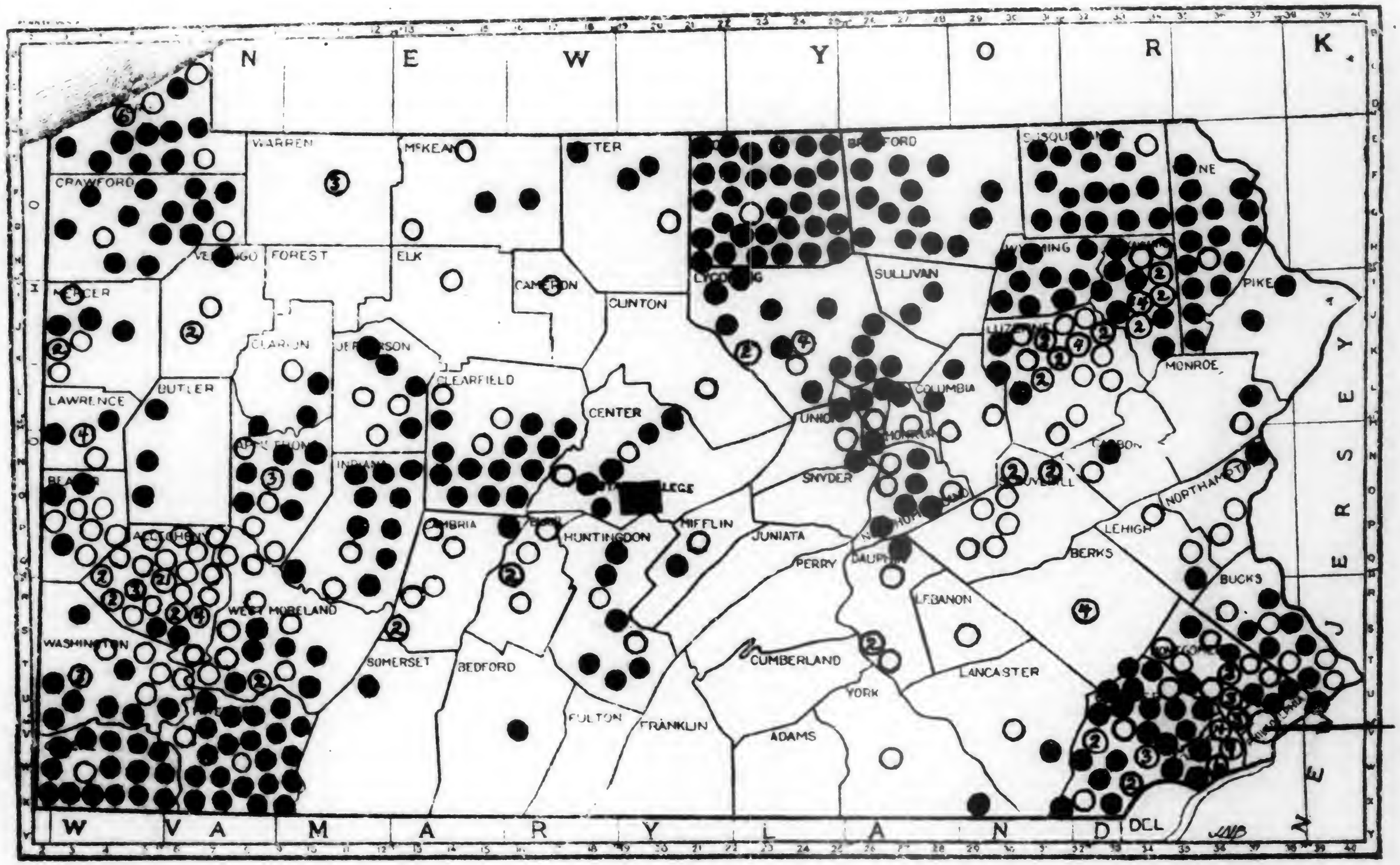
4. Ibidem.
5. Source: Pennsylvania Baptist Association, Philadelphia



● Rural ○ Urban

Figure 158. - Location of Baptist Churches in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



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● Rural ○ Urban

Figure 158. - Location of Baptist Churches in Pennsylvania, 1939

stretch from Pike County on the east to Somerset County in the southwest is practically devoid of Baptist churches. A part of this area is the Pennsylvania German belt where, of course, Reformed and Lutheran churches are most numerous. The Alleghany Mountain area has practically no Baptist churches as is also the case with the southern and northern parts of the Alleghany Plateau. The location of these churches is joined up with the historical process. Migration of Baptist settlers to these parts of the state resulted in the establishment of churches there. At first these churches were isolated and local, but gradually the sphere of influence widened in each of the four areas until today it covers the territory seen in Figure 158.

The task of preparing comparable spot maps for each of the 127 other denominations is one of great magnitude. The study of the ecological distribution of the denominations, the development of the religious pattern through the super-imposition of each of these maps, and the revealing of the ecological processes involved would constitute a study in itself. Data are available for several other denominations. Without including the maps, suffice it to say that Catholic churches have three areas of concentration - the Hard Coal Region, the Steel and Soft Coal Region, and the Industrial Southeast. Likewise, the Congregational Christian denomination is to be found in heavy concentrations in south central Pennsylvania in the unspotted area of the Baptist map. This denomination is also strong through the Hard Coal Region. River Brethren, Amish, and Mennonite Churches are, of course, strongest through the southeast agricultural regions. The United Presbyterian Churches are to be found primarily in western Pennsylvania, with an unusually heavy concentra-

tion in the Mahoning Valley and in the steel section. The Presbyterian Church on the other hand has a fairly uniform distribution covering the entire state and, to a lesser degree, this same situation obtains for the Methodist Church.

2. Pennsylvania Council of Churches

The Pennsylvania Council of Churches[6] was organized in 1911 as a branch of the Federal Council of Churches. It's slogan,"Cooperative Christianity is Undefeatable", suggests the purpose of this organization. It is designed to pool the bargaining power of the protestant churches so they can make a united front in obtaining their common objectives.

The staff consists of an executive secretary who operates in the 67 counties of the state through 75 voluntary "keymen". In larger counties there are two or three keymen, but in most counties one. Some counties have County Council of Churches. Work is also carried on with County Ministerial Associations. Membership in the Council consists of 23 denominations including 50 ecclesiastical bodies. There is no individual membership in the State Council but the above bodies embrace about two million communicant members.

The work of the Council is handled through seven departments; Comity and Missions, Evangelism, Social Service, Christian Education, International Relations, Town and Country Churches and Women. Each of these departments has two meetings a year in which projects designed to advance the work of protestant churches are discussed and planned for. Projects of the Town and Country Church department, for example, have included:

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6. Data from the state office.

a) the conduct of six annual regional leadership conferences for rural church workers throughout the state.

b) the sponsorship of a joint research project on the rural church with the Pennsylvania State College.

c) securing speakers on the rural church for the annual meeting program of the State Council. This meeting usually draws over 1000 persons.

d) making available to rural pastors through circular letters information and sources of help on educational, library, health, recreational, architectural, worship, economic, and social problems.

3. The Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Association

This association was formed in 1861 for the purpose of "uniting christian workers in efforts to improve the Sunday Schools of Pennsylvania by elevating their standards, increasing their efficiency, and using better methods of teaching and management." The association is the state agency of the Protestant Christian Churches and is an auxiliary of the International Council of Religious Education and the World's Sunday School Association.[7]

The association is organized in all 67 counties. In each of these units a county-wide organization has been set up with local volunteer leaders (a total of about 800 for the state), who work with all churches and Sunday Schools in the state which are willing to cooperate. In addition, these county groups are active in many other

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7. Data from the state office.

non-church programs of ethical and spiritual helpfulness. County and district meetings are held; and in general the program of activities is wide and well received.

In 1939, the state association worked with 10,640 Sunday Schools including 2,159,611 scholars. Leadership training schools were held in 3,342 churches; more than 7,00 churches were given missionary instruction; nearly 7,000 schools received temperance instruction; 3,000 schools had church vacation schools, while 1,000 churches gave week-day religious instruction. In 1939, 56,00 Sunday School members united with the church. Thus it is seen that the association has an impressive record involving about a fourth of the total population of the state.

Figure 160 shows the per cent of the total population which was enrolled in Sunday Schools in 1939.[8] Sixteen counties in the fourth quarter form one cluster in south central Pennsylvania. This quarter includes only one other county, Clarion in the northwest, outside this contiguous grouping. This area is primarily Protestant and includes a liberal infiltration of Pennsylvania German families. The third quarter counties extend through the central part of the state from east to west. This includes the other Pennsylvania German counties as well as a block of 11 counties in the central Allegheny Plateau. In general, southwestern Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia Hinterland, and the northern tier were low in per capita Sunday School enrollment. The lightest concentration was in the northeastern tip of the state. This area includes

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8. Source of data: 1939 Annual Report.

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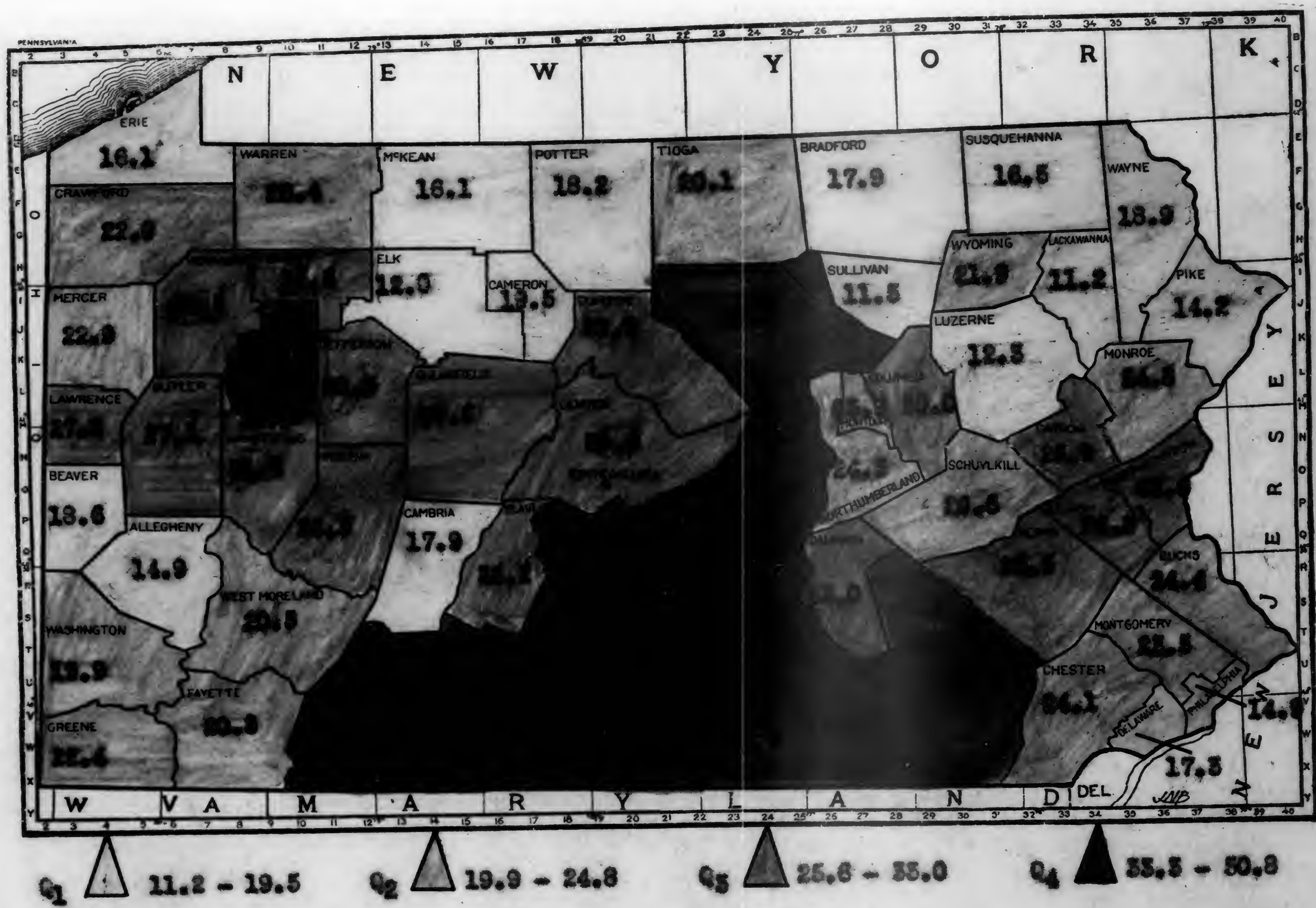

Figure 160. Per cent of Total Population Enrolled in Sunday Schools in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

COLOR PLATE

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

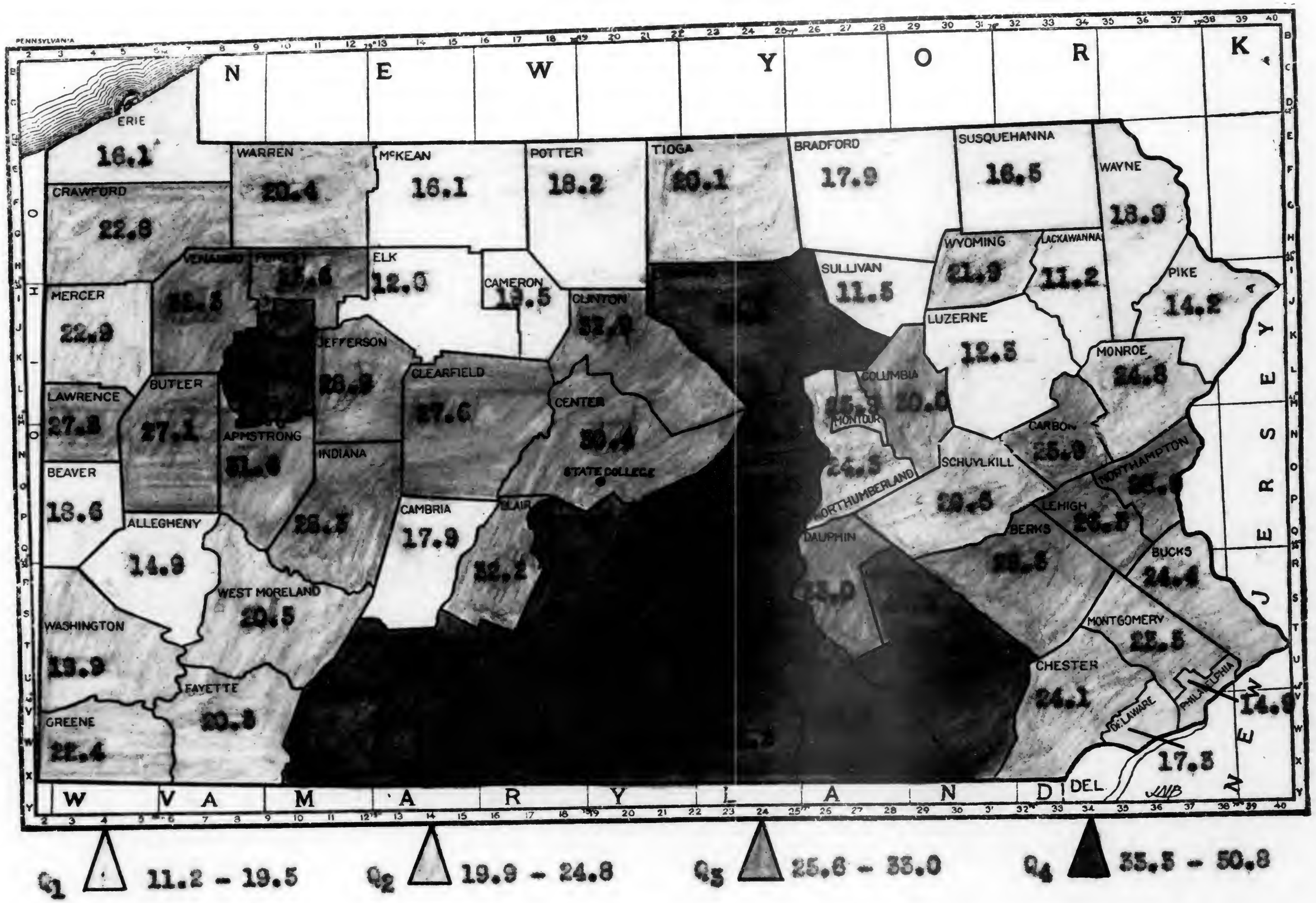

Figure 160. Per cent of Total Population Enrolled in Sunday Schools in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

a great many Catholic families, particularly in the Hard Coal Region who, of course, are not included in the Sunday School data. The range in the state was from 50.8 per cent of the total population in Snyder County Schools to but 11.2 in Catholic Lackawanna County. The average for the entire state was 22 per cent.

To carry out this work, six full-time staff members are employed and as many clerks and stenographers. Last year these persons traveled 78,000 miles to participate in 1,300 conventions, conferences, and meetings and to give personal advice to 2,500 other meetings. Sixty thousand letters were sent out. Hundreds of leaflets were distributed and special services and clinics were conducted. The main divisions of the work include leadership training, youth, adult, children, temperance, camping, and education. Of particular interest to rural Pennsylvania is the last named committee which has done much in the development of rural life programs. During the last year this group was responsible for much of the excellent cooperation in connection with the American Country Life Conference meeting in the state. The committee cooperates annually with the Pennsylvania Country Life Conference.

The association owns a 400 acre summer camp in central Pennsylvania, with buildings and equipment, where 1,000 picked leaders are trained annually.

Pennsylvania is strong in Sunday School work. It has the second largest number of schools of any state in the Union; it has more Sunday School scholars than any other. The Pennsylvania Sabbath School Association, which is generally conceded to be the strongest in the country, is doing much to further this work.

4. Young People's Societies

The data on the number and membership of Young People's Societies are very satisfactory. Estimates from the Pennsylvania Council of Christian Education indicated that there are approximately 5,500 protestant young people's groups. There are probably 2,000 Catholic and Jewish groups in the state bringing the total to 7,500. No data by counties by means of which ecological patterninge could be ascertained are available. The average membership of the young people's societies is around 25. They are mostly teen age youngsters. For many of them, particularly in farm and village areas these societies serve as a chief medium for social contacts.

The kinds of young people's societies are many. Each denomination tends to have its own special brand. The Lutheran Churches have Lutheran Leagues; the Methodists, Epworth Leagues; the Baptists, B. Y. P. U's; the Presbyterians, Y. P. C. U.'s, and so on. The Christian Endeavor is the only group here mentioned that includes more than one denomination. It is a federated organization in Pennsylvania having local, county, district and state officers and a paid state staff. It has local units in about a dozen different denominations. The State Sabbath School Association works with all the protestant groups on a inter-denominational basis. Camps, training schools, county roundups, district institutes, and state-wide youth conferences are sponsored by this group. These have been unusually popular, largely, because of strong leadership.

Work with religious youth groups in Pennsylvania has had a long and successful history coterminous with the work of the State Sabbath Association. Some of the more immediate values are social, recreational, religious, and education. The four fold plan of living - physical, mental, social and spiritual - is emphasized. As a by-product of this young people's work, particularly that of the State Association and the State C. E., has come an enlarged breadth of vision of the purpose of all religion and life. One is impressed nowadays as he attends these county or state youth meetings how lacking is the petty provincial denominational outlook, and how interdenominational is the thinking of these, tomorrow's religious leaders. Thus the work with christian youth is bound to be reflected in a reorganized distribution of churches and a reorganized program more designed to meet life's needs.

5. Religious Camps

Pennsylvania is recognized throughout the country as having an unusual program of church camp activities. The first project of this kind was the Mahaffey Camp in Clearfield County, organized in 1896. At the present time 85 religious camp groups sponsored by 15 separate denominations are operating in Pennsylvania. The strongest programs are carried on by Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist denominations which held in 1939, 10, 13 and 10 camps respectively. The total enrollment in all religious camps during the last summer included 10,000 persons, using 1,161 leaders, and representing 30,35 churches.[9] In all, 35 camp sites were used. These were located from Monroe County

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9. Source: Pennsylvania Camp Survey.

on the East southwestward to Somerset and westward to Clarion Counties. There were no church camps throughout a double row of counties stretching across the northern and down the western sides of the state. These locations are seen in Figure 191 in Section 6 of Chapter XII.

Some of the camps are held at sites owned and used by other agencies. An analysis made by the Pennsylvania Church Camp Directors Conference reveals that 28 per cent of all campers came from rural territory with 72 per cent coming from urban areas. Six per cent of the campers were classed as underprivileged, 81 per cent were from the middle class, while 13 per cent were from upper class. These classes, however, are not defined and may be interpreted variously.

6. Young Men's Christian Association

The Y. M. C.A. in Pennsylvania started in 1869 with a single organization.[10] In 1939 it included a state and local professional staff of over 200 persons, a volunteer leadership of several thousand persons and a membership of 119,214. This number does not include the several thousand members of Y. M. C.A. affiliated youth groups described in Section 5 of Chapter XII. The purpose of the "Y" is to train for character and Christian leadership. It does so by a program of varied activities that include all sides of life - spiritual, physical, mental, and social. In 1939 over 200,000 persons were in attendance at Bible and religious educational classes conducted by the Y. M. C. A.

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10. Source of data: State office Y.M.C.A. Harrisburg.

The location of the organized Young Men's Christian Associations in Pennsylvania is shown in Figure 161. It is seen that Allegheny and Philadelphia Counties lead. There are also concentrations through the Wilkes-Barre-Scranton hard coal section. A number of these Y. M. C. A.'s are located around railroad section. A number of these Y. M. C. A.'s are located around railroad centers. Thus in Blair County three of the four are of this type.

The Y. M. C. A. in Pennsylvania is largely an urban institution. There has been some effort to radiate its influence over the county in which it is located but up until now this attempt has met with little response except that the organization of youth groups affiliated with the Y. M. C. A. These are described in the next chapter. The activities of the Y. M. C. A. are largely housing, bible study, recreation, education and fellowship in a Christian atmosphere.

There are 65 women's auxiliaries and mother's clubs in the state. These groups are definitely organized for the purpose of supporting and helping local Y. M. C. A. 's.

7. <u>Young Women's Christian Association</u>

The Y. W. C. A. organized in 1858 in New York serves a social, educational, recreational and religious function for thousands of young women throughout Pennsylvania. The program of activities includes classes in home economics, handicrafts, health, and religious education. Many of these associations conduct leadership training schools, and summer camps. This program is especially important for urban working girls who need this type of wholesome outlet at a low cost.

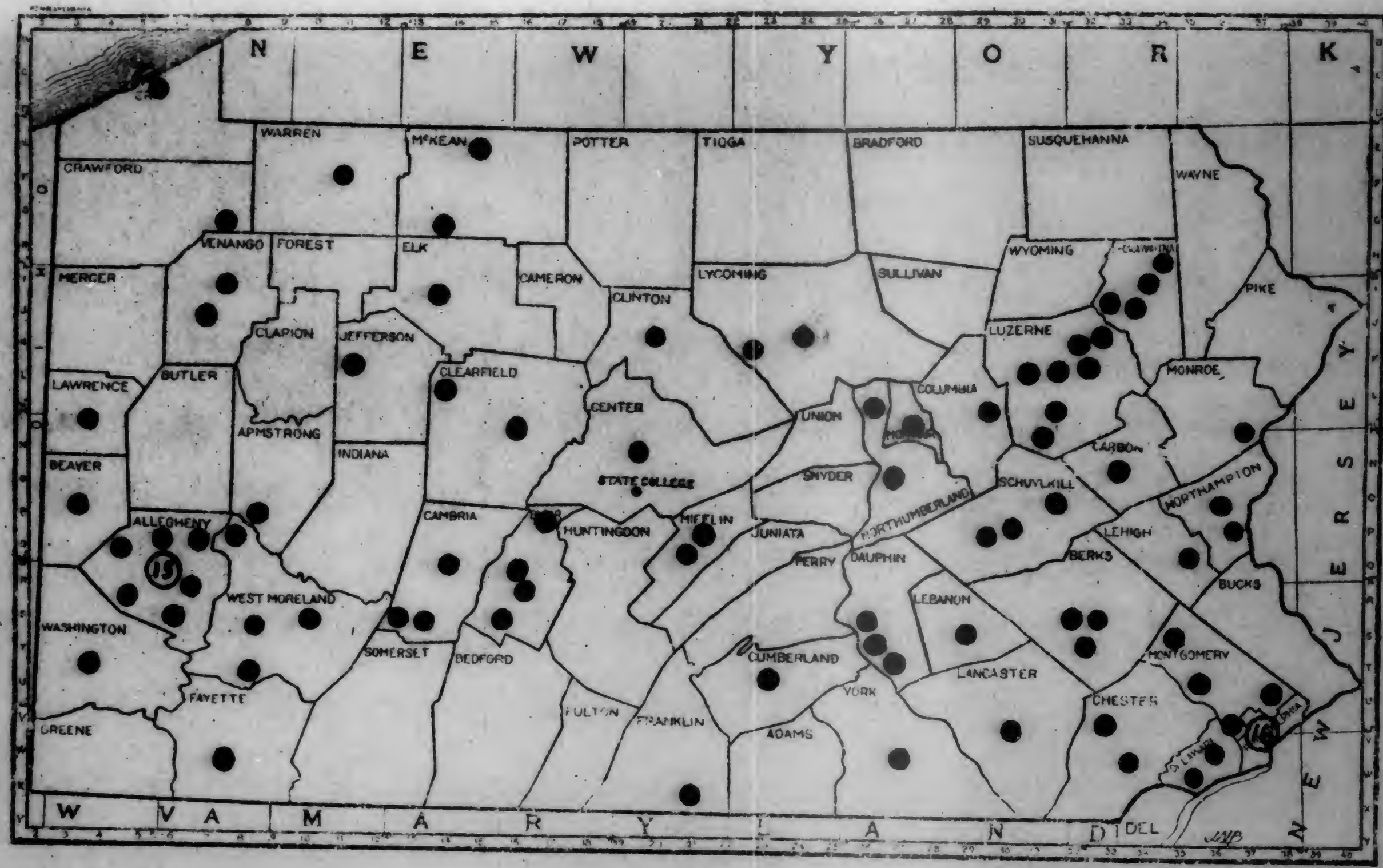

Figure 161. - Location of Young Men's Christian Associations in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

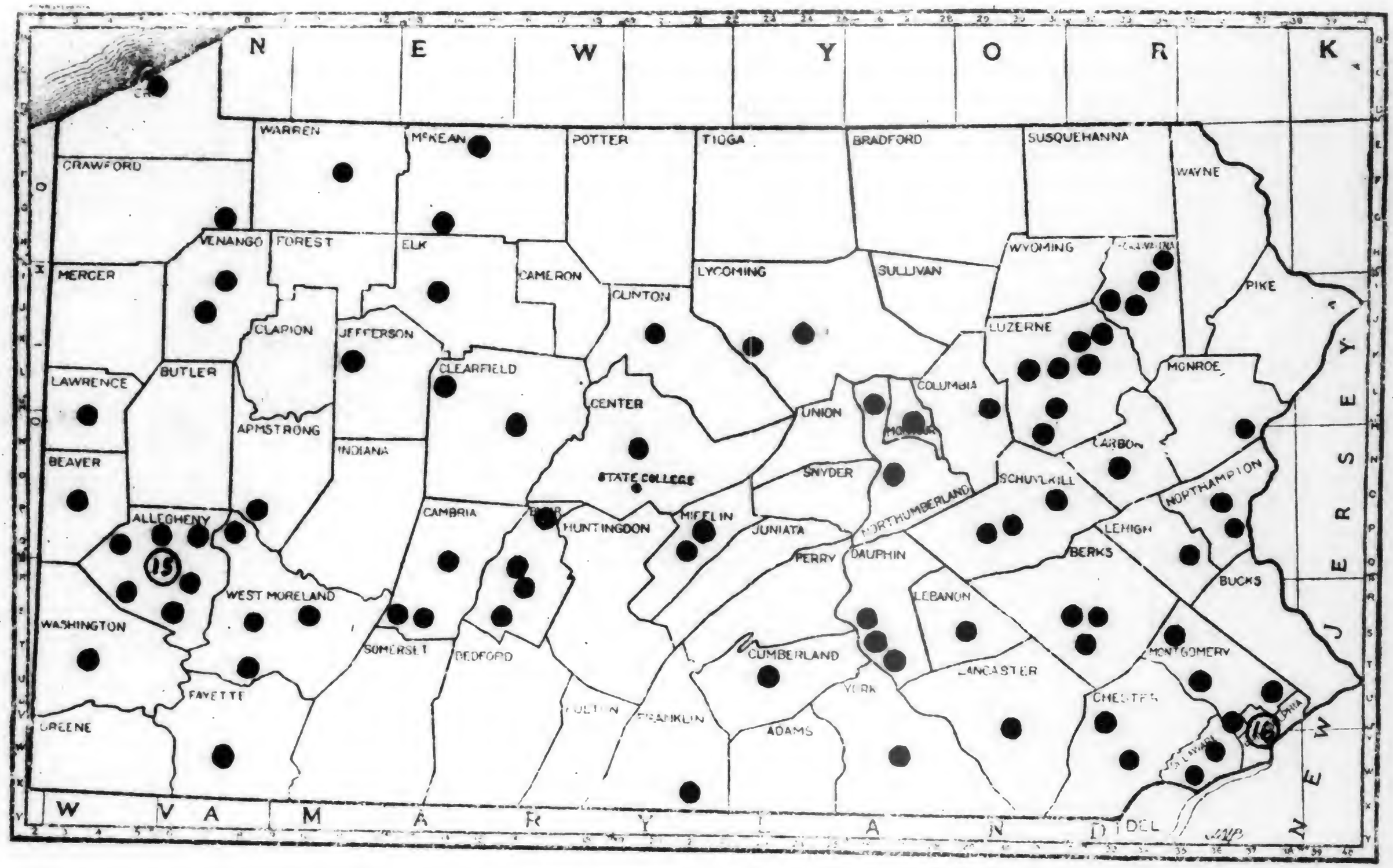

Figure 161. - Location of Young Men's Christian Associations in Pennsylvania, 1939

In addition to the urban centers serviced the Y. W. C. A. is frequently found as on college campuses in the state; and thereby serves the socio-religious needs of students.

From Figure 162 it is seen that the location of Y. W. C. A.'s in Pennsylvania follows the urban pattern of cities and towns seen in Figure 9.[11] The densely populated sections of the state have more of these agencies while the Allegheny Mountain and Plateau areas are almost devoid of Y. W. C. A.'s. In the main, these agencies are local units. There are, however, six cities in the state in which two or more units are found in one locality. Frequently the cause of this is the presence of colored Y. W. C. A.'s in the same cities as white organizations.

The Girls Reserves program which is an affiliate of the Y. W. C.A is analyzed under section 5 of Chapter XII.

8. Woman's Christian Temperance Union

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was first organized in Pennsylvania in 1874 under Quaker leadership for the purpose of prohibiting liquor traffic and stamping out the evils of alcohol. To-day there are some 10,000 local unions in 56 state and territorial branches. To accomplish the aims of protecting the home and abolishing the sale and use of alcoholic liquors the W. C. T. U has established the following divisions: Alcohol education, Christian citizenship, child welfare, character education, health and radio. Legislation is a strong part of their program as is also the sponsorship of essay, speaking and poster contests. This organization is also interested in securing

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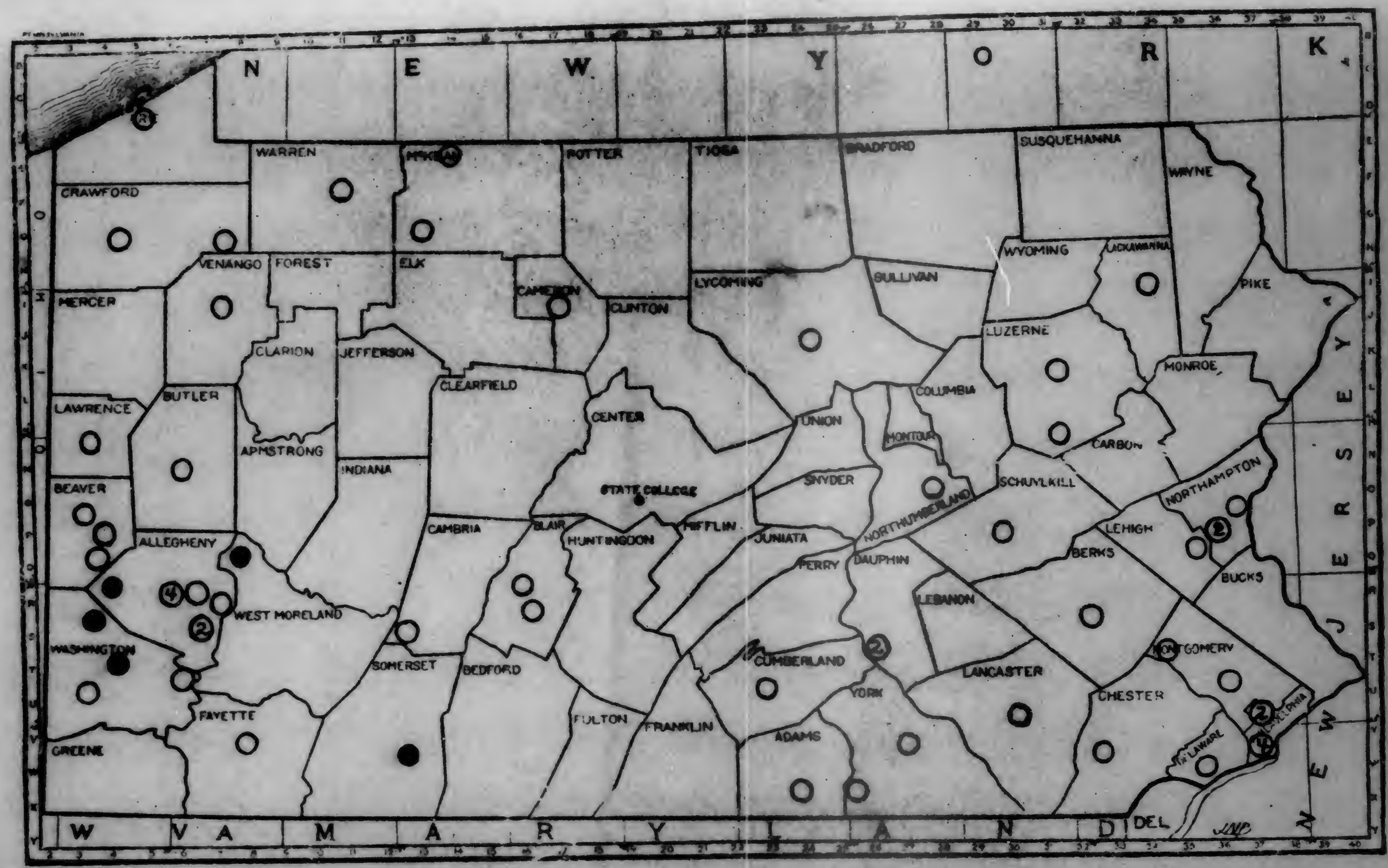
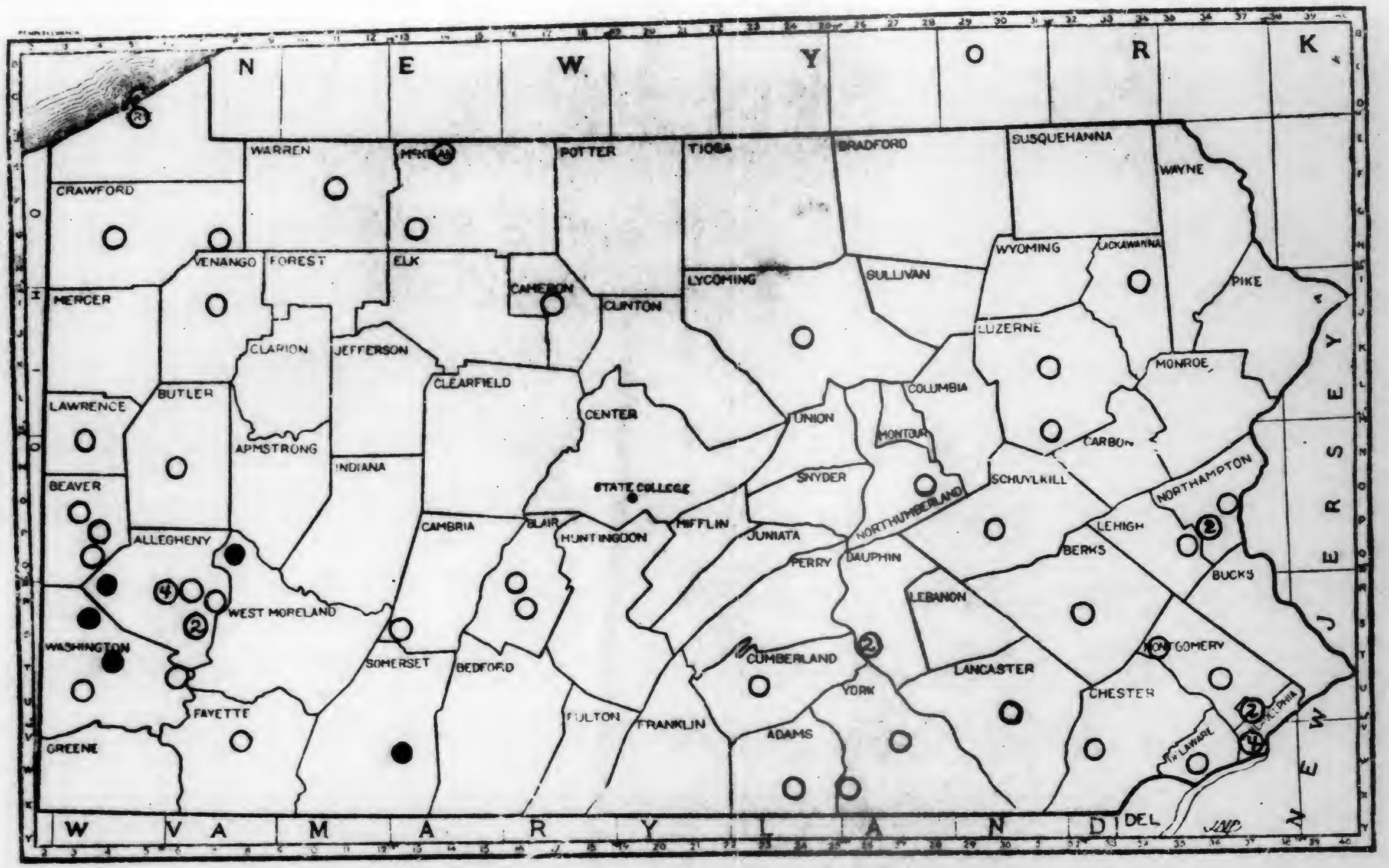
10. Source: National Y. W.C.A. New York City



● Rural ○ Urban

Figure 162. - Location of Young Women's Christian Associations in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



● Rural ○ Urban

Figure 162. - Location of Young Women's Christian Associations in Pennsylvania, 1939

uniform marriage and divorce laws. Its work is strongly tied up with the church. In Pennsylvania there were 750 local W. C. T. U. units with a membership of 30,000. In addition there were 107 Youth Temperance Councils (for young men) and 191 Loyal Temperance Legions (for young women). About 1700 men are honorary members of W.C.T.U.

Figure 163 indicates the geographical distribution of the local units of the Pennsylvania Women's Christian Temperance Union.[12] Western Pennsylvania is fairly well covered with these organizations but particularly noticeable is the heavy concentration in the Quaker territory in the Philadelphia Hinterland in Delaware, Montgomery, and Bucks Counties. On the other hand, Berks, Lehigh, Carbon, and Northampton County, in the Pennsylvania German Region, have very few of these organizations in proportion to the population. Likewise, Monroe, and Pike have few W.C.T.U. units. This is doubtless because of the fact that this Pocono Resort Area receives its income from tourist and summer boarders. People in this area cannot afford to have organizations which may interfere with the pleasurable activities of their profitable customers. This propensity for drink is brought out in a later section which shows the relatively great number of liquor and beer licenses issued to these two counties as compared with neighboring counties.

There is little relationship between map 9, which shows the location of cities and town, and the present W. C. T. U. map. In other words, it appears that the W. C. T. U. is primarily a rural organization located in small villages and having as its leaders and

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12. Source: State W.C.T.U. Office. Beaverdale, Penna.

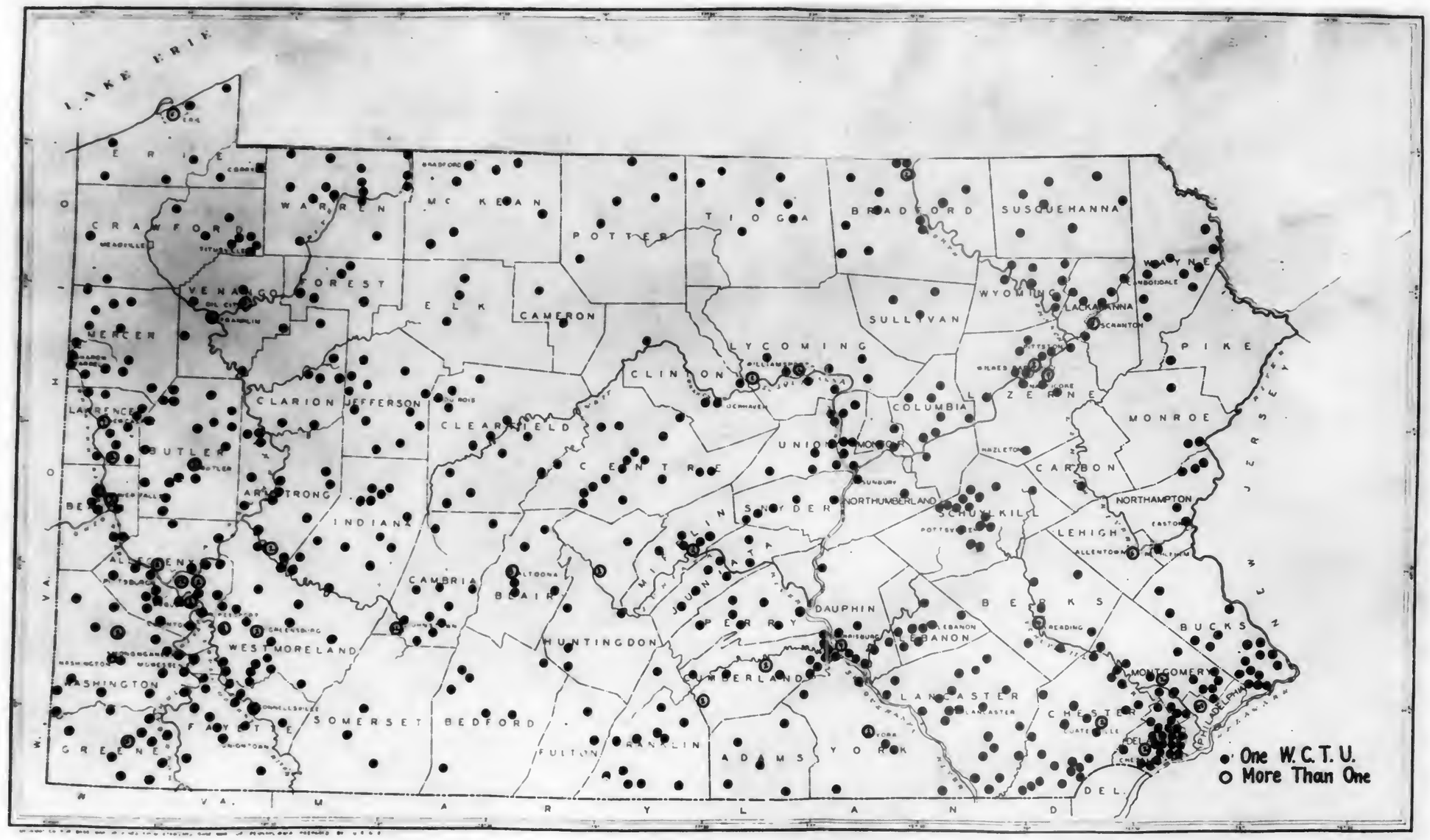

Figure 165. Location of Women's Christian Temperance Union Units in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

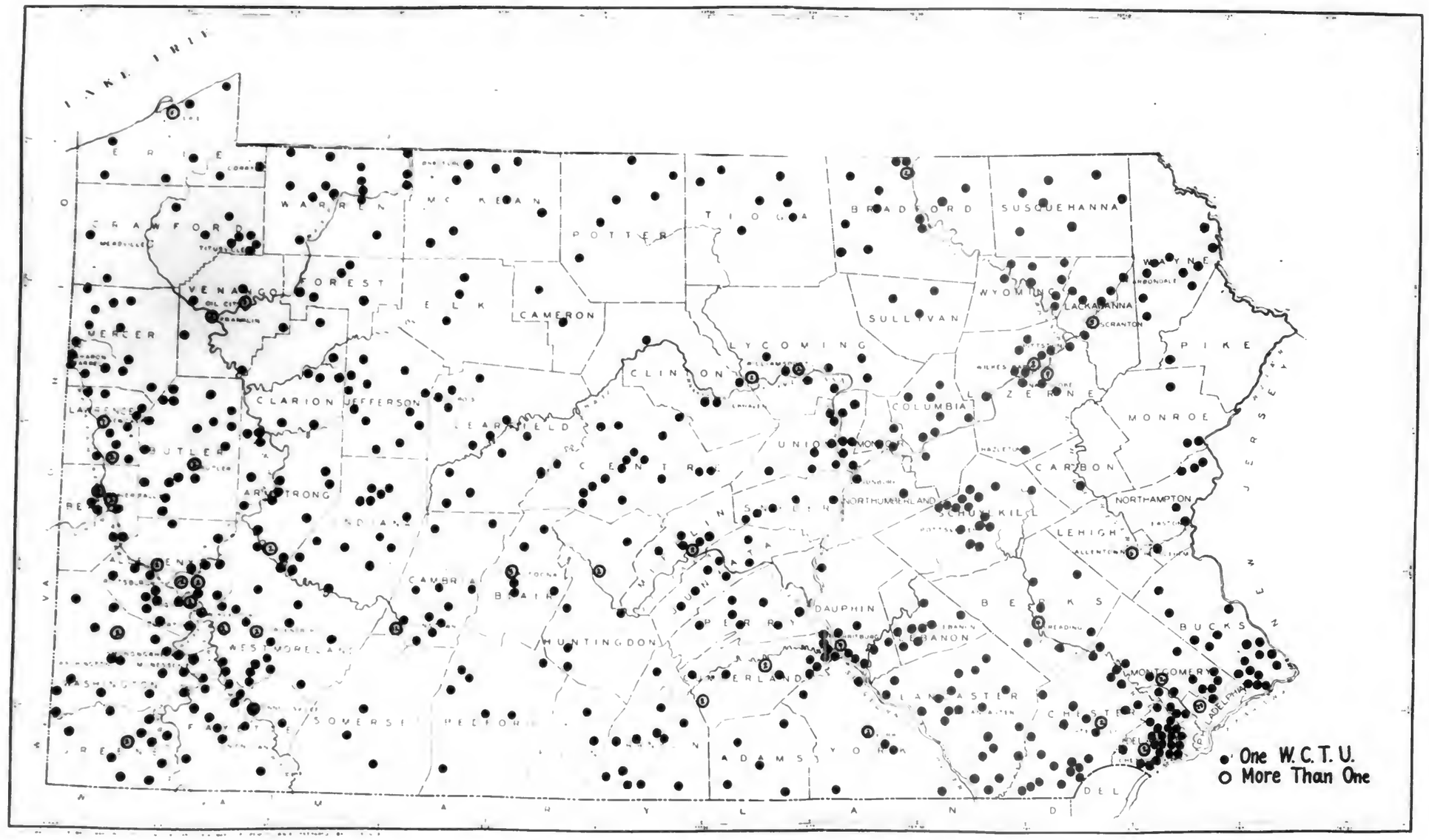

Figure 165. Location of Women's Christian Temperance Union Units in Pennsylvania, 1939.

members a great many farm as well as village persons. Unlike lodges and other social organizations the number of W. C. T. U. units in the cities is small. The cities of Scranton, Reading and Erie - all over 100,000 persons - have but three, four, and five units respectively.

Thus the religious as well as welfare and educational activities present fairly definite ecological patterns. However, these patterns do not conform to a very high degree with the socio-economic areas delineated. As with other agencies and situations the pattern displayed by a particular agency is caused by a definite set of factors which may or may not influence other agencies. Thus welfare is a function of poverty; girl Reserve groups are a function of Y.W.C.A.'s; the location of state police posts is a function of the highway system; the distribution of camps is related to topography and streams, while service clubs are a function of cities. Likewise, church membership and religious activities are more closely related to population composition than to any other factor or set of factors.

Church membership is concentrated in the Catholic areas; Sunday School work in the protestant areas with the rural counties predominating; W. C. T. U. 's in rural areas, especially in Western Pennsylvania and in protestant regions. It is not found in urban centers to an appreciable degree. It is impossible to actually measure the degree of religiosity of these areas by the methods here used. The figures presented simply show indications. To generalize further would be dangerous.

Chapter XII

SOCIAL AND RECREATIONAL AGENCIES

1. Fraternal Orders.

Fraternal orders of various types are one of the chief means of sociability and recreation for hundreds of thousands of Pennsylvania's adults both rural and urban. Since primitive times this tendency to associate under cover of secrecy and ritual has been strong. It is a means of securing status, of receiving recognition, and of further enhancing the self-maximization process by the development of a "we feeling" or a feeling of "belonging". It is an in-group, out-group situation.

(a) The Grange.

The grange, or Patrons of Husbandry, is America's largest farm organization. It is also Pennsylvania's largest farm organization. As a matter of fact, it could be said that the grange has no competitors in size in rural Pennsylvania.

Organized in 1866, it quickly spread through Pennsylvania and by 1873 was strong enough to merit the establishment of a state grange. Since that time it has gone through a series of changes, but it has constantly promoted and protected the interests of rural life in the Keystone State. In 1939 there were 785 granges in Pennsylvania with a total membership of 66,348 persons, third in size in the United States (Table 16). This amounted to 85 members per grange. In addition, there were 149 juvenile granges with a total membership of 3,588.[1] Juvenile members are eligible to become subordinate members when they are 14 years of age. The annual membership fee for a juvenile member is a minimum of 20 cents while the dues for an adult member are $1.60 a year. Ninety-four cents of this goes to the

1. Source: Pennsylvania State Grange. Harrisburg.

subordinate grange for the support of building, equipment, and program; 40 cents goes to the state grange for the maintenance of a legislative representative, officers, and other expenses incident to the carrying out of a state-wide program; 14 cents goes to the pomona grange for use in the development of county-wide grange programs; while 12 cents is paid to the national grange. There are 58 pomona granges in the state.

One of the strong forces in grange work and for rural life in the state is the publication of the Pennsylvania Grange News. This paper goes to 45,000 farm homes, about one-fourth the total of bona fide farm homes in the state. It carries program building aids, success stories of what various granges are doing, and other materials designed to be helpful in promoting a more effective local program.

The program of the grange is six-fold in Pennsylvania - educational, social, recreational, legislative, civic, and inspirational. Lectures, discussions, and educational demonstrations are frequently listed on subordinate grange programs. A conscious effort is made for training for leadership and service. A great many civic projects, such as redecoration of the community hall, landscaping of public grounds, establishment of hot school lunches, securing better roads, developing rural electrification, working for traveling and community libraries, and the like, are commonly taken up and carried through by the grange. Discussions of public questions and encouragement and support of 4-H Clubs, Future Farmers of America locals, and Scout troops are community services rendered. Such things as carol singing at Christmas, organizing nature study clubs, participating in music and play festivals, exhibiting at county and community fairs, Rural Life Sunday, demonstrations on first aid, safety, and health are

Table 16. Number of Granges and Number of Grange Members in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

County	Number of Subordinate Granges	Number of Subordinate Members	Number of Juvenile Granges	Pomona Granges
Allegheny	9	684	4	1
Armstrong	14	1,157	4	1
Beaver	11	1,305	8	1
Bedford	12	899	3	1
Berks	11	1,356	3	1
Blair	9	1,076	0	1
Bradford	38	3,239	3	1
Bucks	12	910	2	1½
Butler	14	1,353	2	1
Cambria	12	595	0	1
Carbon	4	324	1	1
Centre	16	1,651	8	1
Chester	23	2,202	0	½
Clarion	9	551	1	1
Clearfield	29	2,109	1	1
Clinton	7	554	0	1
Columbia	11	957	0	½
Crawford	55	4,551	9	1
Cumberland	7	288	0	1
Dauphin	6	198	0	1
Delaware	2	209	0	½
Elk	6	685	0	1
Erie	15	1,734	11	1
Fayette	18	2,557	5	1
Forest	1	22	0	0
Franklin	5	170	0	1
Fulton	6	259	0	1
Greene	9	697	3	1
Huntingdon	11	753	1	1
Indiana	25	1,495	0	1
Jefferson	17	901	5	1
Juniata	8	845	1	1
Lackawanna	9	658	1	1
Lancaster	7	409	0	1
Lawrence	12	1,580	8	1
Lebanon	7	449	3	1
Lehigh	8	589	0	½
Luzerne	13	945	1	1
Lycoming	20	1,159	5	1
McKean	9	678	1	1
Mercer	17	1,874	6	1
Mifflin	2	115	0	0
Monroe	5	172	0	½

(continued on next page)

Table 16 (continued)

County	Number of Subordinate Granges	Number of Subordinate Members	Number of Juvenile Granges	Possess Granges
Montgomery	7	627	3	1
Montour	6	224	1	1/3
Northampton	2	184	0	½
Northumberland	9	671	4	5/6
Perry	8	309	0	1
Philadelphia	1	49	0	½
Pike	3	182	0	½
Potter	20	1,795	2	1
Schuylkill	7	453	2	1
Snyder	8	511	0	½
Somerset	17	968	0	1
Sullivan	4	101*	0	1
Susquehanna	25	2,751	8	1
Tioga	37	4,065	12	1
Union	3	187	2	1/3
Venango	9	1,037	1	1
Warren	17	1,620	1	1
Washington	24	1,858	5	1
Wayne	12	1,034	1	1
Westmoreland	15	1,356	4	1
Wyoming	14	1,562	0	1½
York	8	910	2	1
Total	785	68,348	149	56

* Preliminary figure.

common activities of subordinate granges. Grange officers are constantly striving to perfect the programs of local groups. They realize that only by wide-awake, interesting, and helpful local programs of activities can the success of the grange be assured.

Besides the legislative phase of the work, there are four other economic aspects that might be mentioned in connection with the grange: (1) the Keystone Grange Exchange is organized as a cooperative purchasing agency through which patrons may secure feeds, fertilizers, silos, groceries, and general farm supplies; (2) mutual fire insurance. At the present time

24 companies established by the grange are now doing business in Pennsylvania carrying an aggregate risk of more than $110,000,000; (3) the National Grange Mutual Liability Company furnishes automobile insurance to grange members at a low cost. In fact, this insurance effects such a saving that one of the problems of the grange generally is to make those members who join for the advantage of insurance into real interested members; (4) The Farmers and Traders Life Insurance Company is recognized as a grange company and has thousands of policy holders in Pennsylvania.

The legislative policy of the grange includes the following as a partial list of items: Home rule in local affairs, revision of tax laws to relieve the burden on real estate, the graduated income tax, equalization of school funds, state maintenance of rural roads, reduction of excessive salaries of public officials, elimination of Daylight Saving Time, restoration of tax payment as a qualification for voting, reduce public expenses, eliminate sales tax, use gas tax and license funds for roads only, maintain law against oleomargarine, deal severely with drunken drivers, and so on.

Two-thirds of Pomona Granges own their own halls. The typical grange schedule in Pennsylvania calls for a meeting of the subordinate grange every two weeks, of the county or Pomona Grange four times a year, while the state grange meets annually in December. A recent study by the writer reveals that the average attendance at any one meeting is about one-third of the total membership. The average length of meeting is two hours.

The location of the subordinate granges in Pennsylvania is shown in Figure 164. As the legend indicates there are three sizes of granges shown -- 252 subordinates from 0 to 49, 282 from 50 to 99, and 249 having over 100 members. The distribution of granges does not follow the

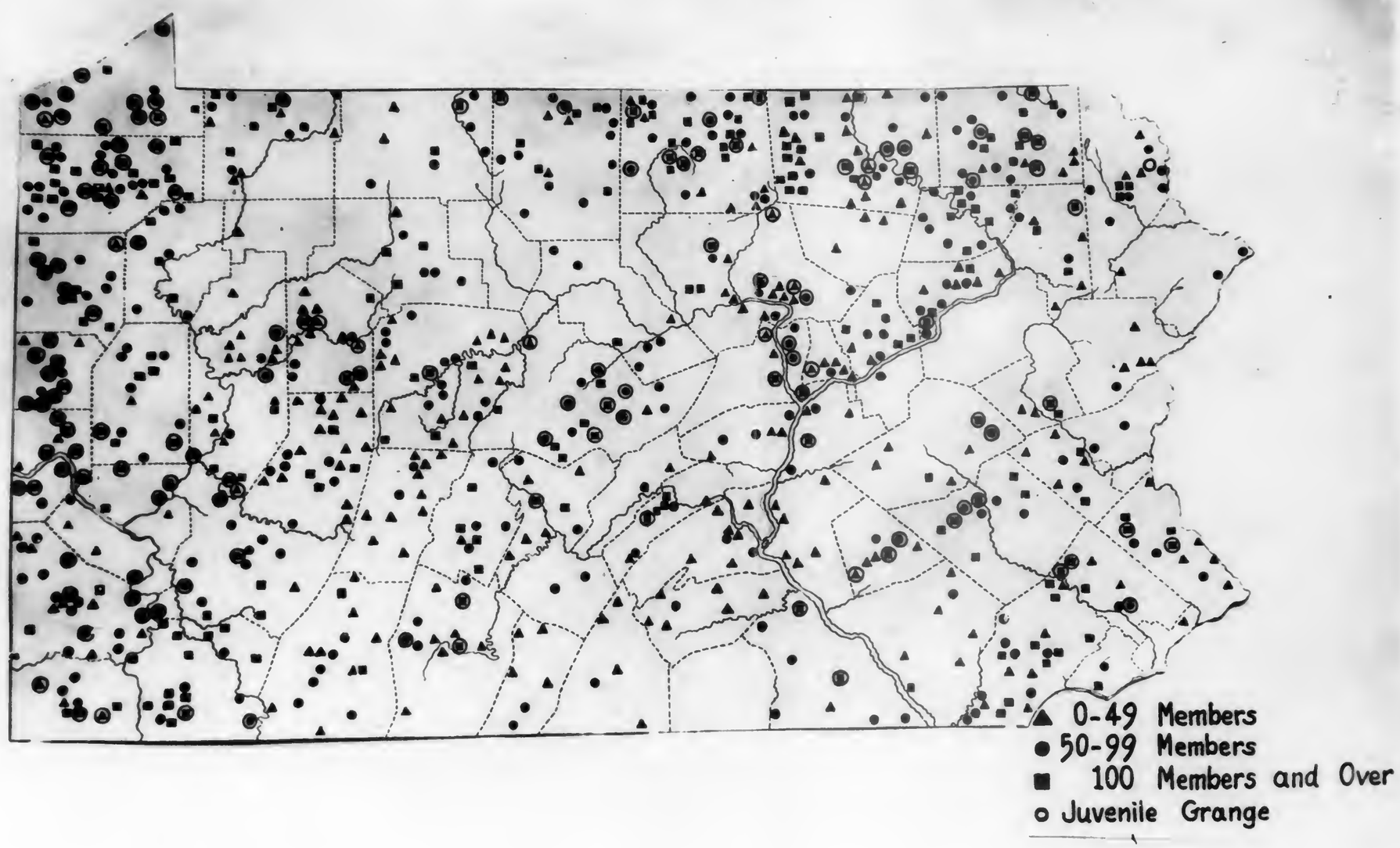

Figure 164. Location of Granges in Pennsylvania, 193[illegible].

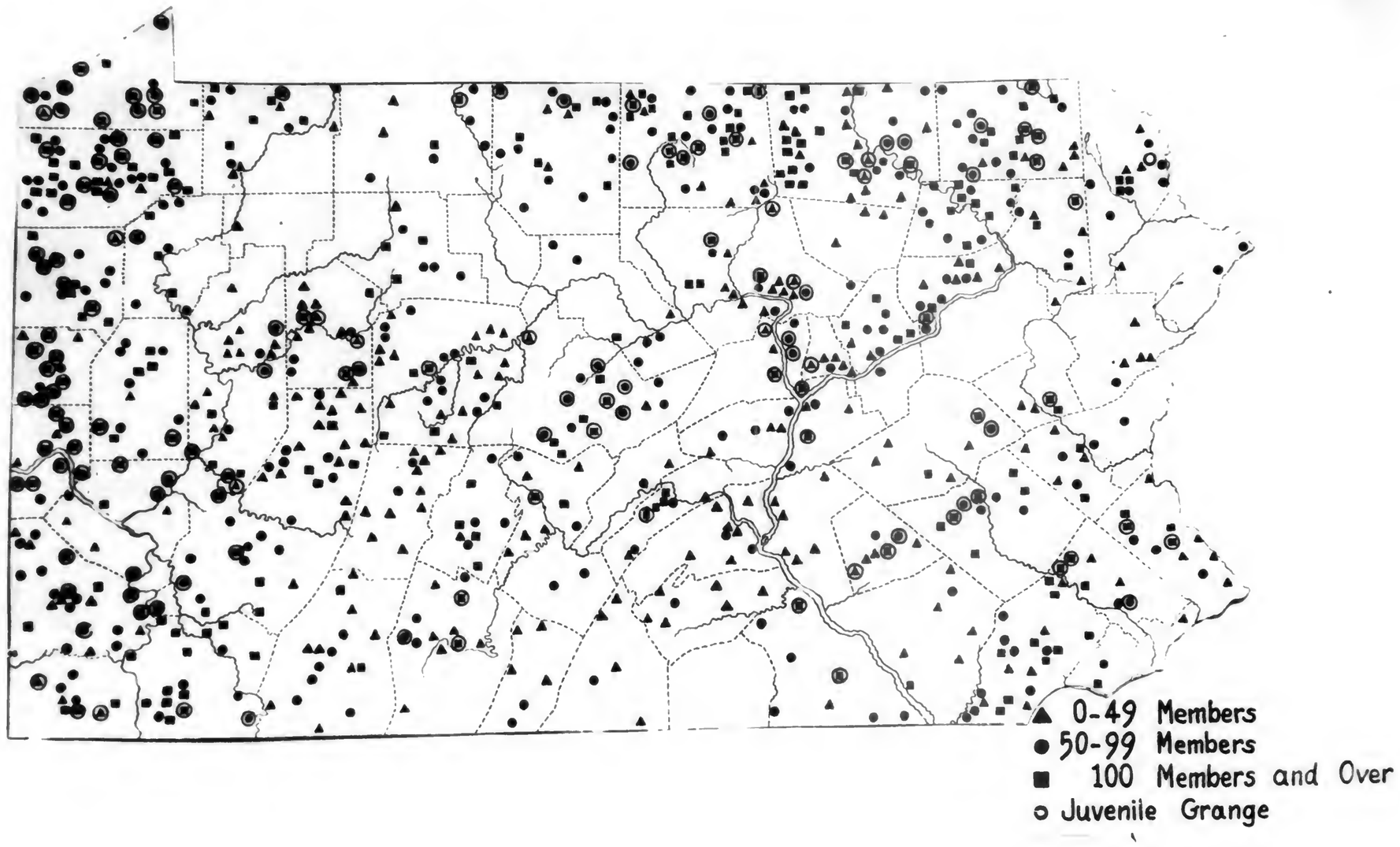

Figure 164. Location of Granges in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

general distribution of the agricultural population. Fertile southeastern Pennsylvania is much more thickly populated than the rest of the state and yet granges in this territory are somewhat sparse. The northern tier of counties comes in for fully its share of granges and there is a particularly high concentration from north to south along the entire western border of the state. Crawford and Bradford Counties lead the state each having 38 subordinate granges while Tioga County is a close second with 37 in 1939. When the size of the grange is considered it is seen that the northwestern counties have the largest granges with Chester County in the southeast and the northern tier counties coming next in order. Granges in the Appalachian Plateau in the central western part of the state are smaller on the average than in any other area.

The juvenile units, which are indicated by a circle around the parent grange, tend to attach themselves to the larger granges. A disproportionately high number of juvenile granges thus belong to subordinates with memberships of over 100 persons. On the other hand, it will be noticed that there are very few granges of less than 50 members which have juvenile granges.

Generally speaking the subordinate grange is an adult organization. An analysis of 100 granges reveals that less than 15 per cent of the members are between 14 and 25 years. This is not a representative sample of the youth population. For the great numbers of farm children 5 to 14 years of age in 1930 are now eligible farm youth 15 to 24.

Grangers are to be found in 65 of Pennsylvania's 67 counties. However, the number of members per county as shown in Table 16 does not give as

valuable a picture of the intensity of grange membership as the ratio between grange members and the farm population. These data are seen in Figure 165. In general, it may be said that the northern tier of counties and northwestern Pennsylvania are the strongest grange counties in proportion to the population. Conversely, the southeastern part of Pennsylvania is the weakest section of the state as far as grange membership is concerned. One reason for this last fact is the predominance of Pennsylvania Germans, many of whom do not believe in secret societies of any kind. Thus we see a social attitude toward organizations eliminating many of the best farmers in the best agricultural area of the state from the states strongest agricultural organization.

Local leadership in many counties tells the story of that county's particular success in attracting and holding grange members. Likewise, a few counties have lost grange members in larger numbers, primarily because of the negative personality characteristics of the leaders and officers of the organization. Whereas, the Farm Bureau tends to be positively associated with the quality of agriculture, the grange, on the other hand, seems to be inversely correlated with the fertility of the land or with gross cash income per farm. This is clearly brought out by a comparison of the present map and Figures 5 and 40. The correlation between farm income and grange membership was -.23. On the other hand there appears to be no relationship between grange membership and rural standard of living. The coefficient of correlation is -.09.

(b) Masonic Order.

Figure 166 shows the location and distribution of 565 Orders of the Masonic Lodge in the commonwealth. This order is one of the oldest and

COLOR PLATE

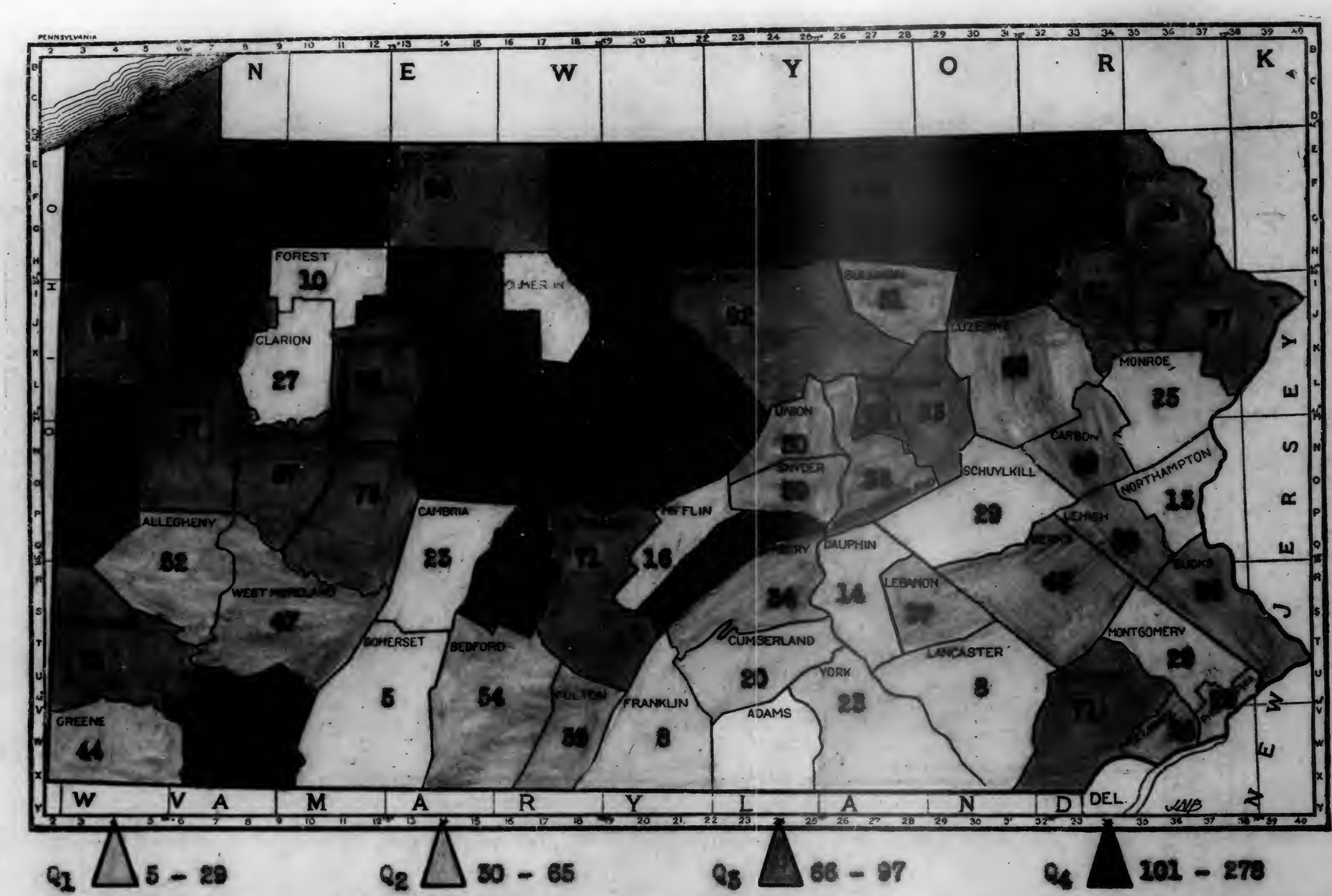

Figure 185. Number of Grange Members Per 1000 Farm Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

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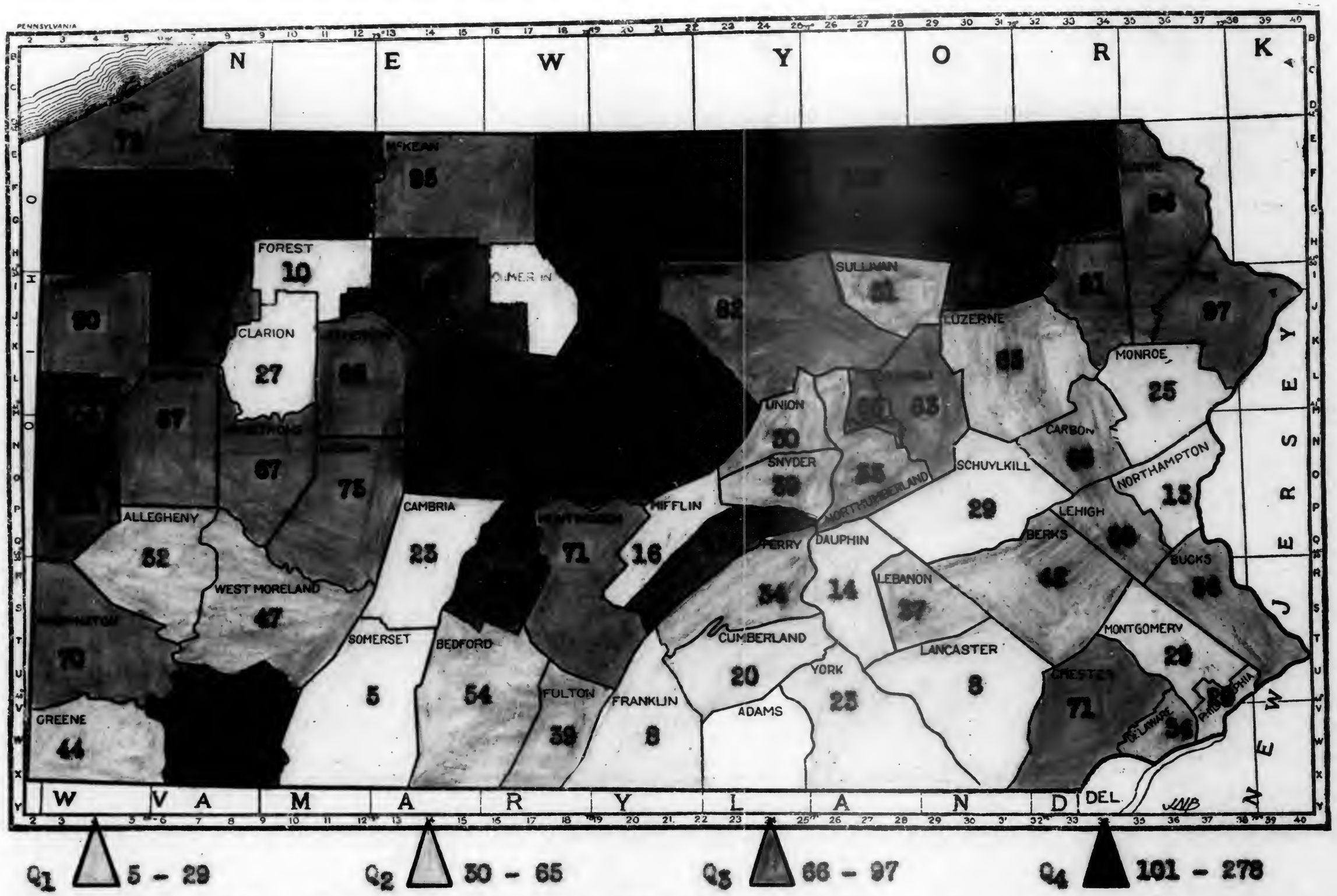
INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



Q1 5 - 29 Q2 30 - 65 Q3 66 - 97 Q4 101 - 278

Figure 185. Number of Grange Members Per 1000 Farm Population in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

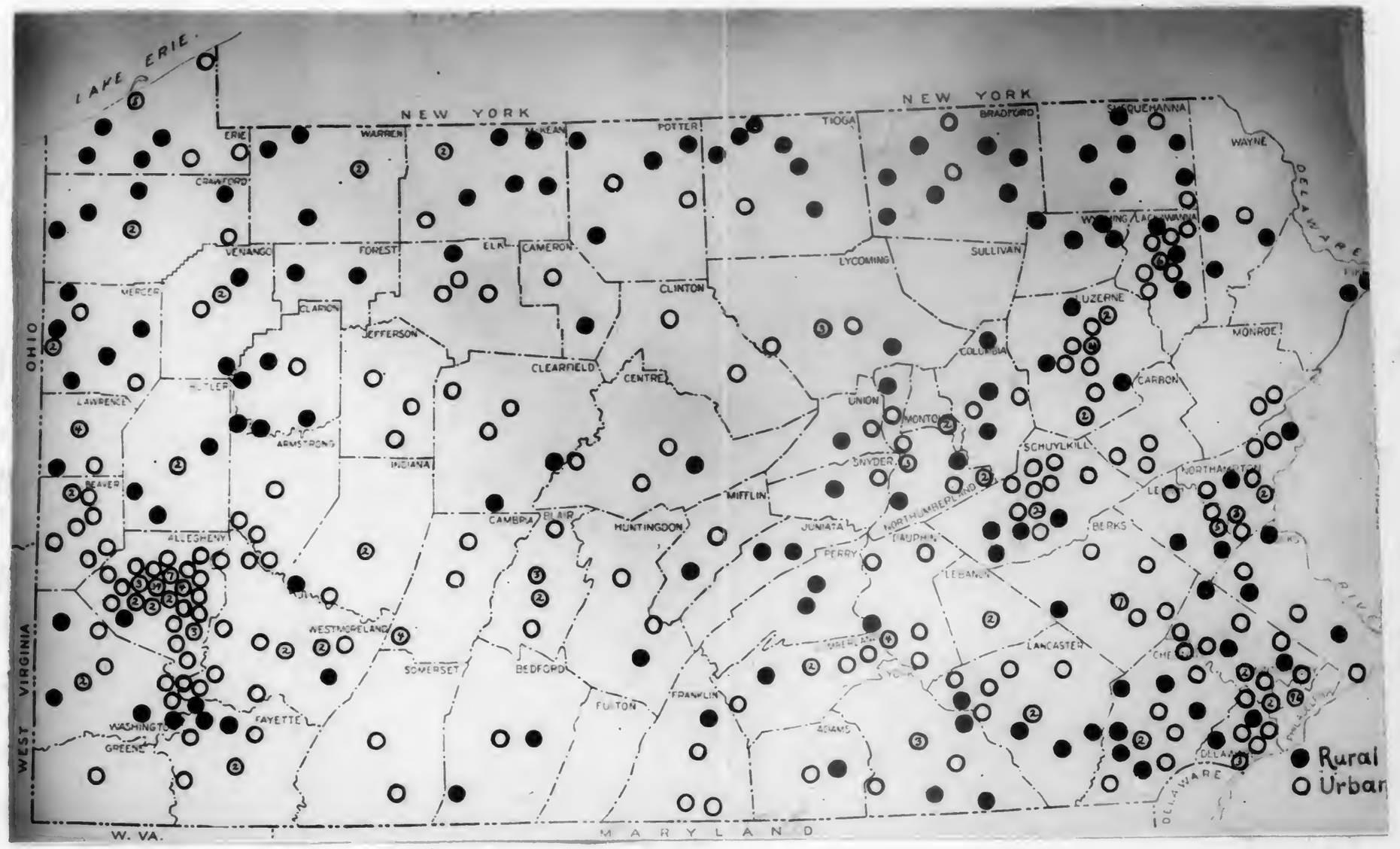


Figure 166. Location of Masonic Lodges in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

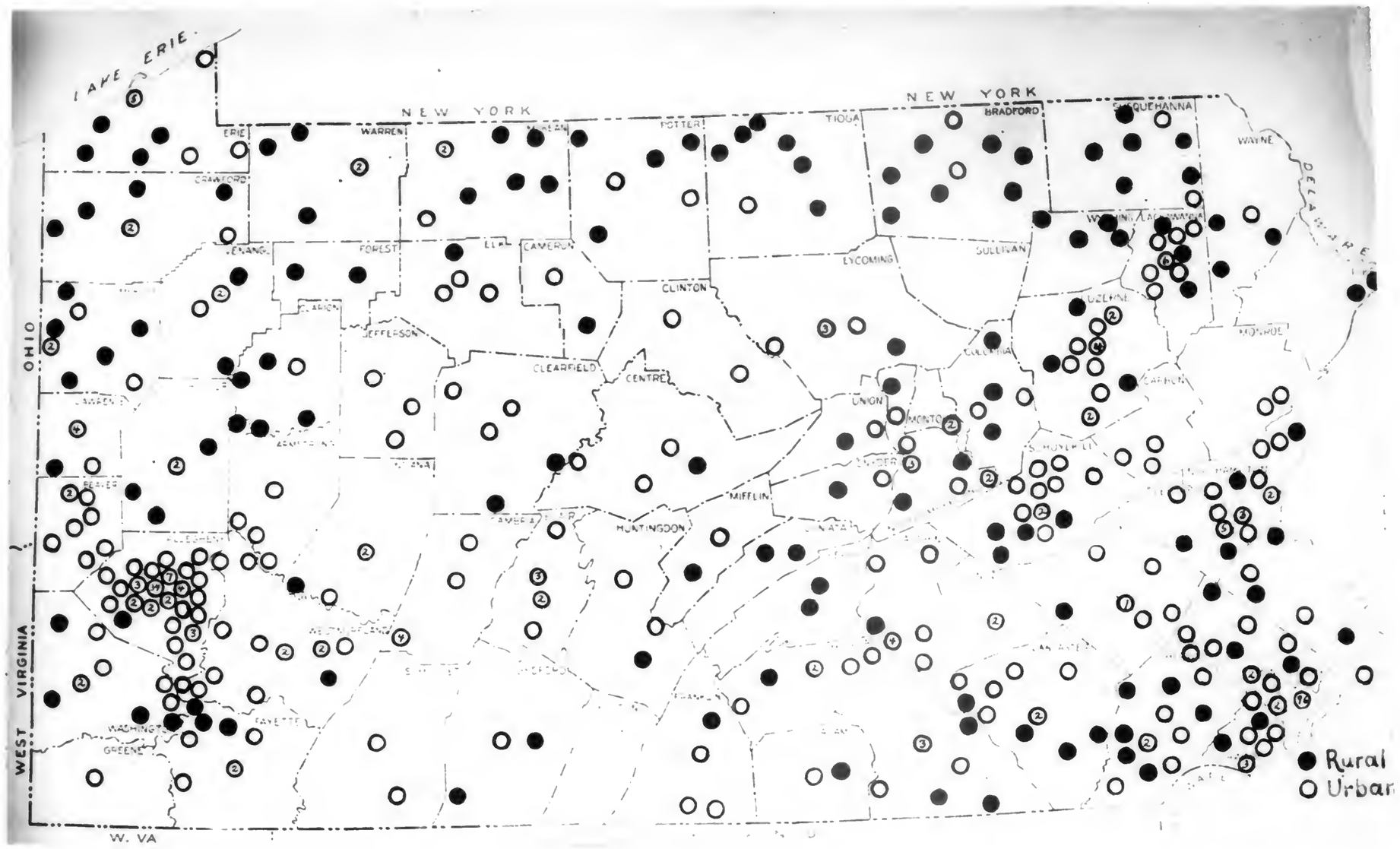


Figure 166. Location of Masonic Lodges in Pennsylvania, 1939.

most respected in the state. Its program of activities is social, recreational, benevolent, and spiritual. The order, cooperating with the Eastern Star Order, maintains a Masonic Home at Elizabethtown for the needy members of these organizations and their children.

A branch of the Masonic Order is the Royal Arch Chapter which is concerned primarily with the welfare aspects of the fraternity. It collects dues and fees and is responsible for sickness and death benefits.

At the close of 1939 there were 174,677 members.[2] The heavy circles indicate rural lodges while the urban lodges are indicated by unfilled circles. The distribution follows the general pattern of population density to a fairly high degree. There were 96 lodges in Philadelphia and over 60 in Allegheny County. There are, however, relatively few Masonic Lodges in the third area of concentrated population, namely, the hard coal areas of Sunbury, Pottsville, Wilkes-Barre, and Scranton. Rural Masonic lodges are to be found in greatest numbers in the northern tier of counties across the state. Only two counties, Fulton and Sullivan, have no local chapter of this order. Western Pennsylvania is also dotted rather liberally. There were a total of 136 rural lodges (24 per cent) and 429 urban lodges. In other words, the Masonic Order, although it covers a wide rural territory and although many of its urban lodges are patronized by persons living in villages and on farms, remains largely an urban organization . Membership is costly and appeals only to those whose income will stand the expense . This includes few farmers. The dues vary from place to place.

(c) Eastern Star.

A sister organization of the Masonic Lodge is the Order of Eastern Star for women. Membership is limited to wives, sisters, daughters, widows

2. Source: Office of the Grand Secretary. Philadelphia.

or mothers of members of the Masonic Order. In 1939 there were 476 active chapters in the state with a membership of 79,000 persons. Figure 167 shows the distribution of these lodges over the state, presenting somewhat the same general picture as with the Masonic Order except that in all counties there is a tendency for fewer Eastern Star Lodges to exist.[3] In only a few places, notably Pittsburgh, were there more Eastern Star Lodges than Masonic Orders. In Philadelphia there were 71 of the former and 96 of the men's fraternal order. The number of rural lodges among the Eastern Star is considerably less than that of the parent order. There is a tendency for the Eastern Stars to be associated more often with urban male lodges than to rural groupings. It should be pointed out that this lodge is not organically related to the Masons in Pennsylvania, but is a separate organization. This is not true in any other state. Again it may be said that the Eastern Star is largely an urban organization with most of the so-called rural lodges being composed of women in the larger villages. There were but 92 chapters in centers under 2500 population in 1939. Only Fulton and Sullivan counties had no locals of this lodge, while there were 11 counties in the state which had but one lodge.

Major projects of the order include a welfare fund for members, an educational loan fund for members and children of members, and two Eastern Star homes for the aged -- one at Philadelphia and one at Pittsburgh.

The Grand Encampment is an associate of the Grand Lodge I.O.O.F. It had 196 subordinate encampments with 11,000 members in 1939. It is much like the Royal Arch Chapter of the Masonic lodge and collects fees and dues for the payment of weekly benefits to the sick and death benefits to the dependent relatives of the deceased. It supports six homes, four for

3. Source: Office of the Grand Secretary, Philadelphia.

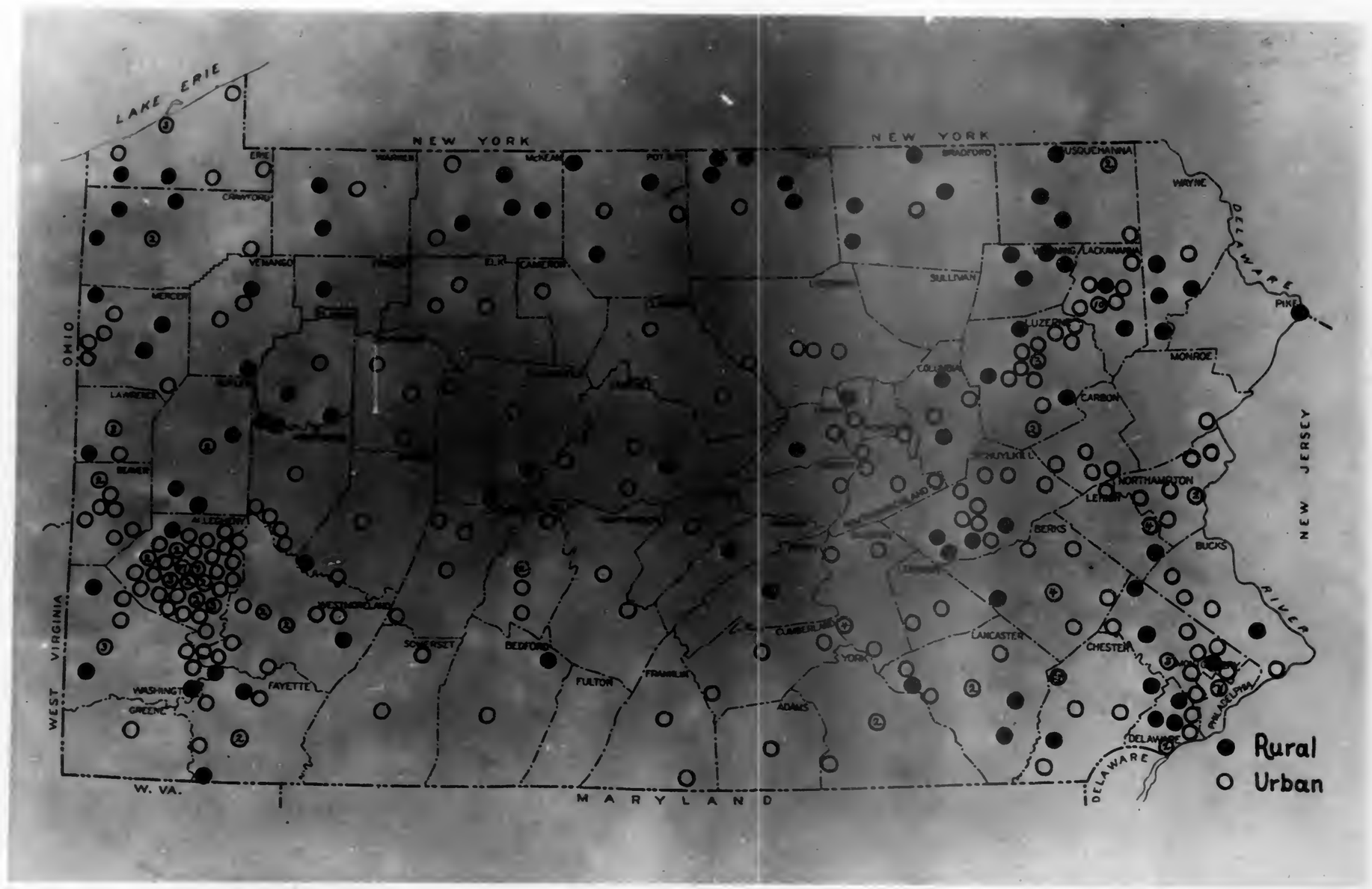


Figure 167. Location of Eastern Star Lodges in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

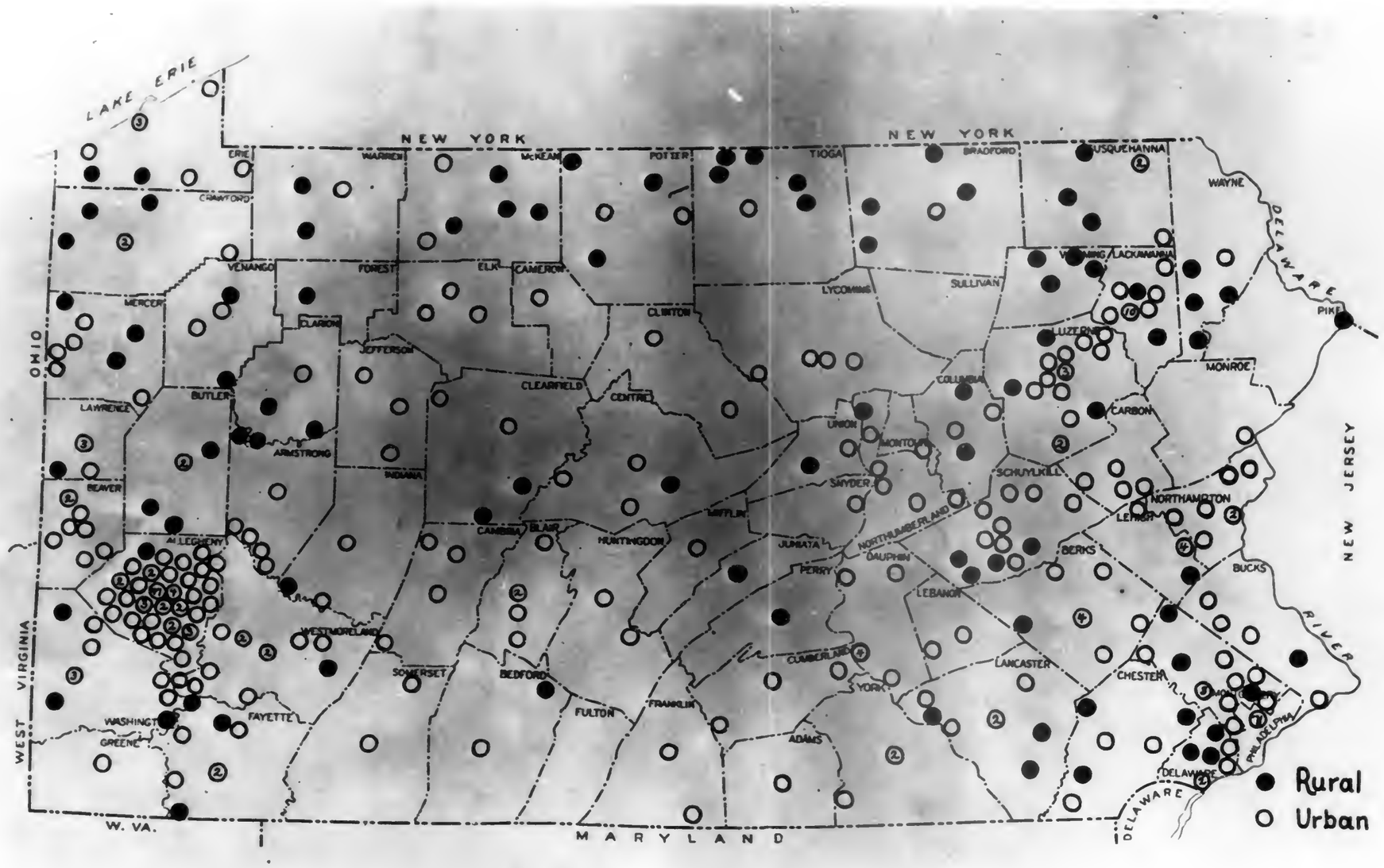


Figure 167. Location of Eastern Star Lodges in Pennsylvania, 1959.

orphan boys and girls and two for aged men and women. It also is active in the two Rebekah homes described in the next section.

(d) Independent Order of Odd Fellows.

Figure 168 shows the location of 955 subordinate lodges of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows in Pennsylvania.[4] The membership in 1939 was 96,699. This distribution shows three major contrasts with the Masonic Order. First, there are many more of them; second, they are more evenly dispersed throughout the state; and third, the proportion of rural to urban lodges is much greater. There were 56 Odd Fellows Lodges in Philadelphia in comparison with 96 Masonic Lodges. There is a surprisingly large number of rural lodges throughout the state with particularly noticeable concentrations in the hard coal region and to the south of it. However, western Pennsylvania was seemingly not lacking in accessibility to the locals of this order. No county in the state was without an Odd Fellows Lodge and only one county in the state did not have a rural lodge. It is evident from this that the Independent Order of Odd Fellows is much more of a rural organization than the Masonic Lodge since it follows to a much less degree concentrations of urban population. In all there were 527 rural lodges in Pennsylvania in 1939 or 55 per cent of the total. In point of numbers, therefore, this order is next to the Grange in importance, as a social organization for rural Pennsylvania. In fact in many counties, especially southeastern Pennsylvania, it is a much stronger rural organization than the grange. Whereas Masonic lodges appeal to the higher strata of the population the Odd Fellows Lodge secures most of its membership from the middle classes. Dues and fees are relatively low. This,

4. Source: Office of the Grand Secretary, Philadelphia.

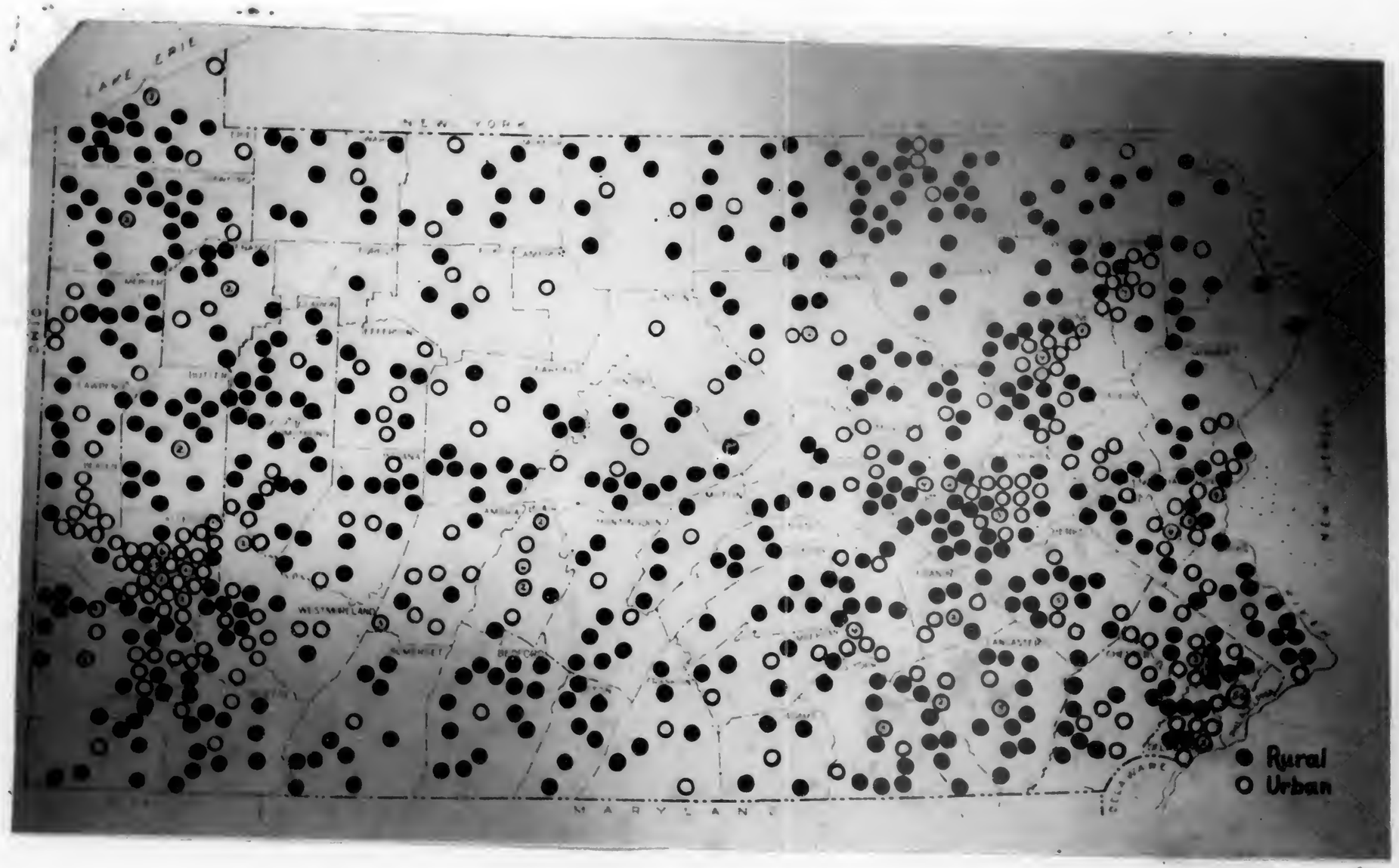


Figure 168. Location of Lodges of the Independent Order of Oddfellows in Pennsylvania, 1939.

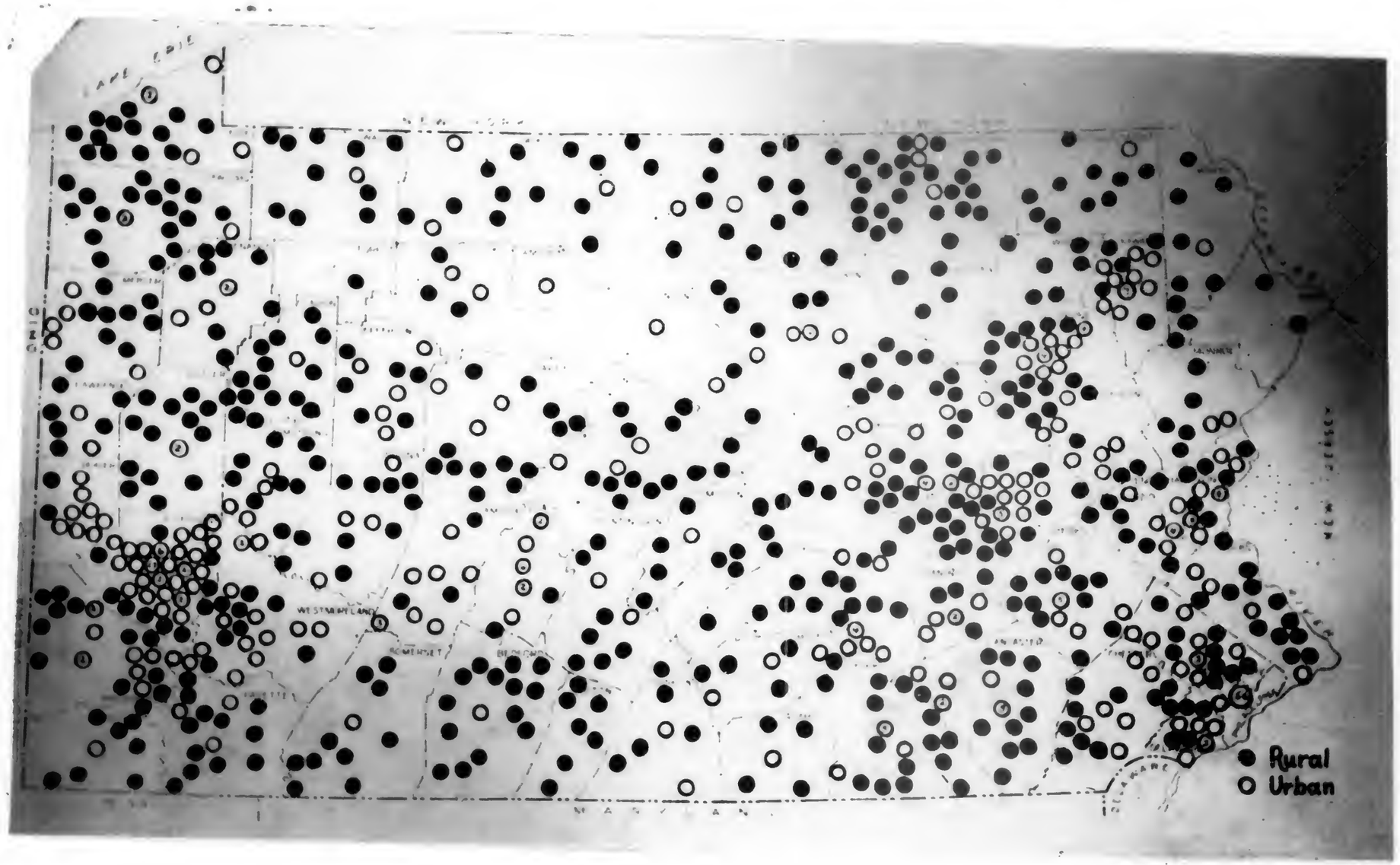


Figure 168. Location of Lodges of the Independent Order of Oddfellows in Pennsylvania, 1939.

of course, accounts for much of the difference in patterning in the state.

Homes for aged and dependent members of the families of Odd Fellows are maintained near Grove City and Middletown.

(e) Rebekah Assembly.

The Rebekah Lodge is the companion women's organization to the Independent Order of Odd Fellows. Unlike the Eastern Star the Rebekah Assembly is an auxiliary of the male organization. Figure 169 shows the distribution of these lodges throughout the state.[5] There are fewer Rebekah Lodges than their male counterpart but again it is evident that the distribution of these lodges is fairly uniform in the commonwealth. Further, a considerable number of these Rebekah Lodges are located in rural communities. In 1939 there were 241 so located.

Whereas many of the rural Odd Fellow lodges in the northern tier and in western Pennsylvania have women's auxiliaries this situation does not obtain in the southeast. For example, only two of the 15 rural Odd Fellows Lodges in York County have Rebekah Lodges attached. Comparably, but one of the 12 rural Odd Fellows Lodges in Lancaster County has a female auxiliary. Comparable figures may be quoted for many of the counties throughout Pennsylvania German territory where the attitude toward women belonging to separate social organizations is not favored. In this area the woman's place is in the home. This same condition exists with the Eastern Star Order. Thus we find for the state as a whole that but 42 per cent of rural I.O.O.F. lodges have Rebekah companions while 71 per cent of urban I.O.O.F. Lodges have Rebekah groups attached. Forest and Perry were the only counties having no lodges of this order.

5. Source: Office of Secretary of Pennsylvania Assembly, Philadelphia.

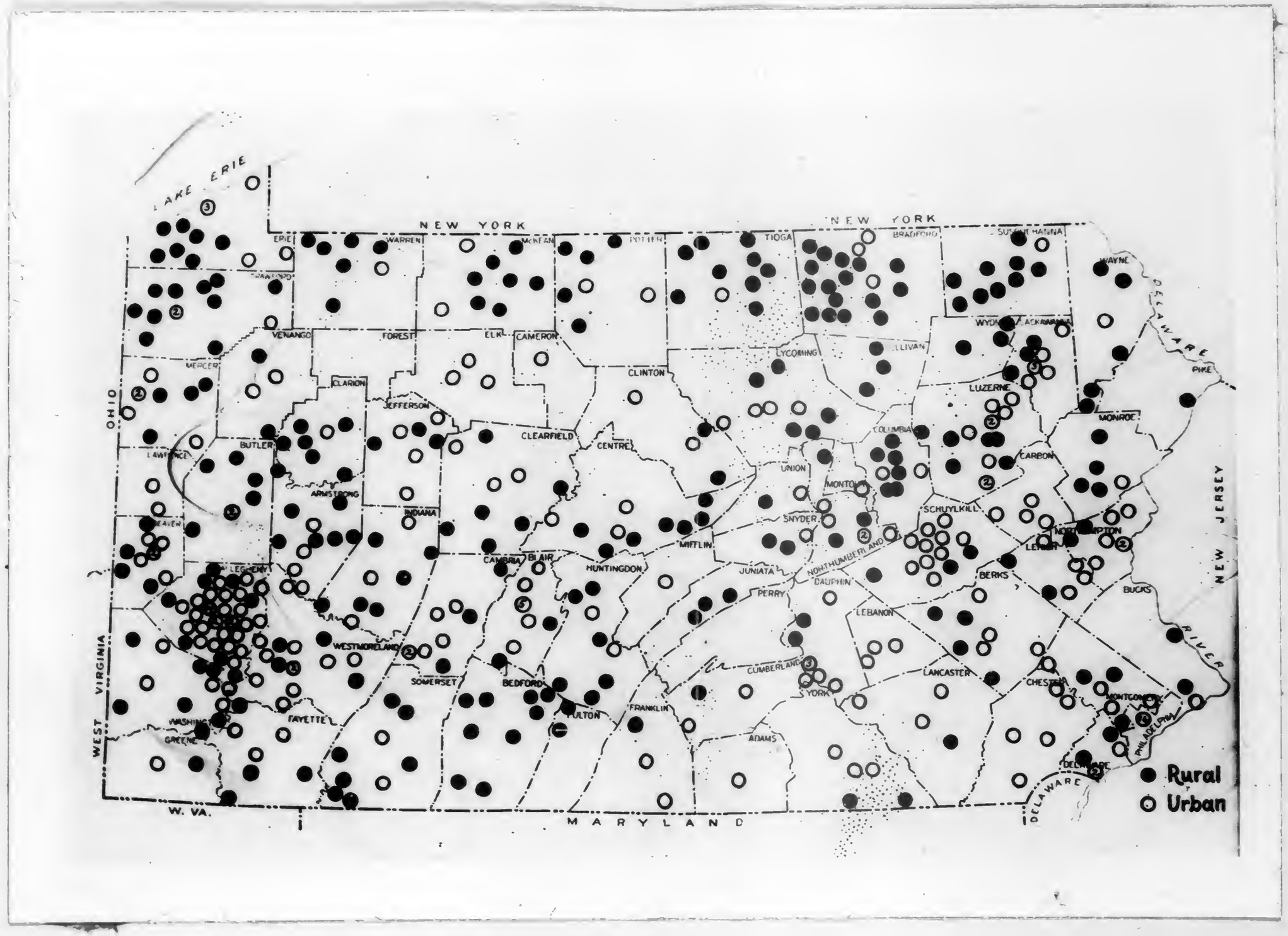


Figure 169. Location of Rebekah Lodges in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

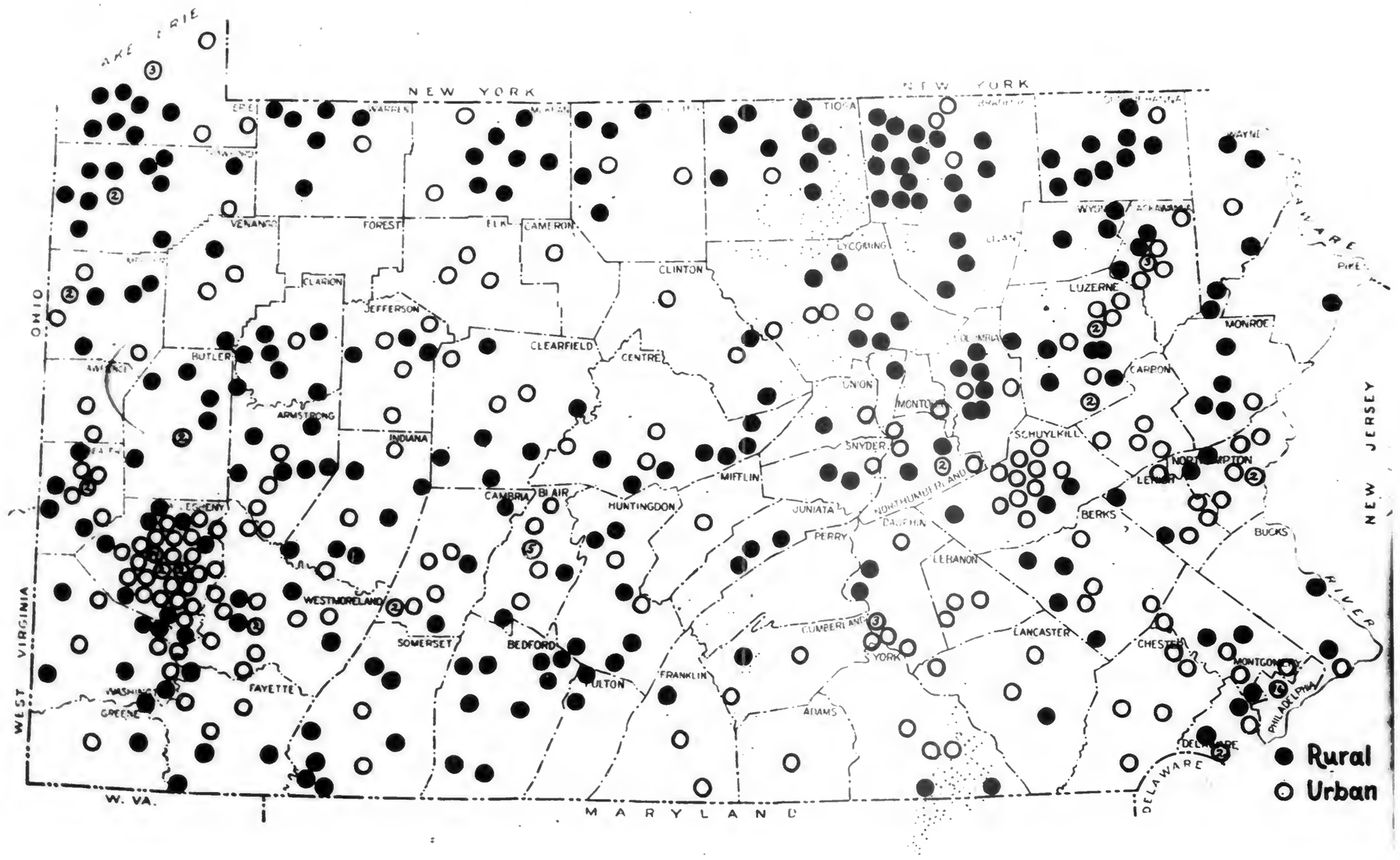


Figure 189. Location of Rebekah Lodges in Pennsylvania, 1939.

(f) Modern Woodmen of America.

There were 228 Woodmen's Lodges in Pennsylvania in 1939 with a total membership of 12,531 persons. As evidenced from Figure 170, they are uniformly yet sparsely distributed throughout the state.[6] Interestingly enough it tends not to multiply itself in large urban centers to the degree that other lodges do. There were, for example, only two lodges in each of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. On the other hand, less than half (40 per cent) of the lodges in the state were rural. A comparison of this map with Figure 9, which shows the distribution of towns and cities, indicates that most Woodman's Lodges were located in towns from 5,000 to 25,000. The greatest concentration of lodges appears in the quarrying sections of Lehigh and Northampton Counties, in the capital district, and in the steel area of western Pennsylvania. A total of 91 chapters could be considered rural lodges in 1939.

2. Patriotic Organizations.

It is clear that no mutually exclusive categories of social agencies can be established. In a very real sense the following organizations could be classed as fraternal orders even though some of them have a minimum of secrecy and ritual. However, they are classed as patriotic organizations because the prime reason for their establishment is hinged upon war, defense, or some other manifestations of patriotism.

(a) American Legion.

The American Legion is an organization of veterans of the World War who served honorably on active duty with the armed forces of the United States. Actually, however, this membership stipulation is not strictly

6. Source: Office of State Manager, Reading, Pa.

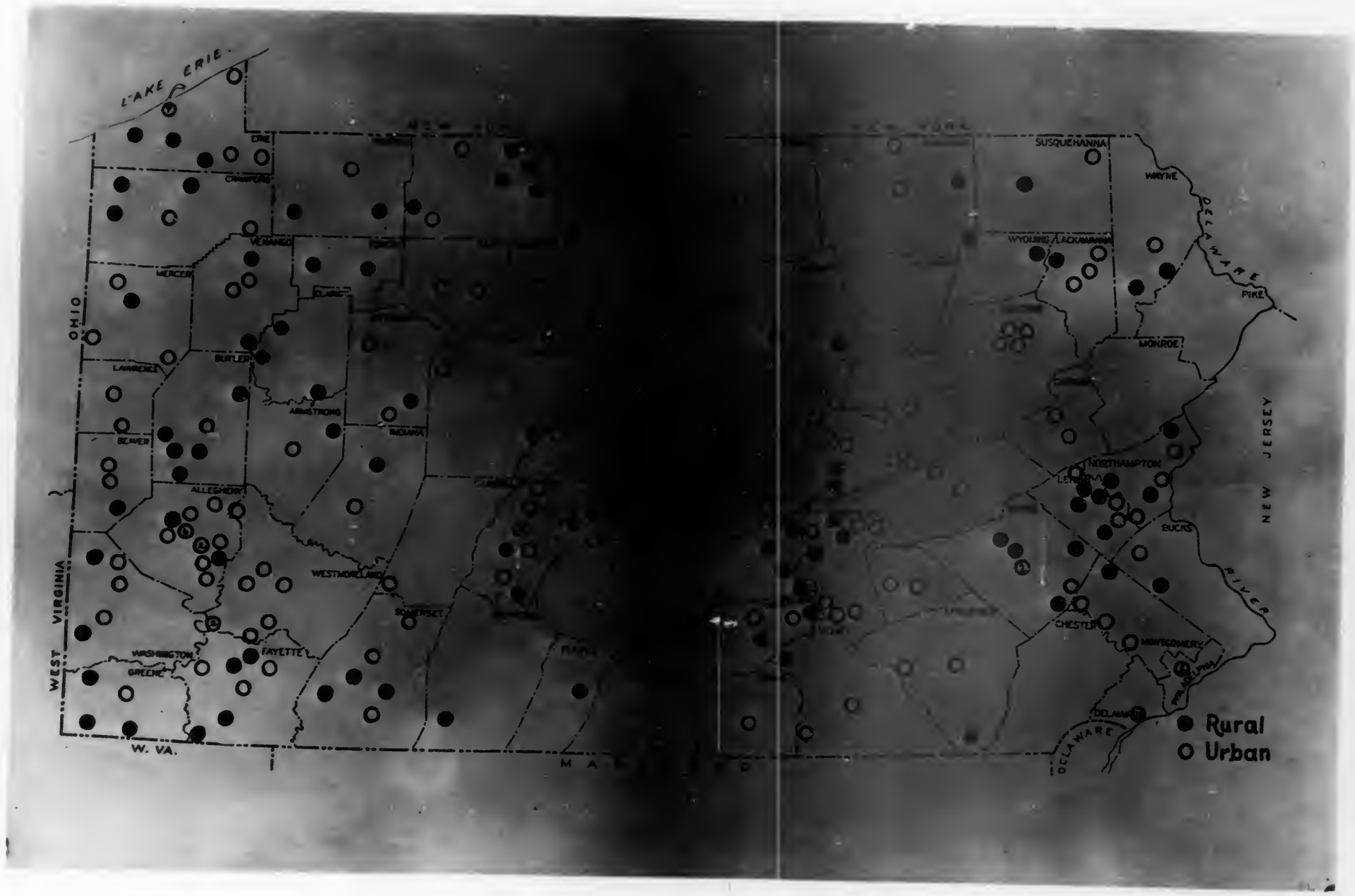


Figure 170. Location of Woodmen's Lodges in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

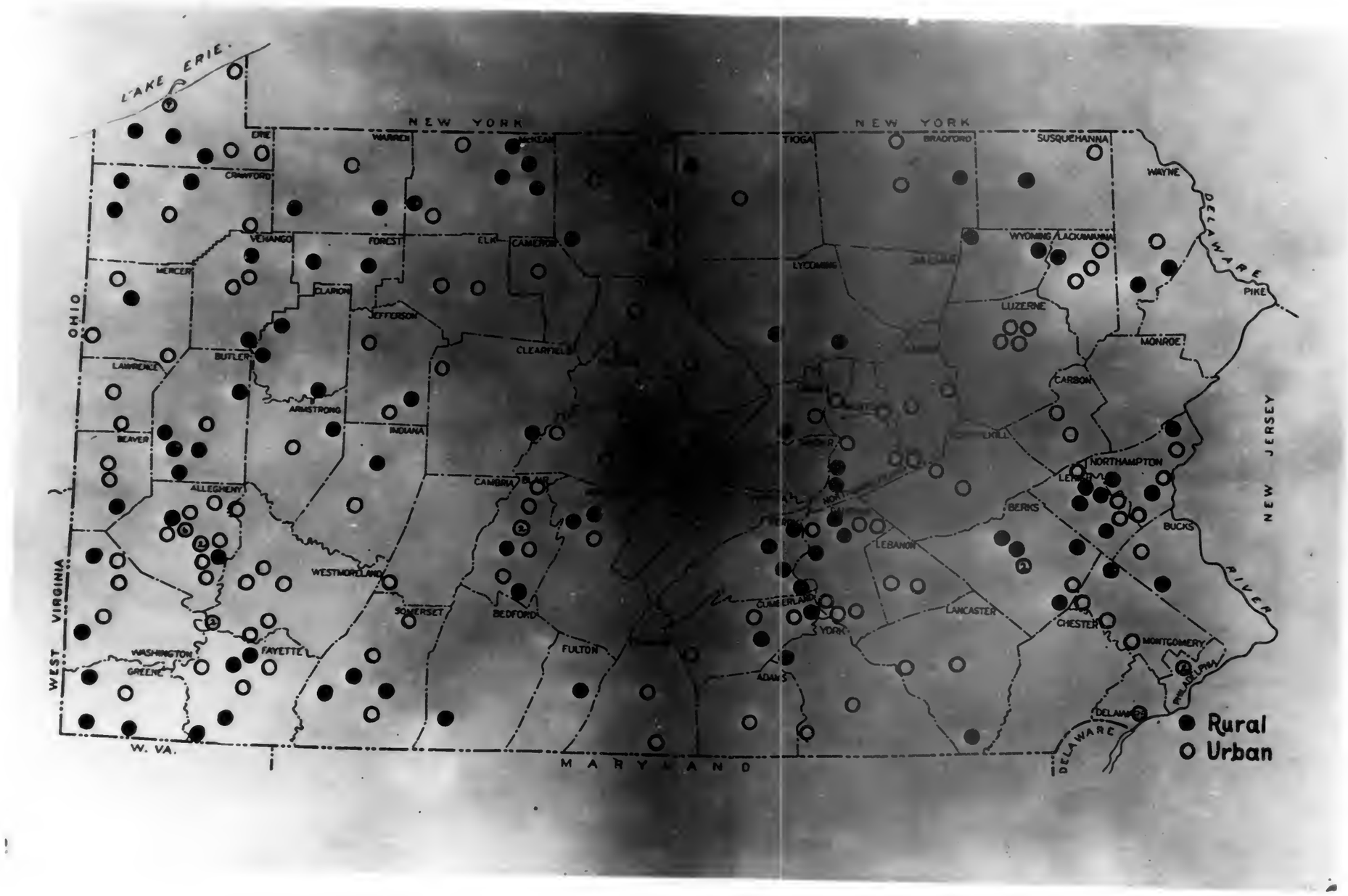


Figure 170. Location of Woodmen's Lodges in Pennsylvania, 1939.

adhered to in many local posts. The organization was chartered by Congress in 1919. The purposes of the Legion are: to serve the local community, the State, and the nation; to provide sociability; and to secure for the membership certain economic benefits.[7]

The distribution of the 632 locals in Pennsylvania with their 74,000 members, is seen in Figure 171. Their distribution follows closely the pattern of urban centers. Philadelphia had 73 Legion Posts; Pittsburgh had 20; and the Scranton-Wilkes Barre area had 41. Every county in the state had at least one Legion Post. In general the coverage is rather complete. Farmers tend not to belong to this organization in the same ratio as do village and city men.

Some of the more common activities of Legion Posts are: sponsoring scout troops, promoting band and drum corps, giving rewards for school achievement, organizing baseball leagues, developing emergency relief corps, holding dances and card parties, aid in local welfare, stimulating interest in health work - particularly child health, providing assistance to the children of Veterans when family resources are inadequate, and making speeches to schools on war, peace, and patriotism. Other important projects of the Pennsylvania Legion are the Orphans Home at Scotland, Pennsylvania, for children of deceased veterans, camp Keystone for children of Legion members, and the soldiers and sailors home at Erie for disabled veterans. There is much difference between Posts. In one community the Legion may serve as the chief community organization for the general good. In another place the local post may be merely a "crowd of card playing drinkers." Leadership is important.

7. Source: Office of Department Adjutant, Philadelphia.

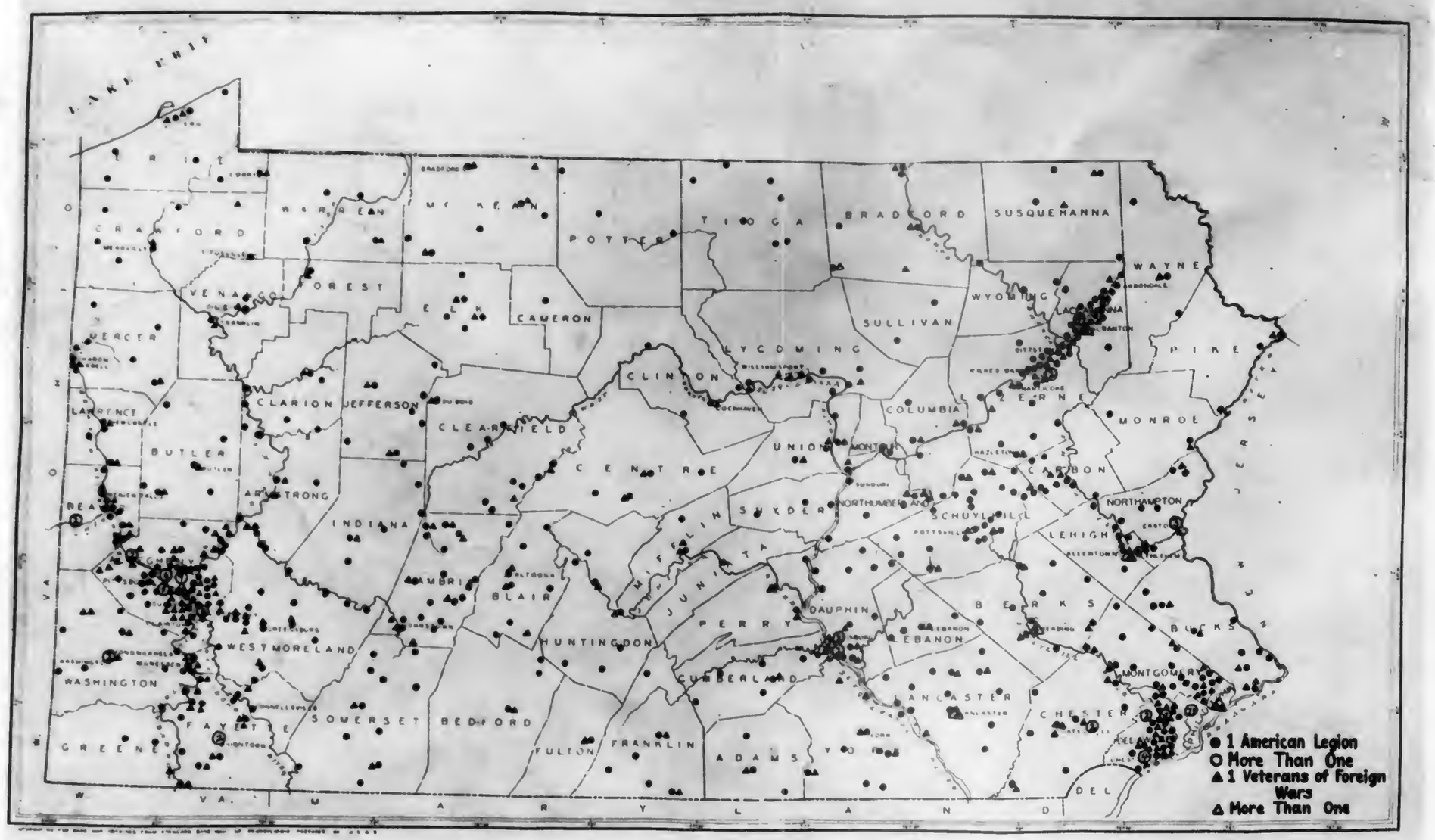


Figure 171. Location of American Legion and Veterans of Foreign War Posts in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

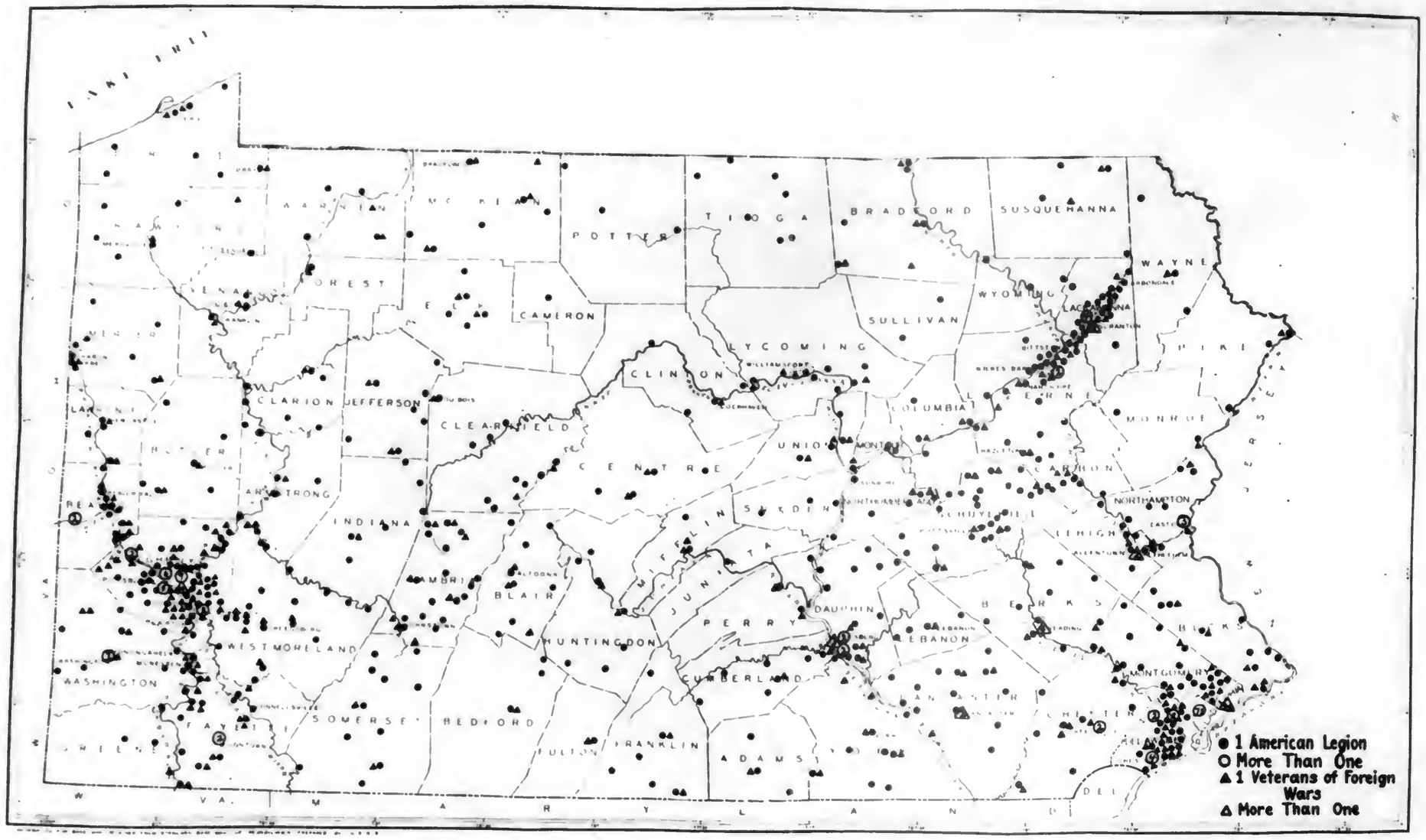


Figure 171. Location of American Legion and Veterans of Foreign War Posts in Pennsylvania, 1939.

The companion Organization to the Legion is the American Legion Auxiliary. There were 540 branches of this organization in 1939 with a membership of 41,000. Membership is limited to the wives, mothers, daughters, sisters, or widows of Legion members.

Another satellite of the Legion is the Sons of American Legion. It is an organization of boys attached to the local post. In 1939 there were 385 Squadrons with a total membership of 11,000 boys. Activities include rifle teams, color guards, ritual teams, bugle corps, baseball, basketball, hiking, and the like.

(b) Veterans of Foreign Wars.

Membership in this organization is limited to men who have had honorable service in the armed forces of the United States during a time of war for which the government authorized the issuance of a campaign medal. The V.F.W. was organized in Ohio shortly after the Spanish-American War in 1899 and was made a national organization in 1913. At the present time there are more than 4000 local posts. Pennsylvania has 300 of these posts scattered through 62 of the 67 counties with a total membership of 32,000 persons.

Figure 171 shows also the location of the 300 posts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. These organizations follow the urban pattern and are located primarily in cities and larger towns. Philadelphia, for example, has 98 V.F.W. Posts. The Philadelphia area, the Pittsburgh area, and the Scranton-Wilkes-Barre area are the three places of greatest concentration. It is seen that the American Legion has a considerably larger number of locals than the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Moreover, the pattern of distribution varies a good deal from place to place. In the area outside of Philadelphia,

for example, there are more American Legion units. The same situation is true in an exaggerated form in the hard coal area and tends to be the case in a great many rural counties. For example, in Potter and Tioga County, there are 10 American Legion organizations and no Veterans of Foreign Wars. On the other hand, in southwestern Pennsylvania, the Veterans of Foreign Wars have the greatest numbers of locals.

As with the American Legion the Veterans of Foreign Wars is primarily an urban agency. The activities of the V.F.W. are similar to the American Legion with stress on economic security and care of the sick, dependent, and aged, in addition to their program of social, fraternal, and patriotic activities. It serves as a strong pressure group for the advancement of legislation beneficial to its members. Further, "America's old Guard" is lobbying against communists, for strong national defense, measures for early retirement of veterans under civil service, against desecration of the "Star Spangled Banner", for organized labor, and so on.[8]

For women directly related to members of V.F.W. a "companion" organization exists called the V.F.W. Auxiliary. In 1959 there were 250 such locals scattered throughout the state. The total membership is 16,000. The activities are much the same as those for the American Legion auxiliaries — social, recreational, and civic.

(c) <u>Daughters of the American Revolution.</u>

The D.A.R. is Pennsylvania's most aristocratic patriotic society. It was organized in 1894. At the present time there are 129 local chapters with a membership of 118,000 in the state.[9] The foundation of the society is genealogy. That is only those "who can trace their descent from a

8. Source: Office of Department Adjutant. Harrisburg.
9. Source: Office of State Regent, Lancaster, Pa.

man or woman who with unfailing loyalty assisted in the achievement of American independence" are eligible for membership. The national membership is 144,000 having grown from 18 members in 1890.

Activities of Pennsylvania chapters consist of marking historic places, advancing American music, contributing to the educational aid of children, encouragement of literacy and americanization, working for conservation of human and natural resources, distributing flags, encouraging genealogical records, and the like.

A satellite organization is the Junior American Citizens Club for the teaching of citizenship training, preventing crime, and patriotic education. Many of these are with under privileged children. There are over 2,000 such clubs in the United States with 81,000 members. In Pennsylvania there were 416 groups with a membership of 14,656 in 1939.

A further indication of the work of the D.A.R. may be obtained by the listing of a few of the committees: Americanism, Correct Use of the Flag, D.A.R. Good Citizenship Pilgrimage, Genealogical Records, National Defense through Patriotic Education, Historical Research, and Motion Pictures. Besides the daughters of the American Revolution there are also the "real" daughters who actually are daughters of the American Revolution.

Figure 172 shows the distribution of the D.A.R. units in Pennsylvania in 1939. The scatter over the state is very uniform with only a slight indication of its following population density. Only six relatively unimportant counties in the state had no chapters. Philadelphia with nine chapters led the counties. Practically all of the D.A.R. units are urban groups located in county seat towns. Only 22 were rural units and these were largely in the upper Allegheny Plateau. Some of these rural centers

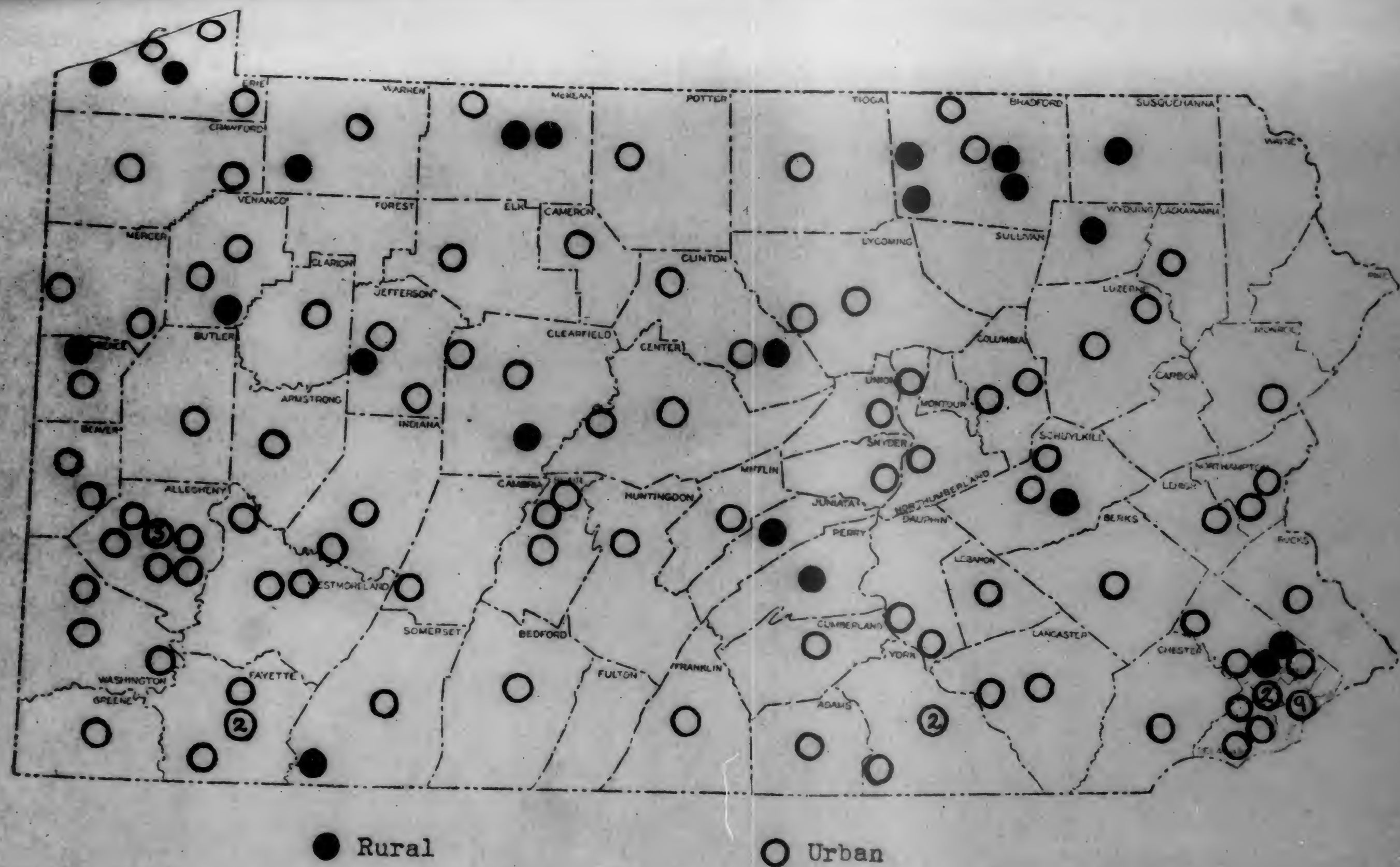


Figure 172.- The Location of Chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

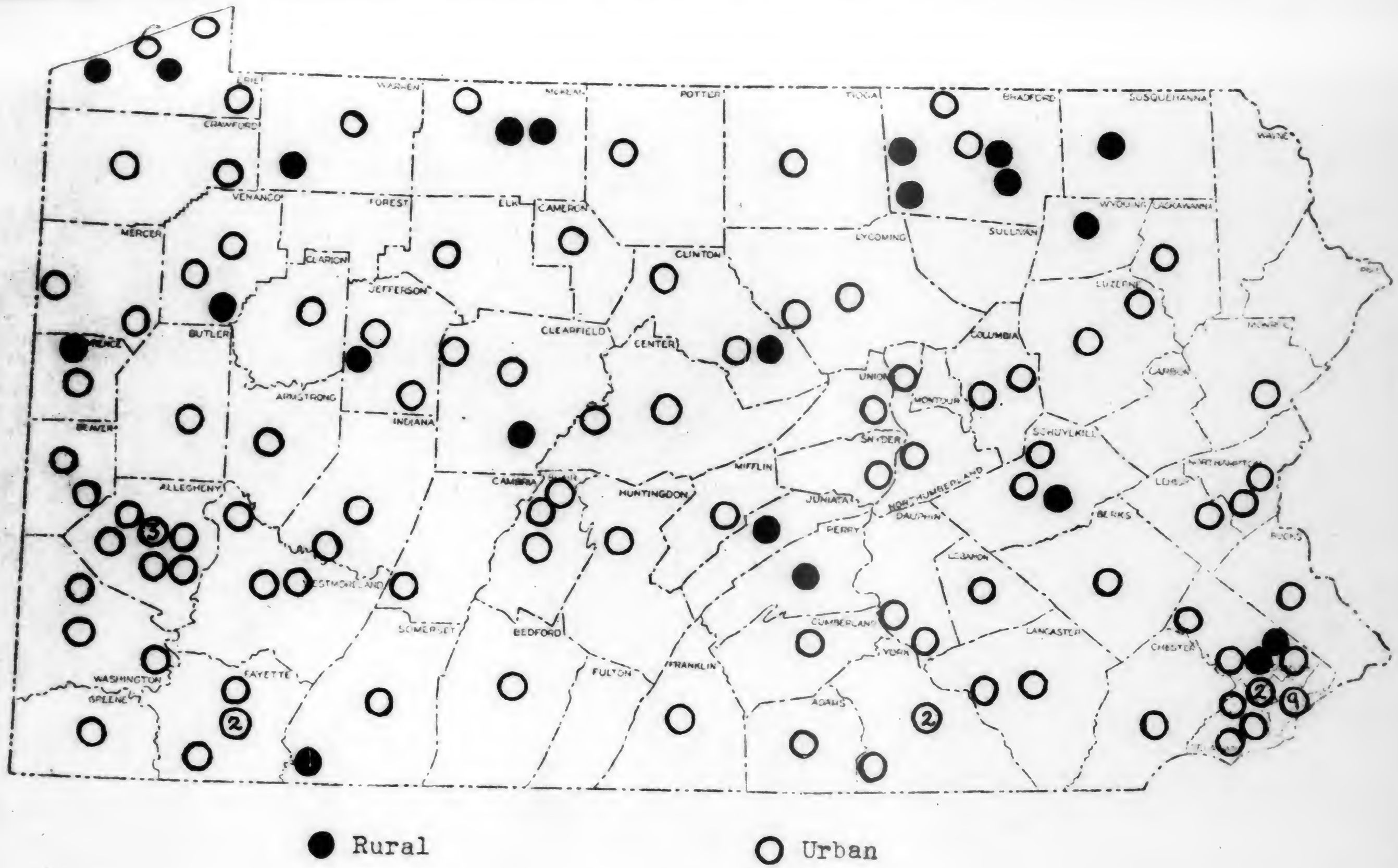


Figure 172.- The Location of Chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1939

were county seat towns also. The organization tends to cover the entire county in a number of cases.

(d) Patriotic Order of Sons of America.

The Patriotic Order of Sons of America is the oldest so-called patriotic order in the state, organized in 1847. The distribution of its locals is seen in Figure 173.[10] It presents an unusual picture since it is concentrated almost entirely in the southeastern quarter of the commonwealth. There were 63 camps of this fraternal order in Philadelphia in 1939 but outside Philadelphia rural units predominate markedly over urban units in number. This rural concentration is especially marked in Schuylkill County and the area below it. Thirty-one villages in Berks County of camps and at least a half dozen counties surrounding Berks practically every hamlet and village has a lodge of this kind drawing its members not only from village population but including a great many farmers as well. In all there were 750 local camps in 1939 of which 321 or 43 per cent were rural. The total membership was about 75,200 or an average of about 100 members per camp.

Any American born citizen over 16 years of age may join the P.O.S. of A. The initiation fee is $5.00 and the annual dues are $10 a year. It is a non-partisan non-sectarian organization with patriotism as its "cause". Everything else is secondary. An attempt is made to make every local camp a voluntary Dies committee to "root out subversive elements" and to put the Communists on the run. But in Pennsylvania German territory it is difficult to maintain this super-patriotism at a high emotional level,— especially when many of the rural camps do not know what a communist looks

10. Source: Office of State Secretary, Philadelphia.

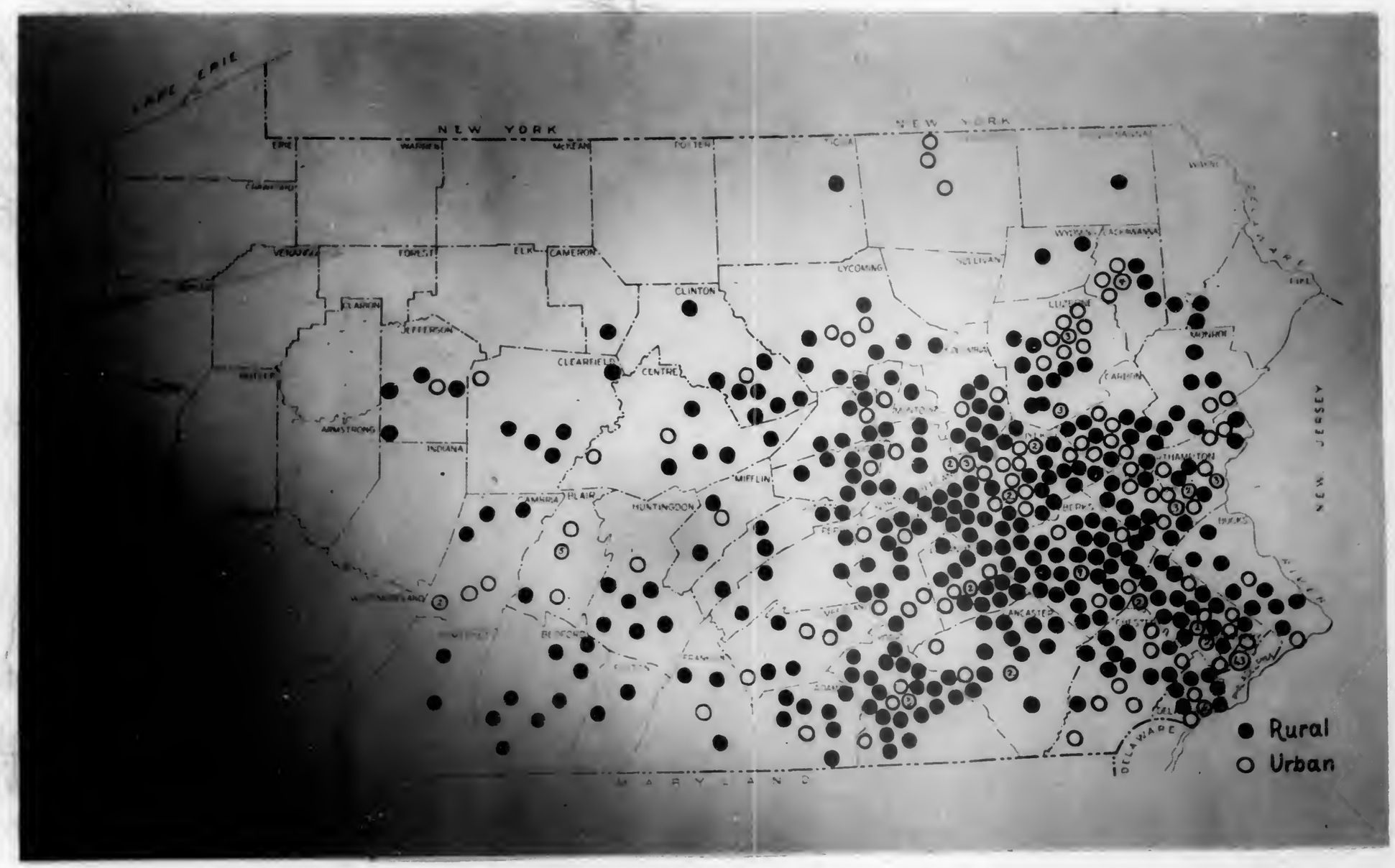


Figure 173. Location of Patriotic Order of Sons of America Lodges in Pennsylvania, 1939.

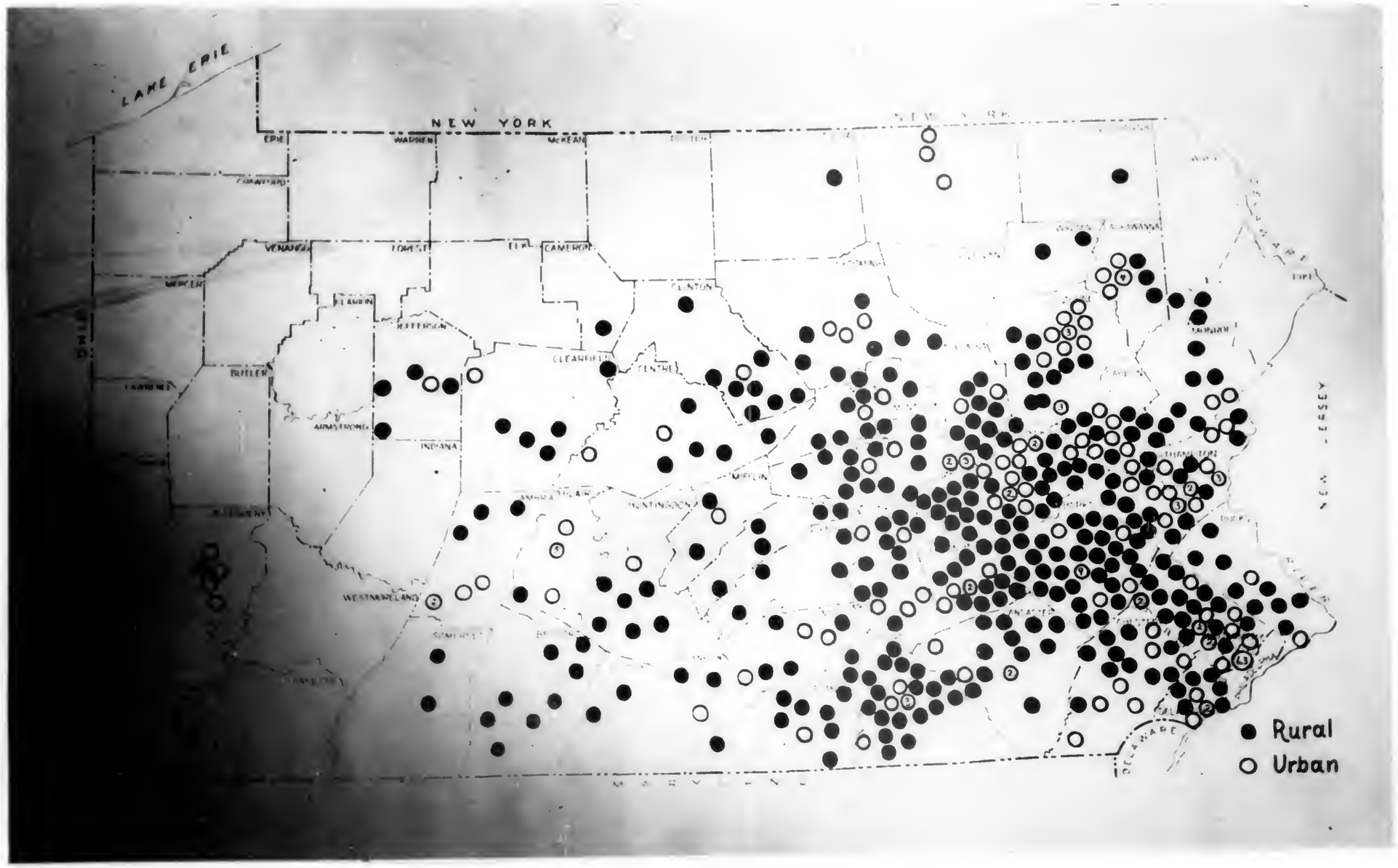


Figure 173. Location of Patriotic Order of Sons of America Lodges in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

like or stands for. The Dutch are too stolid. And so they frequently slip back to the more practical and more enjoyable local activities of sociability, fraternalism and marking historical places. The State Camp is much interested in legislation against aliens , to prohibit immigration, to make flag flying in front of school houses compulsory, and in sponsoring patriotic rallies. The organization maintains a home for the aged, a boys' summer camp, and a children's farm.

3. Open Adult Societies.

The organizations analyzed in this section are adult groups where secrecy and in-group -- out-group relations are at a minimum. In their type of organization, purpose, and method of functioning, however, the differences between these and some other organizations in other categories are not great. These are open societies in which almost anyone may participate without pledges, pomp, or parphernalia.

(a) The Pennsylvania Congress of Parents and Teachers.

The National Congress of Parents and Teachers was organized in Washington, D. C. in 1897. Today there are some 25,000 units with a membership of over 2 million in all states of the Union. The Pennsylvania Congress was organized in 1899 and had in the fall of 1939 1202 local associations in 63 of the state's 67 counties.[11] These local associations are federated into county Associations, these, in turn, into seven district Associations, and these into the State Congress. Membership is open to all but commonly the families with children in school are most active. The annual dues are usually 25¢ per person. The membership in 1939 was 128,000.

11. Source: Office of State Congress Secretary, Harrisburg.

The location of Parent-Teacher Associations in the state is shown in Figure 174. It is to be expected that heavy concentrations of population (See Figure 9) such as Allegheny County and the Philadelphia area should have a great many of such associations. This is true, but it is not true to the extent that one might expect. For example, in the Philadelphia hinterland the most P.T.A.'s are not found at the points where population is most concentrated but, as seen from the map, cover practically the entire counties of Chester, Montgomery, and Bucks. Conversely, Luzerne County with an unusually high concentration of population has relatively few Parent-Teacher Associations. On the other hand, a glance at the five counties comprising northwestern Pennsylvania where population is relatively scarce, shows that the P.T.A. has had a vigorous growth there. It is especially interesting to note that McKean and Warren Counties in the western northern tier and Bradford County to the east are well organized for parent-teacher work. Between these counties lie Tioga and Potter. The area is very much the same geographically and demographically but the organization of Parent Teacher Associations vary markedly. In Tioga County, parent-teacher work is mediocre. In Potter County it is entirely absent. Likewise the work in Susquehanna County is scanty. Populous Fayette County has but 3 small units. Beside it are sparse Somerset County with 14 units and West Moreland with 18. This leads one to the conclusion that one of the important factors influencing the ecological distribution of such agencies is the human equation. Personal and social reasons are as much responsible as anything else in the growth and maintenance of such agencies. Certain county superintendents of schools, for example, feel that the P.T.A. is a useless organization. Others

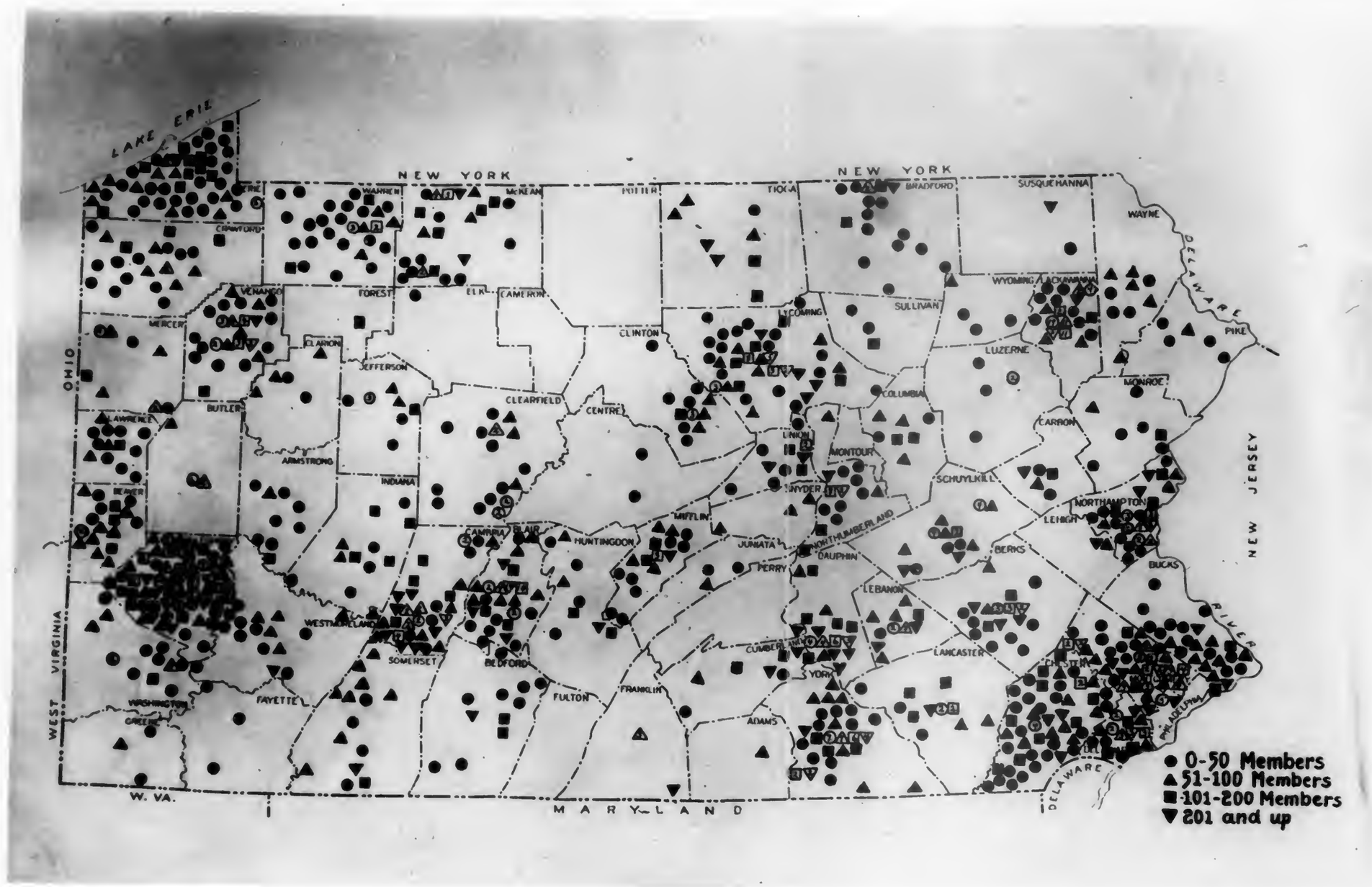


Figure 174. Location of Parent-Teacher Association in Pennsylvania, 1959.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

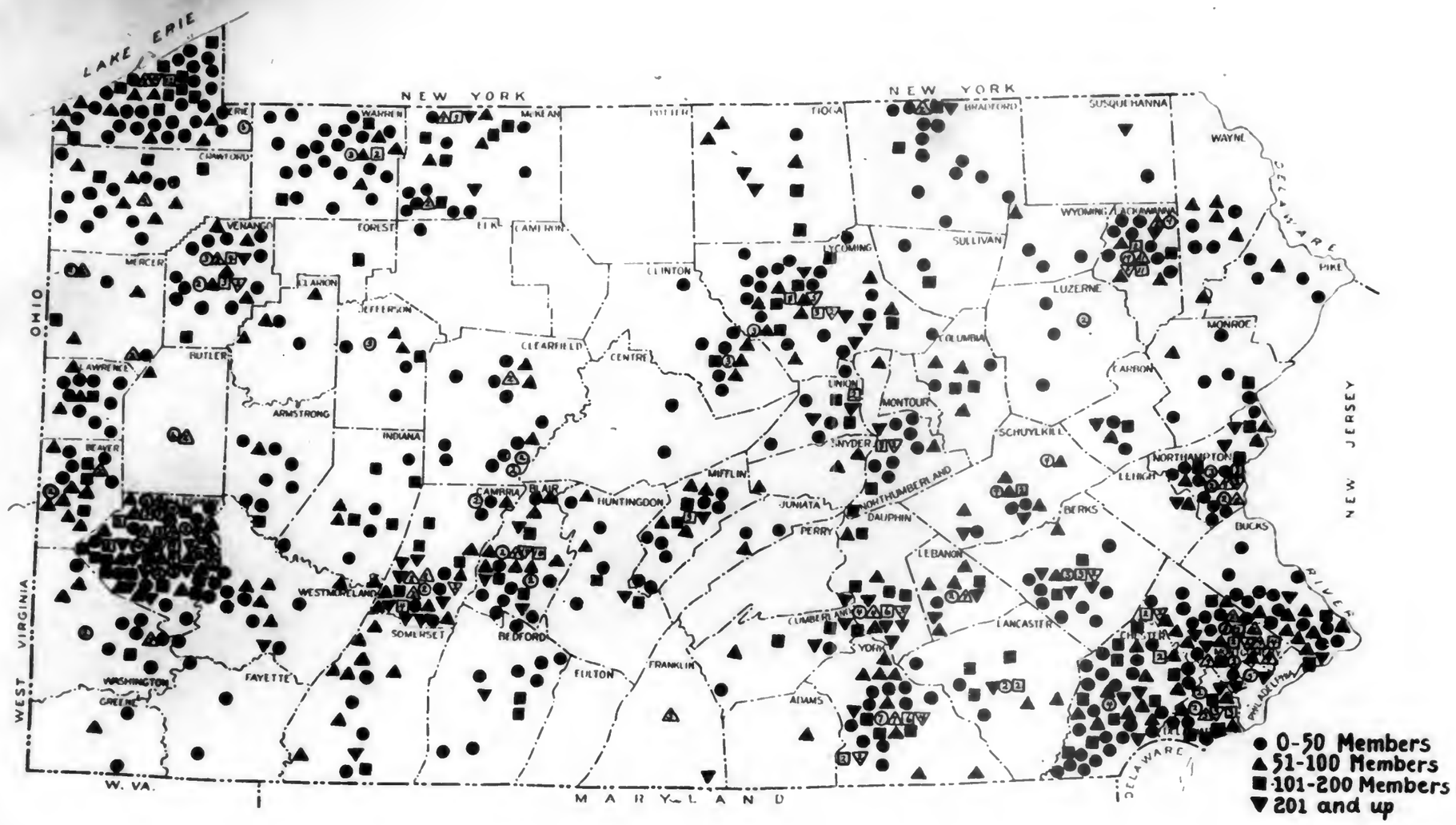


Figure 174. Location of Parent-Teacher Association in Pennsylvania, 1959.

realize that it would cause the superintendent some difficulty since Parent-Teacher Associations often promote programs too progressive for or at variance with the philosophy of the county administration. On the other hand, many county superintendents feel that an integrated body of informed citizens interested in the problem of school education is the best safeguard possible for the effective functioning of the school and for the preservation of democracy. In these counties, needless to say, Parent-Teacher Associations are actively supported from the county office. One of the state education officers, now retired, has summed up the situation this way: "In the counties where you find a high proportion of the pupils attending consolidated schools as opposed to one-room schools and active Parent-Teacher Associations connected with these schools, there you will find an alert progressive county school leadership coupled with local initiative."

The objectives of the organization are: to promote the welfare of children and youth in the home school and community; to secure a closer cooperation between teachers and parents in the intelligent training of the child; to integrate more closely the home and school; and to secure more adequate laws for the care and protection of children and youth. It is evident that many of these objectives overlap. Further, from an analysis of the programs it is clear that many activities in which the P.T.A. engages have little relation to the school. Especially in the more rural communities the P.T.A. functions as a community organization and it is as likely to sponsor a clean up campaign or a tennis court as more books for the school library. In many places these local units are potent influences for community good. They are frequently under the

guidance of the strongest leadership in the community. Common projects are health clinics, hot school lunches, lectures, forums, recreational equipment, parties, and special community events. These activities are non-partisan, non-sectarian, and non-commercial. Local groups commonly meet monthly in regular meeting.

A P.T.A. Leadership Training School is held annually at Bucknell University. The purpose is to strengthen the work of officers and committeemen so the local units may better serve the needs of the members and the community. Recently an individual study course has been set up which is designed to achieve these same objectives in training.

The Pennsylvania Parent-Teacher is the official organ of the State Congress. At an annual subscription rate of 25¢ it brings to local leaders success stories, program aids, sources of information, inspiration, and new developments in the field.

Another aspect of Pennsylvania P.T.A.'s is the size of the local unit. It is seen in Figure 174 that by far the largest number of locals had less than 50 members. This was especially true in rural northwestern Pennsylvania, in the rural parts of the New York Milk Shed. Cities had larger local units. Erie, for example, had more units over 200 than there were in the other three classes combined. In relation to the population the cities Scranton, Altoona, Erie, and Harrisburg are best organized for P.T.A. work.

Of the 1202 units, 516 or 43 per cent had under 50 members. The counties having large rural non-farm populations had the most of these groups. One-fourth of the groups had from 51-100 members; 230 groups had membership of 101-200 persons; while 152 urban units had members in excess of 201.

There are a number of parent teachers associations which are not affiliated with the county district, state, and national organizations. Some of these call themselves Mothers' Clubs. Others reverse the official name and wear the label Teacher-Parent Association. In this way they escape paying dues to the parent organization. Moreover, not infrequently these groups avail themselves of the official program material supplied by the P.T.A.

(b) Pennsylvania Society of Farm Women.

This society was organized in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, in 1914. It developed in Pennsylvania German territory and was originally called "Die Hausfrauen" but later the name was changed. The objects of the organization are "to perpetuate that which was good in the pioneer homes of our grandmothers, and teach their spirit of patriotism and sacrifice; to foster a love for the farm and rural life of today, by teaching the dignity of farming, the science of working the soil and the charm of a real country home; to create and maintain organized centers for social enlivement and the betterment of rural conditions in farm homes and communities."[12]

The meetings of the local societies are held once a month, usually at homes. Any woman who is identified with farm life is eligible to membership in the local societies if acceptable to the society. There are two kinds of members - junior and senior. However, to the knowledge of the writer, no junior groups exist. Ten farm women in one locality are a sufficient number to start a local farm women's society.. The annual meetings of the county organizations are held in July while the state annual meeting is held in connection with the Pennsylvania Farm

12. Source: Office of the State President, Ephrata, Pennsylvania.

Show described earlier.

It is stipulated in the constitution that at meetings of the local societies "two varieties of food and a beverage only may be served at one time." The dues are $1.00 a year.

The programs at the local societies consist of numbers presented largely by the club members themselves. These invariably include two papers, a major and a minor. The rest of the program is built around these as a central core. Some of these groups go further than the holding of socio-educational meetings. Some of them sponsor community flower shows and hobby shows. Most of them are very much interested in the development of community beautification through clean-up campaigns, rose planting, and the like. Some of the societies work with under-privileged families. Others cooperate with doctors and nurses in dental and crippled children's work. Many of the groups sponsor 4-H Clubs and in most counties work closely with the Extension Association. In other places community libraries are developed. A conscious attempt is made to eliminate politics and sectarianism. The membership of this society is largely Pennsylvania German women, most of whom do not believe in secret societies. It is most active in the southeast and tends to fill in the areas where the grange is not particularly strong (Figure 175). There are 42 local units in the state all in the southern part. The groups have around 25 members each. The total membership is about 1000 farm women. The group feels it is now on solid enough ground to enlarge the society. At the present time a program of expansion is under way.

(c) Farmers' Clubs.

No map is needed to show the distribution of Farmers' Clubs in Pennsylvania. There are but 20 of them and they are located in the

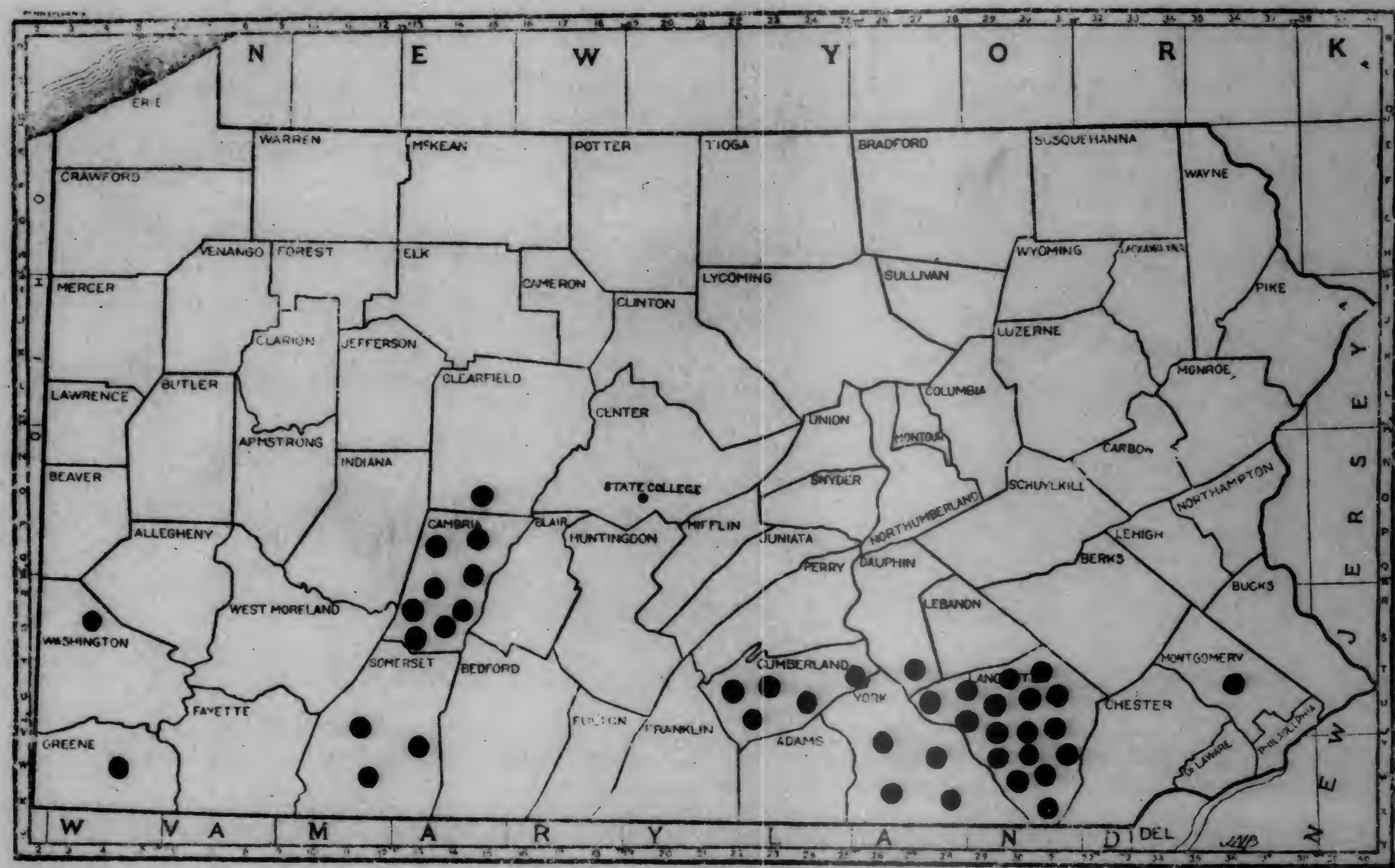


Figure 175. - Location of Pennsylvania Farm Women's Societies in 1939

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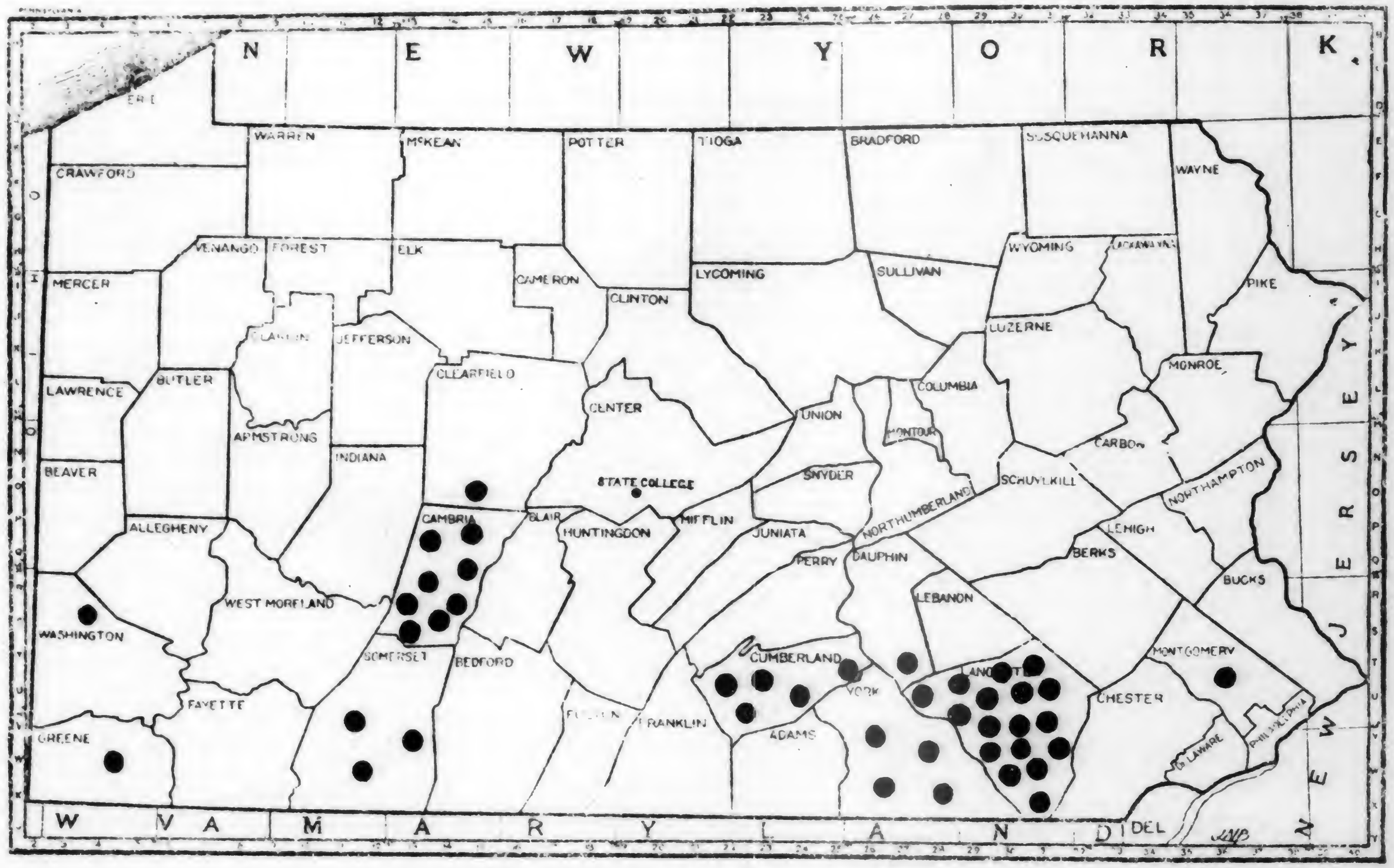

Figure 175. - Location of Pennsylvania Farm Women's Societies in 1939

counties of Chester, Montgomery, Bucks, Lancaster, and York. Chester County, with six groups has the largest number.[13] They usually consist of the families of 24 or 12 farmers. Meetings are held monthly at the home of one of the members. Prior to the dinner which is a large part of the day's activities the men go over the host's farm discussing strong and weak points. Laughing, joking and singing mark the dinner. After this a minor paper and a major paper (or an outside speaker) are given as the program. This is followed by discussion. Some of the most progressive families in the southeast belong to these associations and the meetings are usually of high caliber. By having only 24 families each one entertains every second year. This plan seems to appeal to most, and there is frequently a waiting list of farmers desiring membership as soon as vacancies occur. The clubs are commonly run without officers or dues. It is a loosely knit organization in which intimacy of association prevents the necessity of using formalized procedures. These clubs are not linked together in a federation.

(d) Pennsylvania Federation of Women's Clubs.

The Pennsylvania Federation of Women's Clubs was organized in 1895 and admitted to the General Federation of Women's Clubs the same year. Since that time it has grown from a handful of local groups to 807 clubs with a membership of 86,154 in 1939. The annual fees are 50¢ for senior members and 25¢ for junior members, but frequently local assessments are much more. These clubs are federated into county bodies in 65 of the 67 counties, the county groups into six regional associations, and these in turn into the State Federation.[14] Every county in the commonwealth has one or more clubs.

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13. Source: County Agricultural Agents.
14. Source: Office of State Secretary, Harrisburg.

The clubs indicated above are of four kinds: 567 Senior Clubs with 44,477 members, 214 Junior Sections with 11,248 members, 21 Associate Clubs with 4,794 members and 5 Affiliated organizations with 25,655 members. These affiliated groups include Pennsylvania Council of Jewish Women, Pennsylvania Organization for Public Health Nursing, Pennsylvania State Nurses' Association, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Pennsylvania Branch.

The location of Women's Clubs in Pennsylvania is shown in Figure 176. There is an evident concentration in the steel and coal area, primarily in Pittsburgh and satellite cities. This is less true in the Philadelphia area. In Philadelphia alone there are 28 Women's Clubs while in Pittsburgh there are 16. These two cities evidence the largest number. The number of Women's Clubs is disproportionately light in the hard coal section in comparison with the concentration of population in that area. It is noticeable too that certain of the largest cities have but one such group. For example, Scranton and Erie, which have a population of over 100,000, have but one club each. In this connection it is interesting to compare Women's Clubs with its strongest competitor the P.T.A. whereas Erie has 51 P.T.A.'s; it has but 1 women's club. Likewise Scranton has 48 P.T.A.'s and 1 women's club. On the other hand Philadelphia has but 8 P.T.A.'s against 28 Women's Clubs. Generally speaking the membership of Women's Clubs is smaller than that of P.T.A.'s., a majority of clubs have under 50 members. About 15 per cent have more than 100 members.

The Women's Club in Pennsylvania has been considered an organization for upper class city women. However, the map shows that there is a generous sprinkling of rural clubs throughout the state. As a matter of

Figure 178. Location of Women's Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

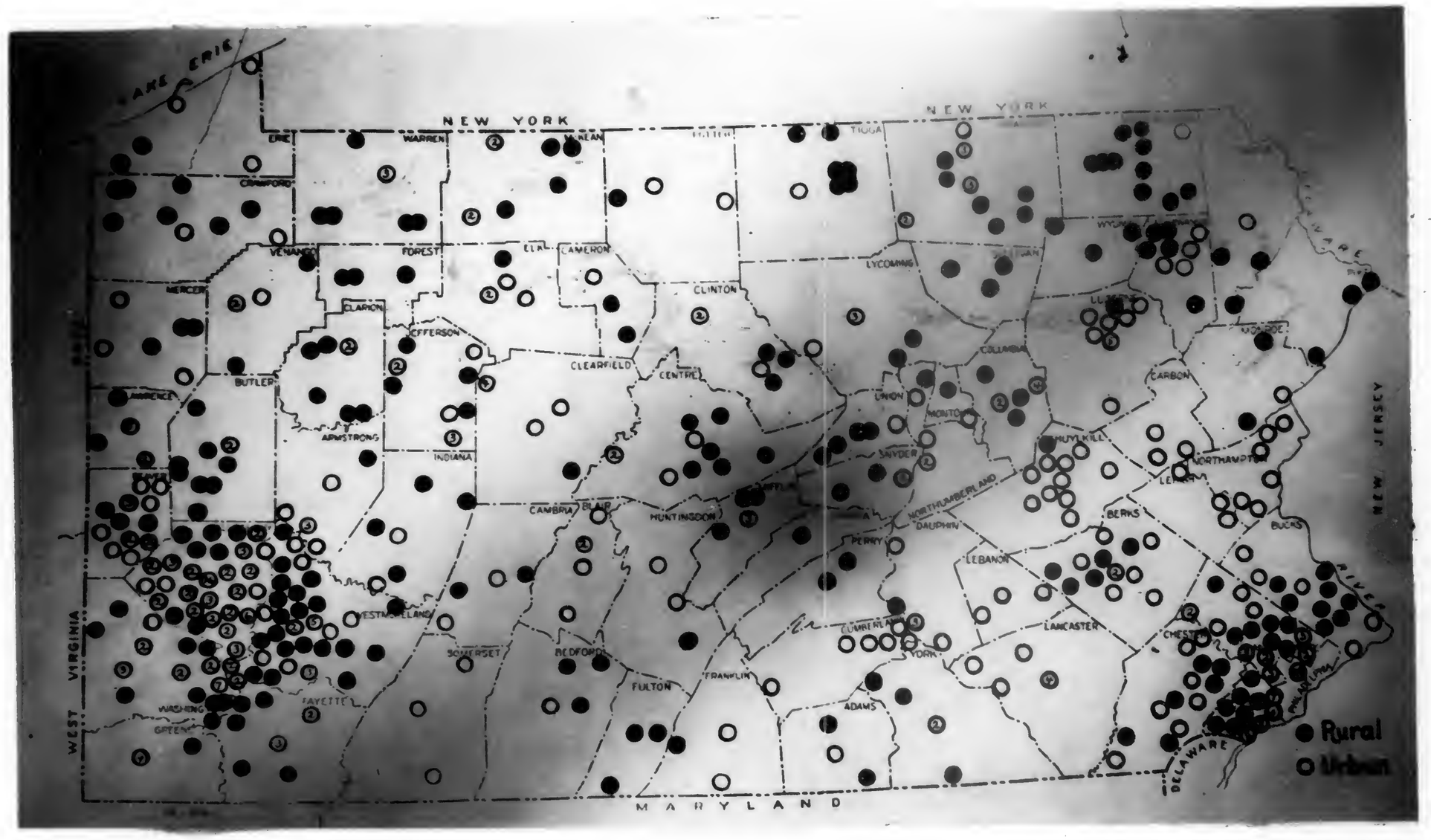

Figure 176. Location of Women's Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1939.

fact, in 1939 there were 249 such rural clubs or 51 per cent which were located in all counties but seven. The common opinion of the function of Women's Clubs has been that of tea drinking and gossip. On the contrary, in Pennsylvania it is imperically verifiable that the Women's Club is the most virile organization in many rural communities. They perform all sorts of constructive community work, from health clinics to libraries, community beautification, and marriage legislation. In 1939 they sponsored two bills requiring pre-natal and pre-marital physical examinations, including a blood test for syphilis.

One of their strong projects is the Institute of Social Relations held annually at the Pennsylvania State College in June covering such topics as Pennsylvania government, reorganizing schools, conservation, planning and zoning.

The "Pennsylvania Clubwoman" is the official organ of the federation with a circulation of 15,800. The subscription rate is 50¢.

(e) Pennsylvania Federation of Music Clubs.

This federation is a branch of the National Federation of Women's Clubs organized in 1898 and embracing today 5921 groups. The Pennsylvania Federation was organized in 1916 and in 1939 had 140 groups with 8000 members.[15]

The purpose of the organization is to develop appreciation of and participation in good music. Local organizations are strengthened by the encouragement of local composers, professional musicians, and teachers of music. The slogan of the organization is: a music club in every city, in every county, in every state of the Union. It will be seen later, however, that many of the Pennsylvania clubs are located in rural places.

15. Source: Office of State President, Pittsburgh.

There are two kinds of clubs in the Federation — Senior, for older women, and Junior, for women from about 18 to 30. "The Newsheet" is the official publication of the State Federation. It is a bi-monthly organ with a circulation of 1200 copies.

The distribution of Music Clubs throughout the state is given in Figure 177. This patterning shows concentration of activity on the east and west ends of the state with a wide "non-cultural" belt through the center from north to south. This scatteration does not follow general population density. In sparsely populated Bradford and Susquehanna Counties, for example, there are many Music Clubs, both Junior and Senior. The same situation obtains in relatively rural Mercer, Venango, and Butler Counties. On the other hand, urban Allegheny and Philadelphia Counties have but six and 13, respectively. This sectionalization of interest is due to the activity of unusual leaders. For example, the Bradford-Susquehanna concentration has behind it the best leaders in the county. They include in their program of activities not only the regular meetings but special events such as "The Northern Tier Folk Festival", developing of community choruses and bands, and special musical programs, which are carried out not only during Music Week but the entire year. Juvenile Music Clubs for school youngsters are being developed over the state as projects of the Senior and Junior Music Club groups. The major activity of these clubs, however, is their fortnightly or weekly meeting where music study and appreciation is carried on.

(f) Drama Clubs.

Drama Clubs in Pennsylvania are limited to the larger centers — cities, county seat towns, and especially college towns where the younger

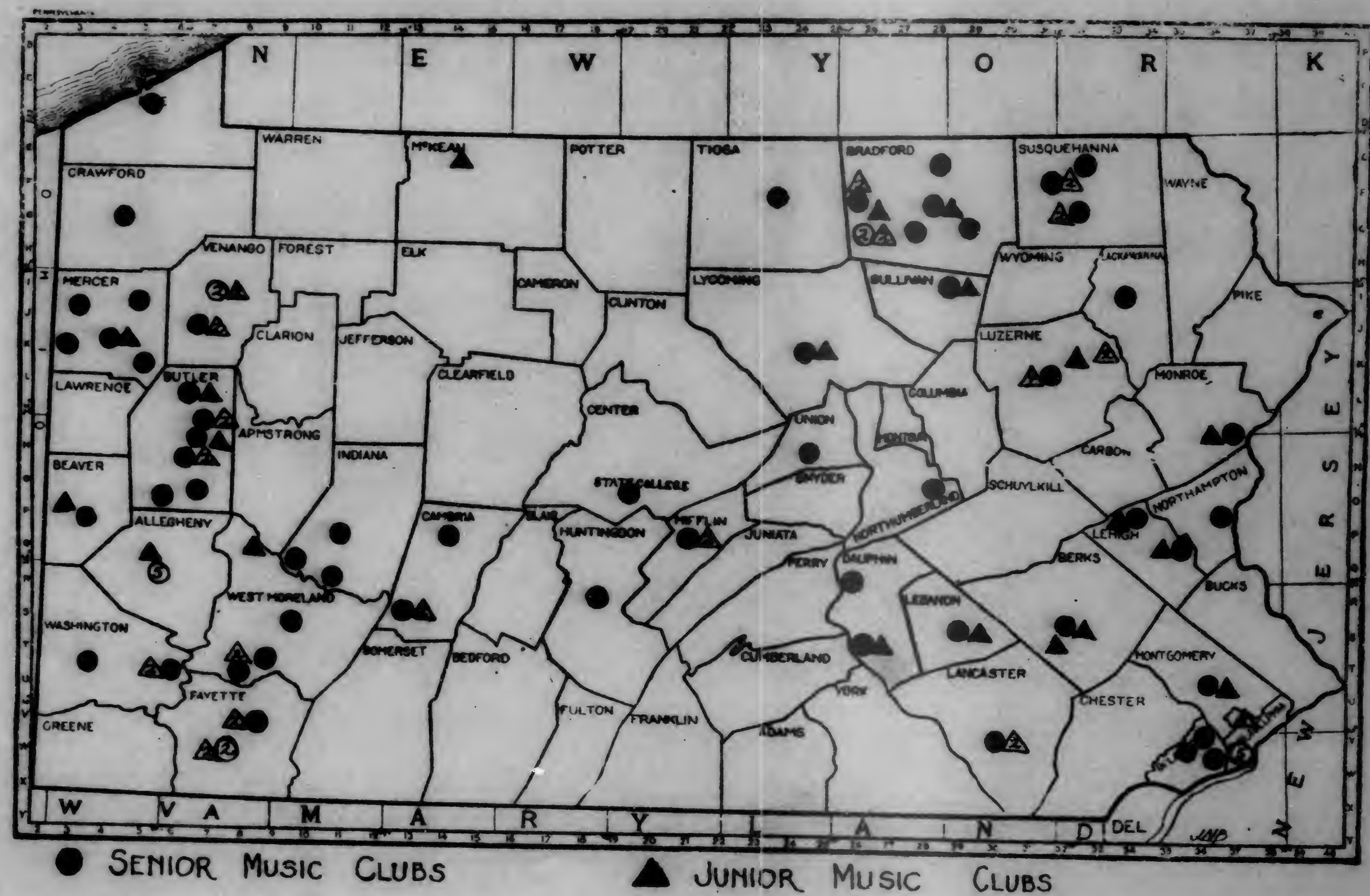

Figure 177. Location of Music Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

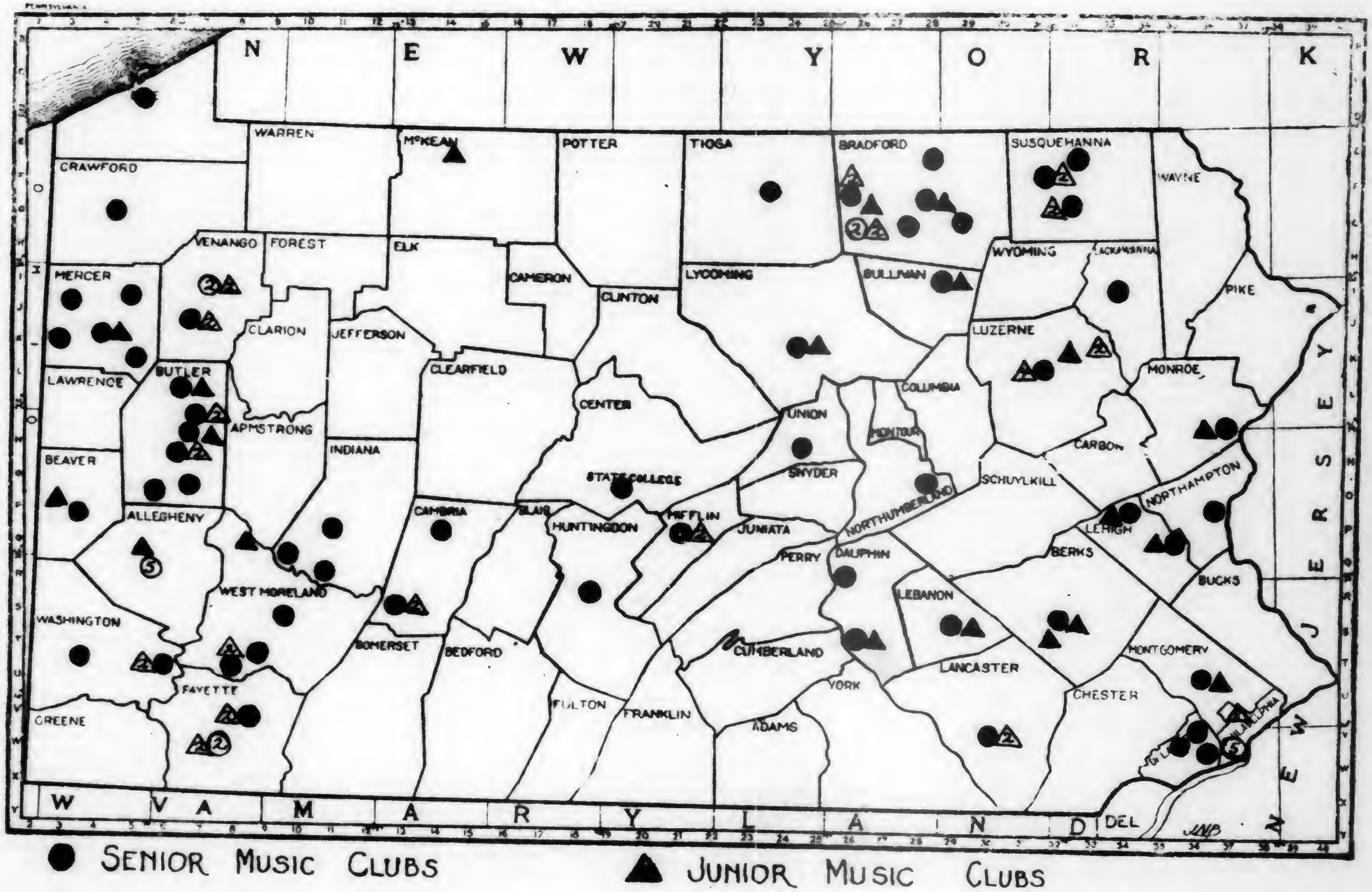

Figure 177. Location of Music Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1939.

faculty members commonly serve as the backbone of the organization. In most cases these clubs are known as Little Theatre groups. Common practice is for these groups to produce a one-act play every two weeks for the membership and to give four to six public performances a year. These public affairs are long plays, pageants, and groups of three or four one-act plays. In addition to these many general organizations have drama committees and dramatic activities. Thus most P.T.A.'s, Granges, Women's Clubs, lodges, and patriotic organizations produce plays during the year. Doubtless this form of amateur participation involves 20 times as many people as do the special drama clubs. And this is especially important in rural Pennsylvania where drama clubs do not exist.

These drama groups, both formal and informal, are performing a valuable function in developing personalities, in providing home made recreation, and in uncovering community history through pageantry.

4. Business Men's Clubs.

Most towns and cities of more than 5,000 population have some kind of business men's club. These business men have seen the numerous advantages of associating themselves in some type of organization through which the improvement of the community and particularly the improvement of their individual businesses may be achieved. There are four major kinds of clubs in the state - Kiwanis, Rotary, Lions, and Chamber of Commerce, the latter including the so-called business men's clubs. In addition there are a few scattered groups that are not associated in any way with a federated body. We will present, in turn, an analysis of the activity and ecology of each of these clubs.

(a) Kiwanis International.

Figure 178 shows the location of Kiwanis clubs in Pennsylvania in 1939. The organization was started in 1915 in the United States. At the present time there are 2,061 local units with 105,000 members. A charter for a local group costs $100, while minimum individual membership dues are $10 a year. In addition there is some obligation to attend a weekly luncheon or dinner. Unexcused absences from 40 per cent of these meetings during either half of the club year, or from four consecutive meetings jeopardizes one's membership. Only two representatives are permitted simultaneously from the same line of business, agricultural, institutional, or professional life. Each member must devote 60 per cent of his time to the business or profession under which he is classed. In Pennsylvania, there were 119 clubs with 6500 members in 1939.[16] The distribution of these clubs follows the urban patterning with concentrations in the Philadelphia Hinterland, the Hard Coal Region and the Allegheny Steel and Coal Area.

Standing committees include Agricultural, Inter-club Relations, Education, Music, Program, Public Affairs, Vocational Guidance, and Underprivileged Children. In addition, there are a number of committees for perpetuating the organization such as Attendance, Housing, Finance, Membership, Regulations, Publicity, and the like.

Under the slogan "We Build," the Kiwanis in Pennsylvania is doing some excellent community work. Some of their activities during recent years have been the sponsorship of community councils, conservation, narcotic education, public safety movements, improved community facilities, under-privileged children clinics, health clinics, vocational guidance,

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16. Source: Office of District Governor, State College.

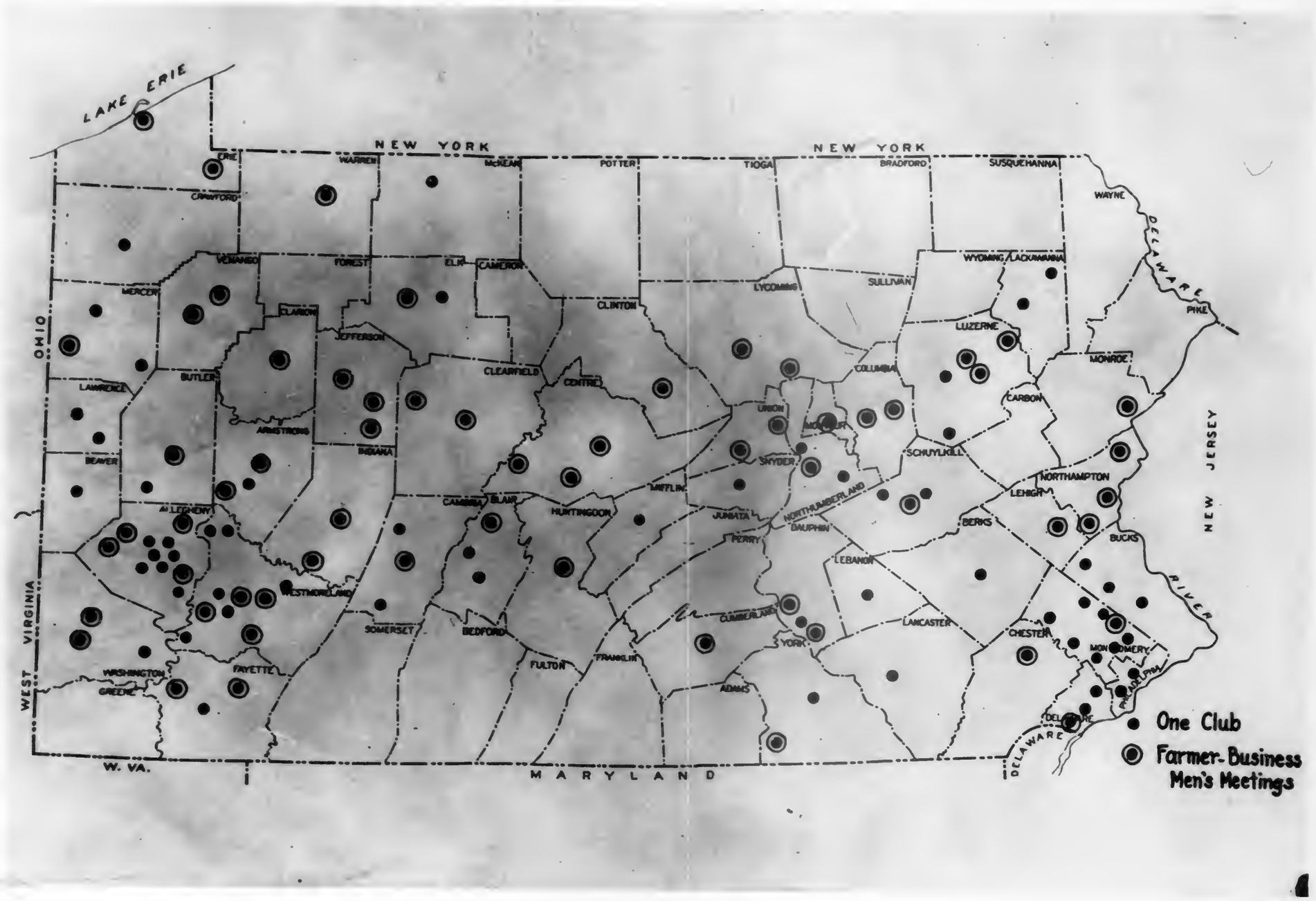

Figure 178. Location of Kiwanis Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1939.

boys' and girls' work and the like.

Of particular interest to rural people is the work of this organization in town-country relations. One common way of developing better feeling between farmers and business men is the holding of one or more joint meetings during the year with outstanding farmers. The communities in which these meetings have been held are indicated by the black dots which have been circled.[17] Most of the clubs outside the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh Areas undertook this work during 1939. Frequently there are several meetings a year in which the business men attend grange meetings or rural community suppers in a body. It is safe to say that such activity is doing much in removing age old conflicting attitudes between business and agriculture.

(b) Rotary International.

In 1939 there were more than 5,000 clubs in Rotary International located in more than 70 countries and territories and having a membership of 212,000. The first Rotary Club chartered in Pennsylvania was in 1911. In Pennsylvania there were 251 Rotary Clubs with 10,000 Rotarians in 1939. The amount of dues is established by each club.

The distribution of Rotary Clubs in the state is seen in Figure 179.[18] As contrasted with Kiwanis Clubs, we find many more clubs of Rotarians in rural territory. The pattern in certain areas, particularly in the Allegheny Mountains and Plateau shows quite a different distribution. Whereas there were but five Kiwanis Clubs in the 10 northern tier counties of the state, there are 24 Rotary Clubs. Likewise the southern tier of counties and the hard coal region is taken up with Rotary Clubs. A

17. Source: County Agricultural Agents.
18. Source: Office of National Secretary, Chicago.

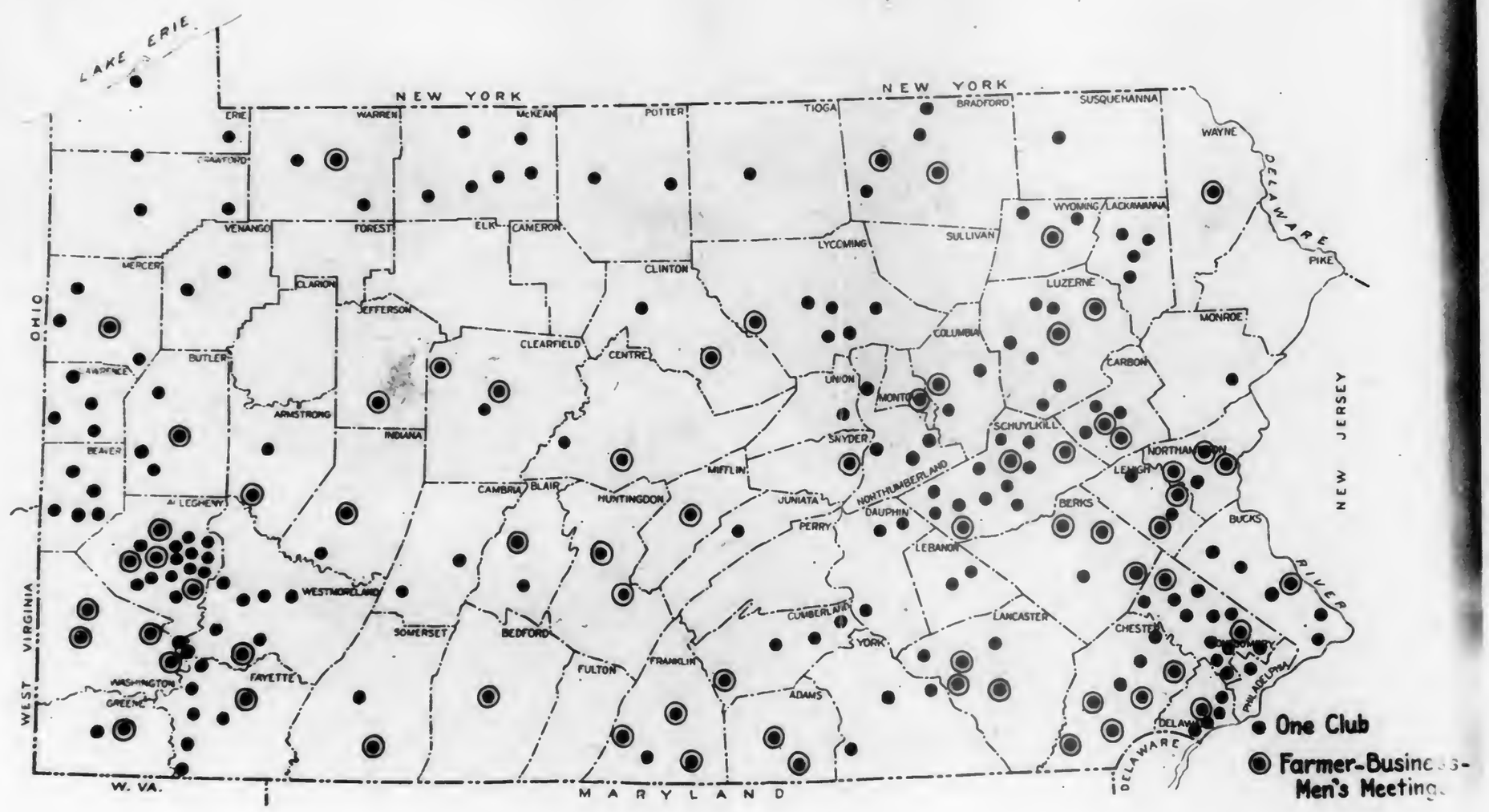

Figure 179. Location of Rotary Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1959.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

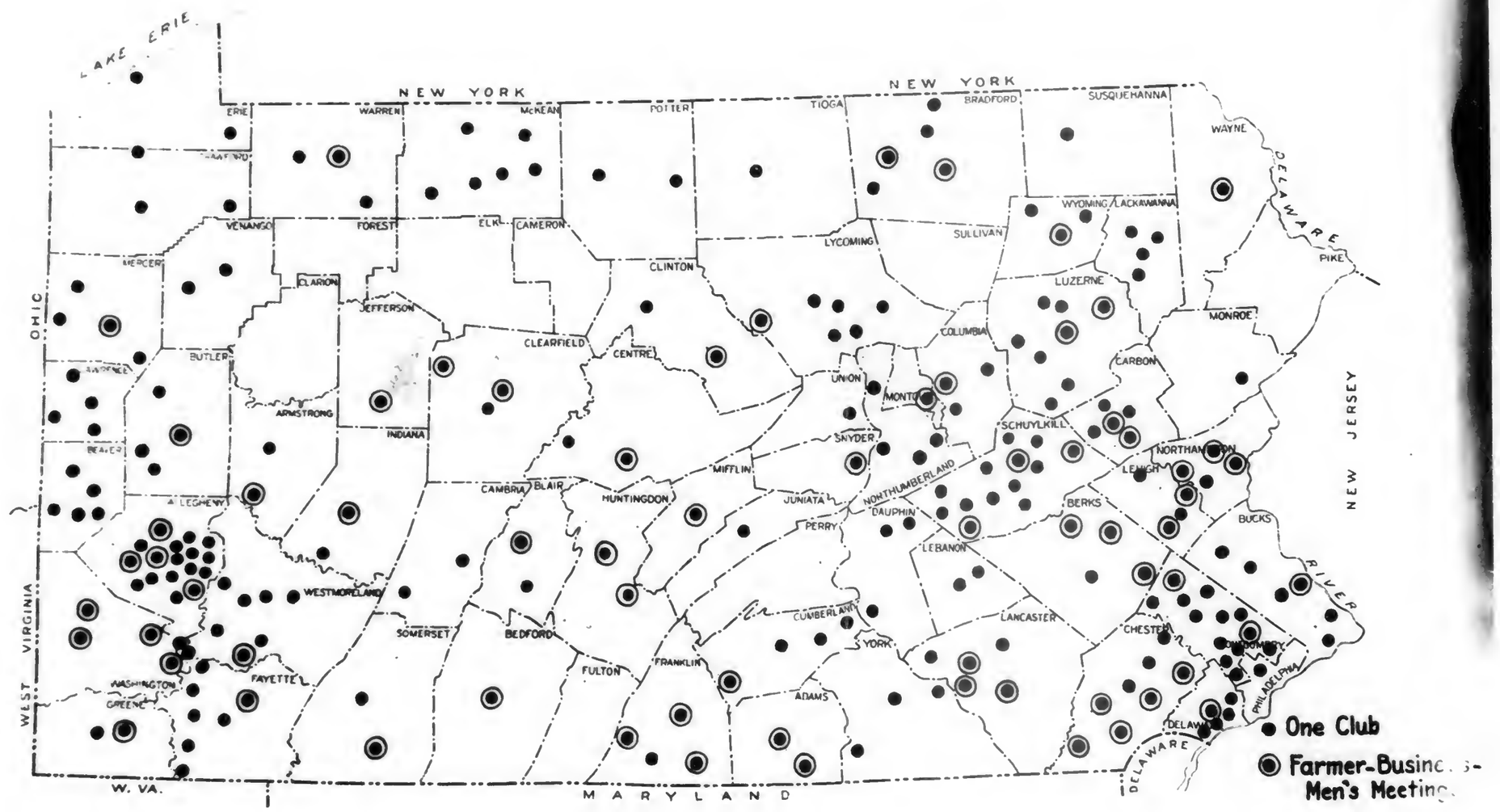

Figure 179. Location of Rotary Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1959.

number of these groups are located in centers under 2,500 population.

Sociability, recreation, and the promotion of joint community projects are emphasized. This group in Pennsylvania is particularly strong in the support of community parks and playgrounds. In addition, they are interested in many of the same projects as have been described for Kiwanis Clubs. The Rotary slogan is "Service above Self."

Although the proportionate number of Rotary Clubs that are active in rural-urban relations is lower than that for Kiwanis, the total number of such groups is considerably larger. As with the Kiwanis Clubs, Rotarians in many places cooperate excellently with the Extension Service in the sponsorship of various kinds of 4-H Club projects and with rural community activities.

(c) Lions International.

The Lions Club was organized in the United States in 1917. At the present time there are 5,400 local units in six countries with a total membership of 125,000 persons. In Pennsylvania this weekly luncheon club was organized in 1930. Today there are 204 units with a total membership of 7,500. The annual dues are one dollar. Figure 180 shows the distribution of the Lions Clubs in Pennsylvania.[19] It has an unusual patterning with a preponderance of local groups in the southeastern quarter of the state. An area of secondary concentration is the Pittsburgh Steel District. Practically no clubs exist throughout the Allegheny Plateau. Unlike the Rotary or Kiwanis Club which permit only one unit of their organization in a city, the Lions Club leaves this policy and we find, therefore, 15 Lions Clubs in Philadelphia.

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19. Source: Office of State Secretary, Treasurer, Harrisburg.

Figure 180. Location of Lions Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

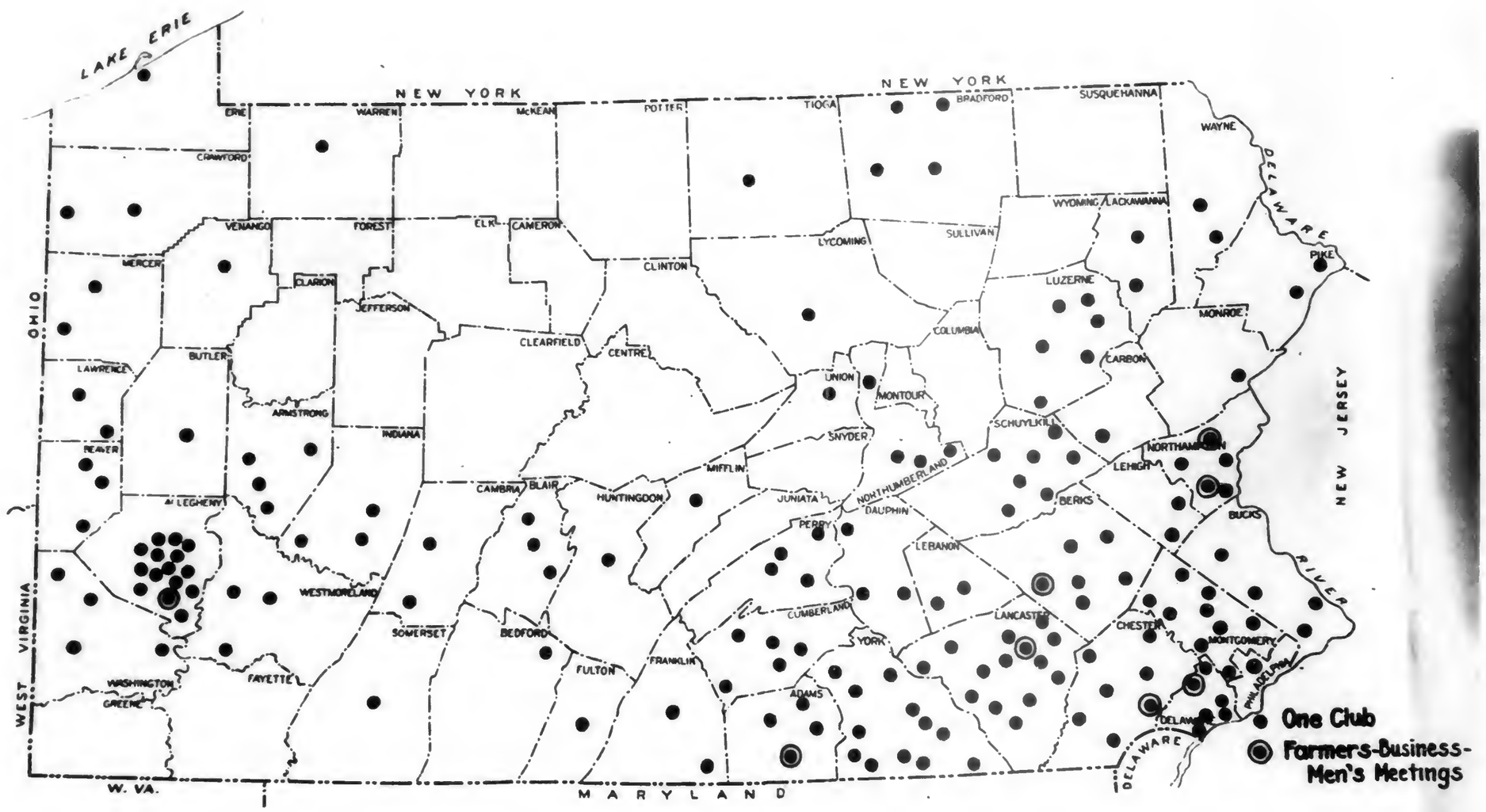

Figure 180. Location of Lions Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1939.

The activities of Lions Clubs are much like those of the service clubs previously mentioned which embrace the whole field of community improvement generally. However, the Lions Clubs are especially interested in two major projects - the blind and under-privileged children. The latter project naturally leads into the field of health, nutrition, education, recreation, and the like. The club is concerned particularly with the provision of glasses for needy persons; and the community Thanksgiving and Christmas dinners sponsored by Lions Clubs are looked forward to from one year to the next by under-privileged youngsters.

Relatively few Lions Clubs in Pennsylvania are doing much with rural-urban relations as is indicated in Figure 180. But eight of the 204 clubs held Farmer-Lions meetings during 1959.

(d) Chamber of Commerce.

The Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce was organized in 1916. At the present time there are some 2,500 firms, corporations, and local organizations in the membership.[20] However, there are many less community groups as indicated from Figure 181. The annual dues for this organization are $25. The objective of the Chamber of Commerce is primarily to deal with state questions which affect the economic and social welfare of the citizens of the commonwealth. In other words, the activities are civic, educational, and legislative. It maintains a lobby in Harrisburg which looks out particularly for business interests.

The distribution of these groups is fairly uniform throughout the state and shows a high correspondence with the patterning of the total population density, except through the Hard Coal Region. Pittsburgh and

20. Source: Office of General Secretary, Harrisburg.

Philadelphia with 14 and 15 each had the most units. No other city had more than two. As is indicated by Figure 181, a number of these local clubs sponsored farmer-business men's meetings in 1939.

(e) Other Service Clubs.

The other service clubs in the state are a heterogenous group unaffiliated with any state organization. They are commonly called Civic Clubs, Improvement Societies, Booster Clubs, Conopus Clubs, and Community Clubs. In general, these clubs undertake pretty much the same projects as previously suggested for other business men's clubs. The program of activities, as with each of the other groups, varies from place to place, depending upon the local needs. Figure 182 shows the distribution of these independent clubs.[21] It is seen that a number of them are active in the sponsoring of a program for better rural-urban relations. Nearly half of the groups had farmer-business men's meetings during 1939. Some of these clubs, as is true also with the service clubs previously mentioned, sponsor community fairs, put on farmers' days, hire nurses for underprivileged, conduct dental clinics, support baby beef clubs, and the like.

With all of these groups above the close correspondence to Figure 9, showing the distribution of towns and cities, is noticed. This is only natural because service clubs are primarily urban institutions. This last is less true of the Rotary Clubs and of the unfederated groups than is true of the Lions, Chamber of Commerce, and particularly the Kiwanis Clubs.

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21. Source: County Agricultural Agents and County Superintendents of Schools.

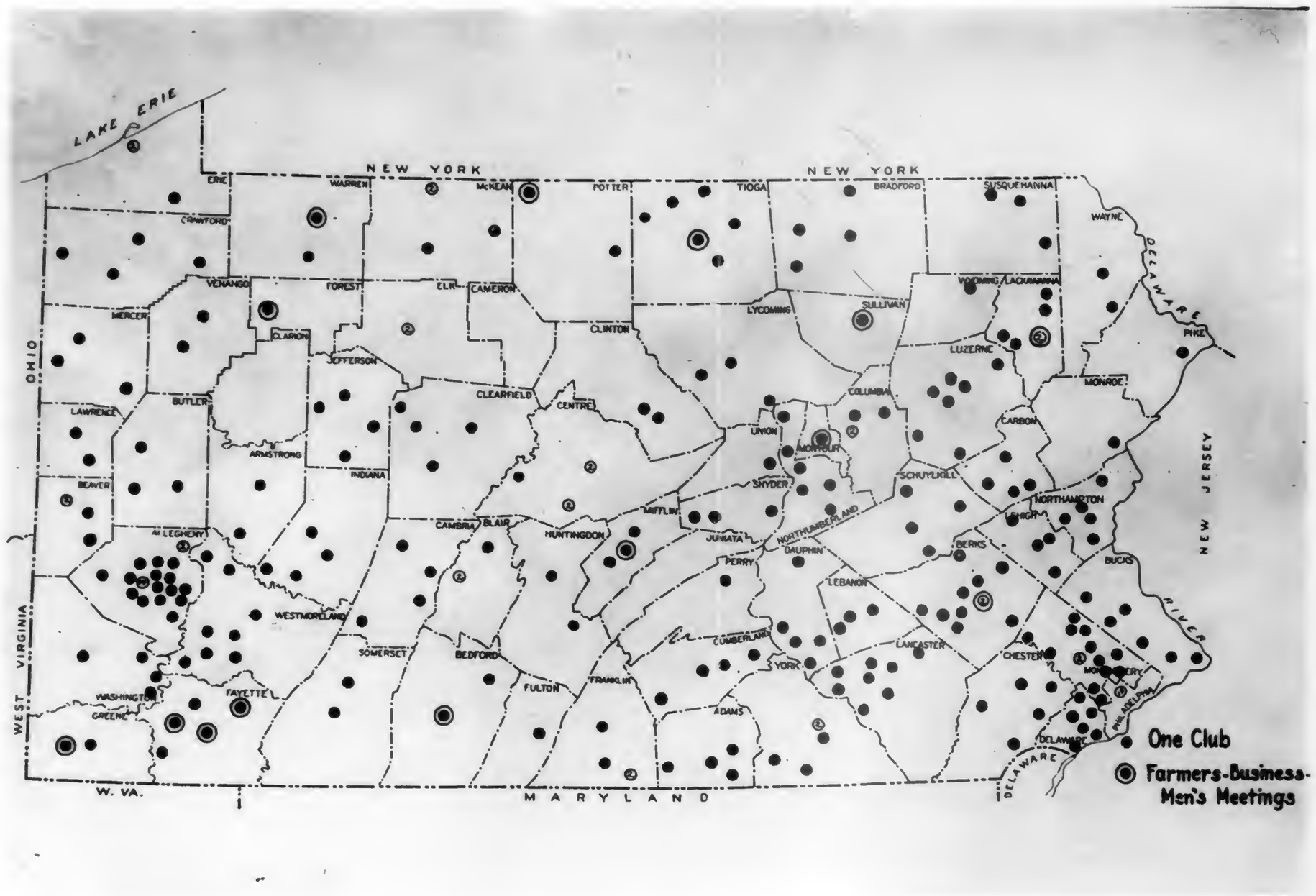

Figure 181. Location of Chambers of Commerce in Pennsylvania, 1959.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

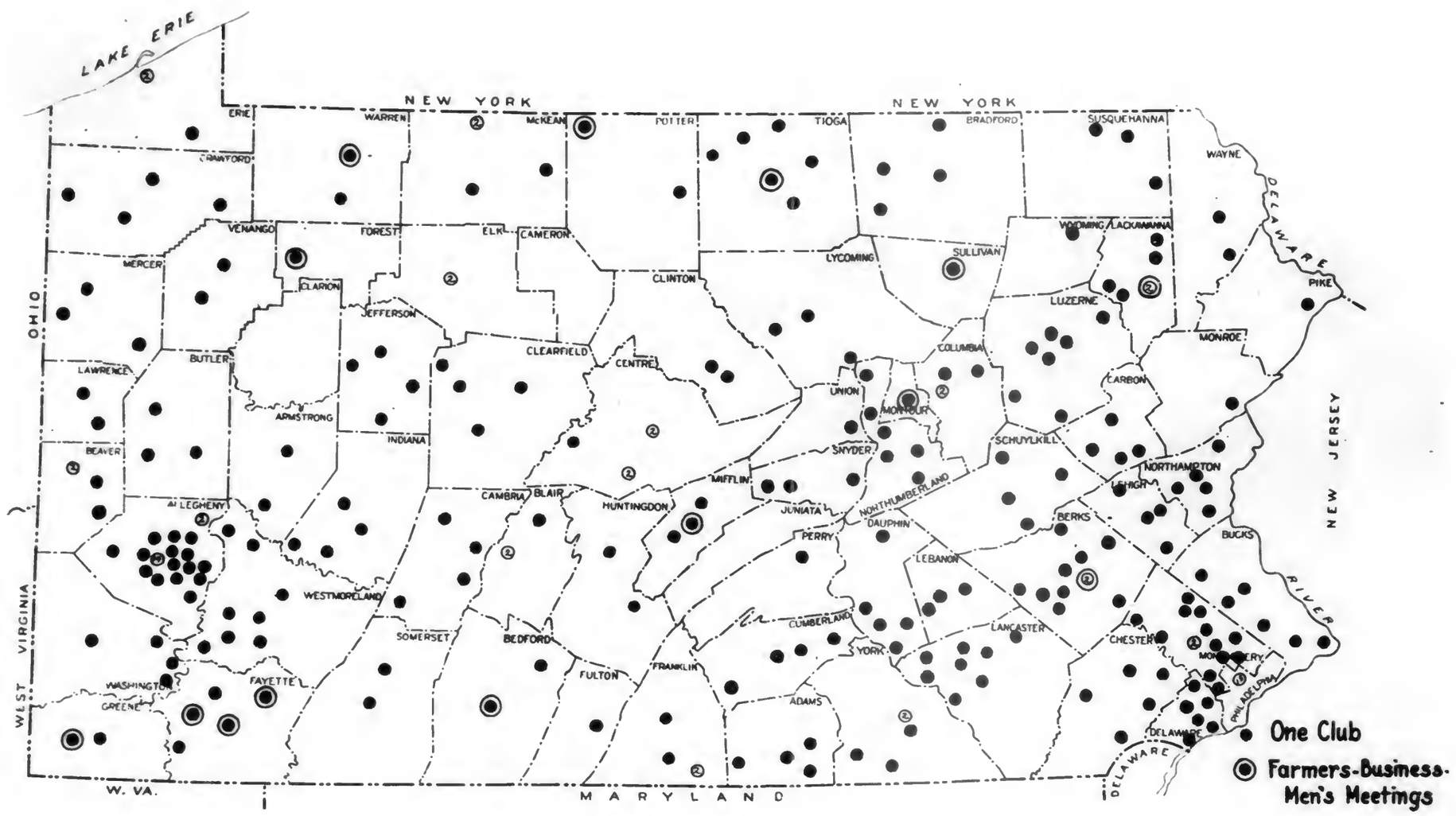

Figure 181. Location of Chambers of Commerce in Pennsylvania, 1959.

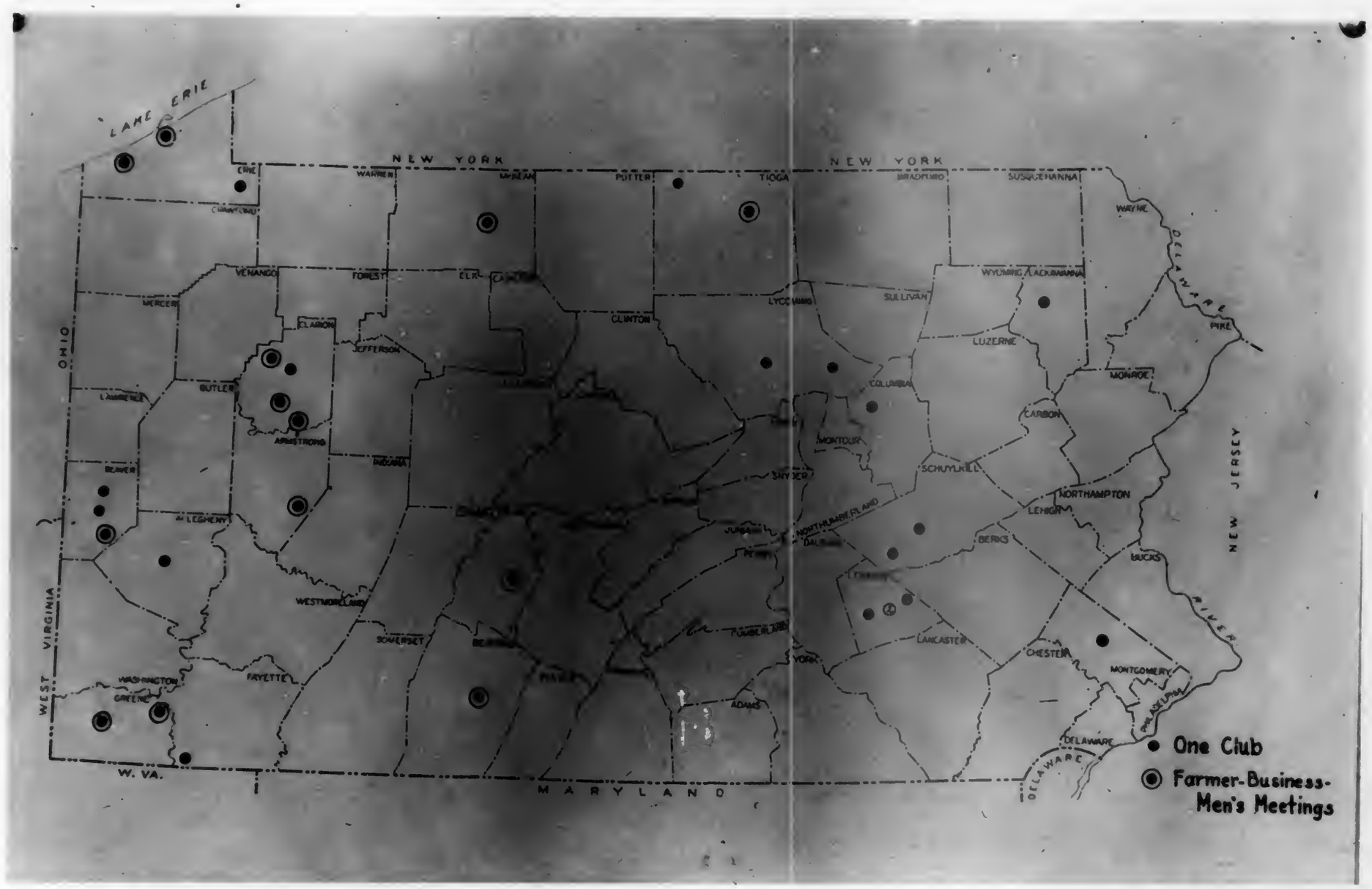

Figure 182. Location of Miscellaneous Service Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

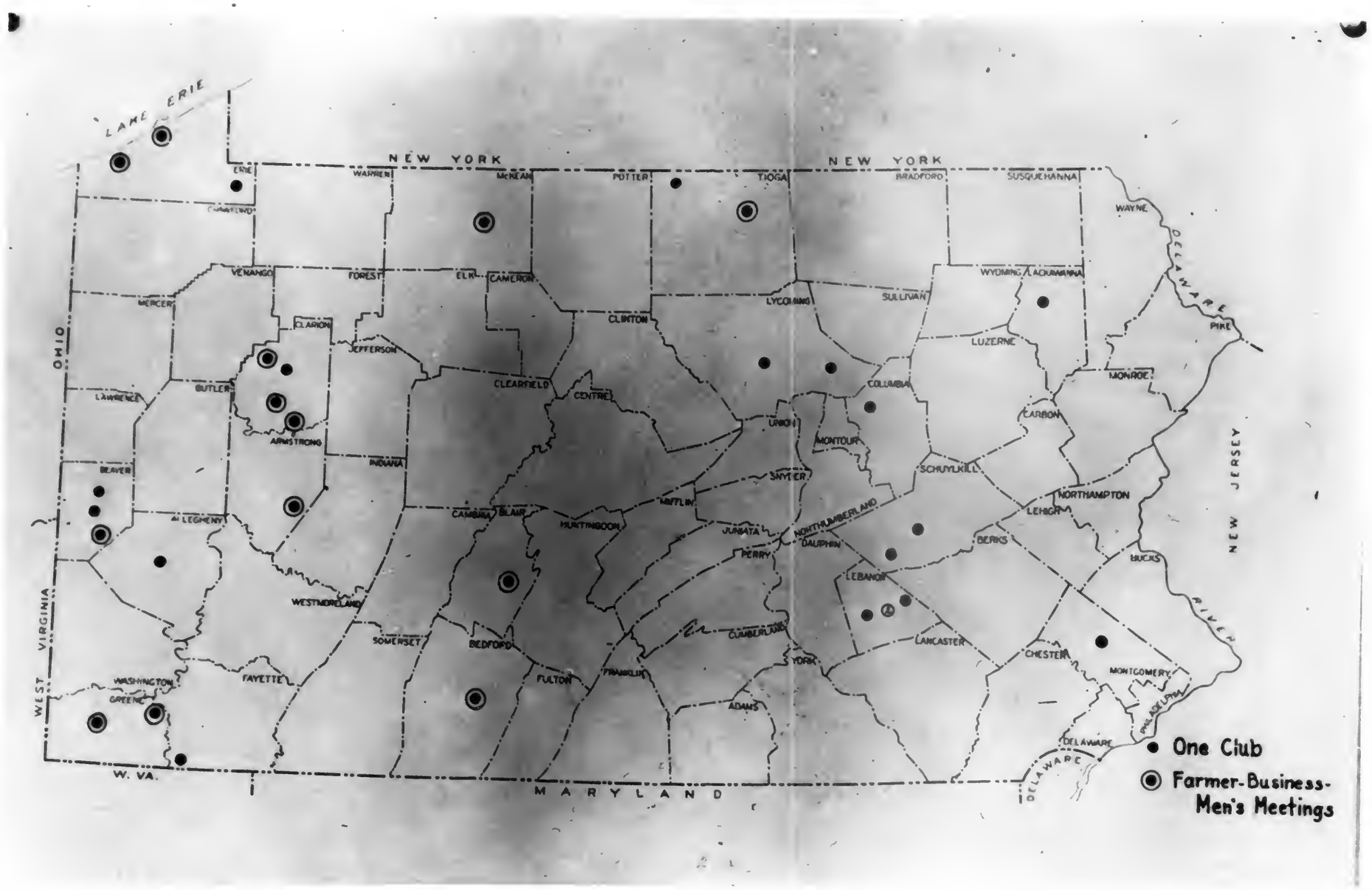

Figure 182. Location of Miscellaneous Service Clubs in Pennsylvania, 1939.

5. Youth Organizations.

(a) Agricultural Youth Groups.

We have already analysed in previous sections the four major attempts being made to serve the interests of farm youth. These are: (1) Future Farmers of America with a membership of 5172 boys of high school age in 217 local chapters in 1939; (2) Four-H Club Work , (a) 673 boys' clubs with a membership of 5,954, (b) 906 girls' clubs with 13,463 members in 1939; (3) Senior Extension Clubs with 1550 young men and women 18 to 25 years in 39 clubs; (4) Juvenile Granges are to be found in 149 rural communities of the state. These are related to subordinate granges. The membership is limited to youth 14 years of age and under. There were 3,588 members in 1939. These four types of groups need no further analysis. (5) Another type of agricultural youth group is being sponsored by Pomona Granges. These are Older Youth Groups. As seen in Figure 114 they are so far active in only four counties — Crawford, Centre, Indiana, and Somerset. These groups are for out-of-school persons and the activities are social, recreational and educational. In addition there are a few grange youth groups which meet for particular projects. For example, from 20 to 40 grange youth meet regularly in both Washington and Lawrence Counties as county grange choruses. They meet ostensibly to rehearse but the activities are much broader including much recreation and sociability. Other grange youth groups are meeting as choirs, play groups, folk dance groups and the like. But these associations of rural youth are commonly short-lived, and are frequently unorganized. So no attempt has been made to map them. (6) The last type of farm youth organization is the Farm Bureau Youth Group. So far it is in the experimental stage with only one unit organized — in Lancaster County. Another group is

being developed in York County. It has about 40 members and carries on a program of activities much like that described under "Senior Extension Clubs". The aim is to develop cooperative mindedness and to train for rural leadership.

(b) Young People's Church Groups.

There are an estimated 7,500 young people's groups in Pennsylvania associated with the 15,000 churches of various denominations. The extent and type of activities of these groups have been indicated in the chapter on "Religious Agencies". They are mentioned here simply because they should not be overlooked in presenting a complete picture of the youth organization situation in the commonwealth. There is almost as strong an argument for including them in the present chapter, however, as in Chapter XI; for the activities of most of these groups, including as they do strong social and recreational programs, are not unlike those of such groups as Scouts, Girl Reserves, and Campfire Girls. To these latter we now turn.

(c) Boy Scouts of America.

The Boy Scouts of America was organized in 1910, and chartered by the United States Congress in 1916. The purpose of the organization is to "promote, through organization and cooperation with other agencies, the abilities of boys to do things for themselves and others." In the Scout program character building and citizenship training are stressed. The achievements of boys are recognized by granting awards in the form of a series of merit badges or ranks. Activities include camping, conservation of wild life, swimming, health and safety, hobbies, vocational guidance, first aid and community service.

There are three classes of Scouts: Cub Scouts, from eight to 11 yrs.; Regular Scouts, from 12 to 16 yrs. and Senior Scouts, from 17 to 18 yrs. The unit of local organization is called a troop, and consists of eight to 32 boys, sponsored by a troop committee of three adults and directed by a trained volunteer leader.

The location of Boy Scout troops in Pennsylvania is seen in Figure 182.[22] The distribution follows the general population density patterning with three foci of concentration - the Philadelphia hinterland, the hard coal region, and the Allegheny coal and steel area. Practically no area is devoid of scouting and it is especially interesting, from a rural standpoint, to note the number of scout troops located in small villages and hamlets. It is seen by comparing this with Figure 9 that a number of places under 1,000 have troops. In some counties the work of the Boy Scouts is being so aggressively conducted that it is offering serious competition to 4-H Club work conducted by the Extension Service. To a lesser degree this same situation obtains with the Girl Scouts which we will analyze next.

There were 656 rural troops and 2398 urban troops in Pennsylvania in 1939, making a total of 3,054 local units. Philadelphia has the largest number of units with 371 Intermediate troops and 32 Cub troops. These were all urban. The largest number of rural troops was to be found in Montgomery County. These numbered 57 in 1939. In all there were 39 organized and incorporated councils in the state in 1939. These councils embraced 1,458 troops in centers under 10,000 population and 1,596 troops in centers over 10,000. There were 84,000 scouts in the commonwealth during the past year under the leadership of approximately 27,000 persons.

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22. Source: Local Boy Scout Executives in Pennsylvania.

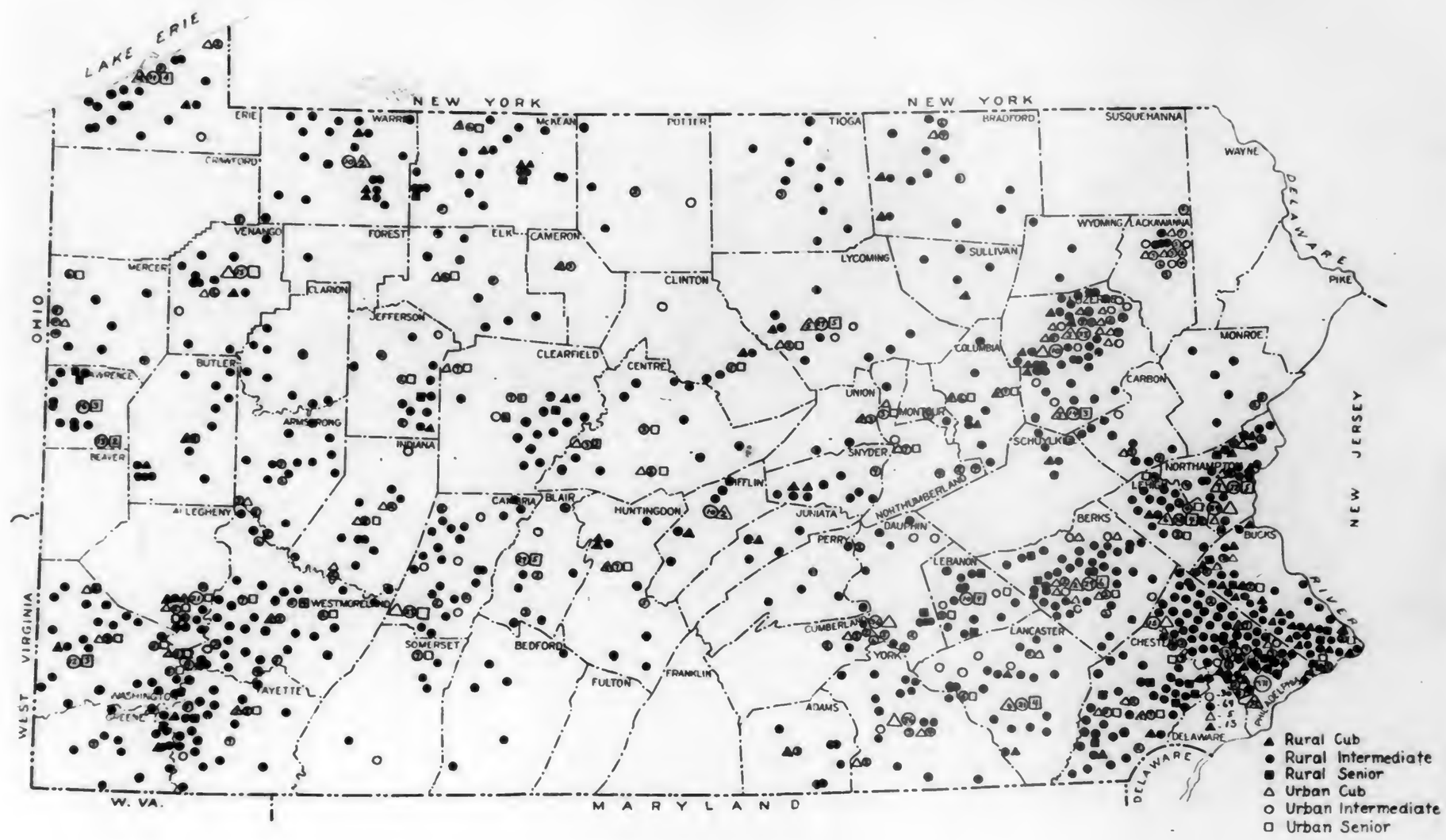

Figure 153. Location of Boy Scout Troops in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

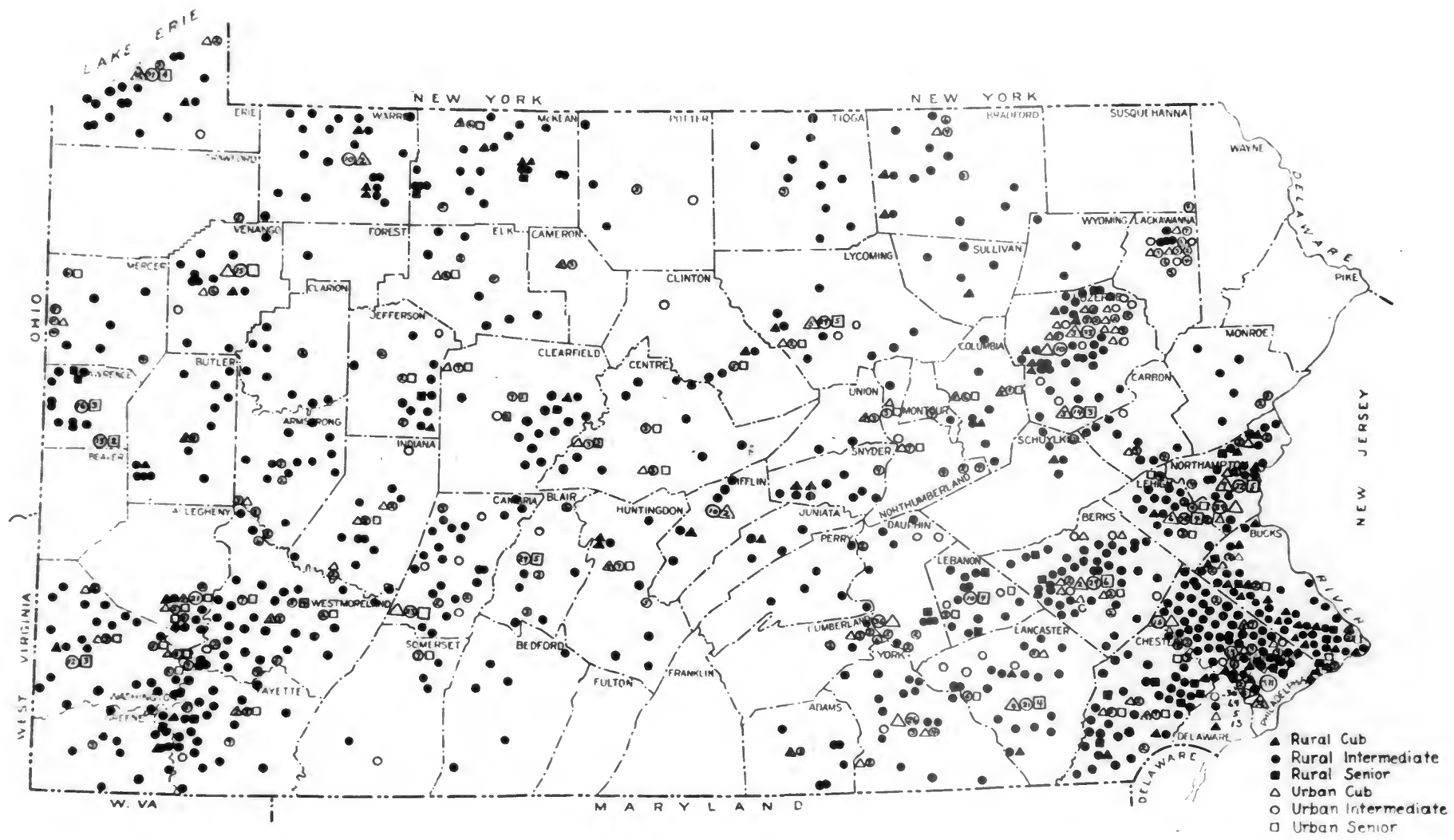

Figure 153. Location of Boy Scout Troops in Pennsylvania, 1959.

A considerable attempt has been made to organize work for farm boys who are isolated from the possibility of joining a troop. This work in Pennsylvania has not been very popular, however, and during 1939 there were only 287 Lone Scouts in the state.[23]

(d) Girl Scouts.

The Girl Scout organization was founded in 1912, and incorporated as a national in 1915. The aims of this association are "to help girls to realize the ideals of womanhood as a preparation for their responsibilities in the home and for service to the community." The program of the Girl Scouts includes such activities as nature lore, camping, health and hygiene, sports, hobbies, cooking, and first aid.

There are three types of membership. Girls from 7 to 9 years are called "Brownies", girls from 10 to 17 are known as "Intermediates", while girls 18 years and over are known as "Senior Scouts". As with the Boy Scouts the girls attain rank and receive rewards by passing various tests, and completing certain required work. The main value of scout activity comes through work and play in the local troop meetings.

A strong phase of the summer program is camping and all that goes with it -- sports, nature, hiking, and fellowship. In 1939 30 major camp sites were used by Girl Scout Associations. Seventeen of these camps are rented from other sources, while 13 are owned outright by area groups usually centering in some city. In addition there are many troop camps which operate for short periods of time and include fewer girls.

Local troops are made up of one to four patrols of 8 members each. The troop is under the supervision of a captain who receives training and is acceptable to National Headquarters. A local advisory council serves

23. Source: National Scout Headquarters, New York City.

as sponsor. Also it is possible for isolated farm girls to become members under the Lone Scout plan.

The location of Girl Scout troops is seen in Figure 184.[24] It is evident from this map that the Girl Scouts is primarily an urban organization. There were 285 groups in Philadelphia alone with lesser numbers in smaller centers. A few counties are particularly strong in rural work. Chester, Warren, and Tioga Counties are outstanding examples of the attempt being made to include increasing numbers of farm and village girls in the scout program. However, as we have seen earlier, this age group is fairly adequately taken care of by girls' 4-H Club work. In all there were 166 rural troops in the state as contrasted with 1426 urban groups, making a total of 1592 troops in the commonwealth in 1939. Thus the proportion of rural girls included in the work and particularly farm girls, was not large. Practically all areas were covered; there were only 2 counties which had no Girl Scout troops during the past year.

(e) Camp Fire Girls.

The Camp Fire Girls was established in 1911 as an organization for girls designed to parallel the newly organized Boy Scouts. It was incorporated as a national organization in 1912. The aims of the organization are to provide a program of leisure time activities and education for its members, emphasizing the development of emotional control, self reliance and resourcefulness. The activities carried on fall under the heads of the so-called seven crafts: Home, Hand, Health, Nature Lore, Camping, Business and Citizenship.

There are three age ranks of Camp Fire Girls: Wood Gatherer, Fire Maker and Torch Bearer. Any girl 10 years of age or older may become a

24. Source: Local Girl Scout Executives in Pennsylvania.

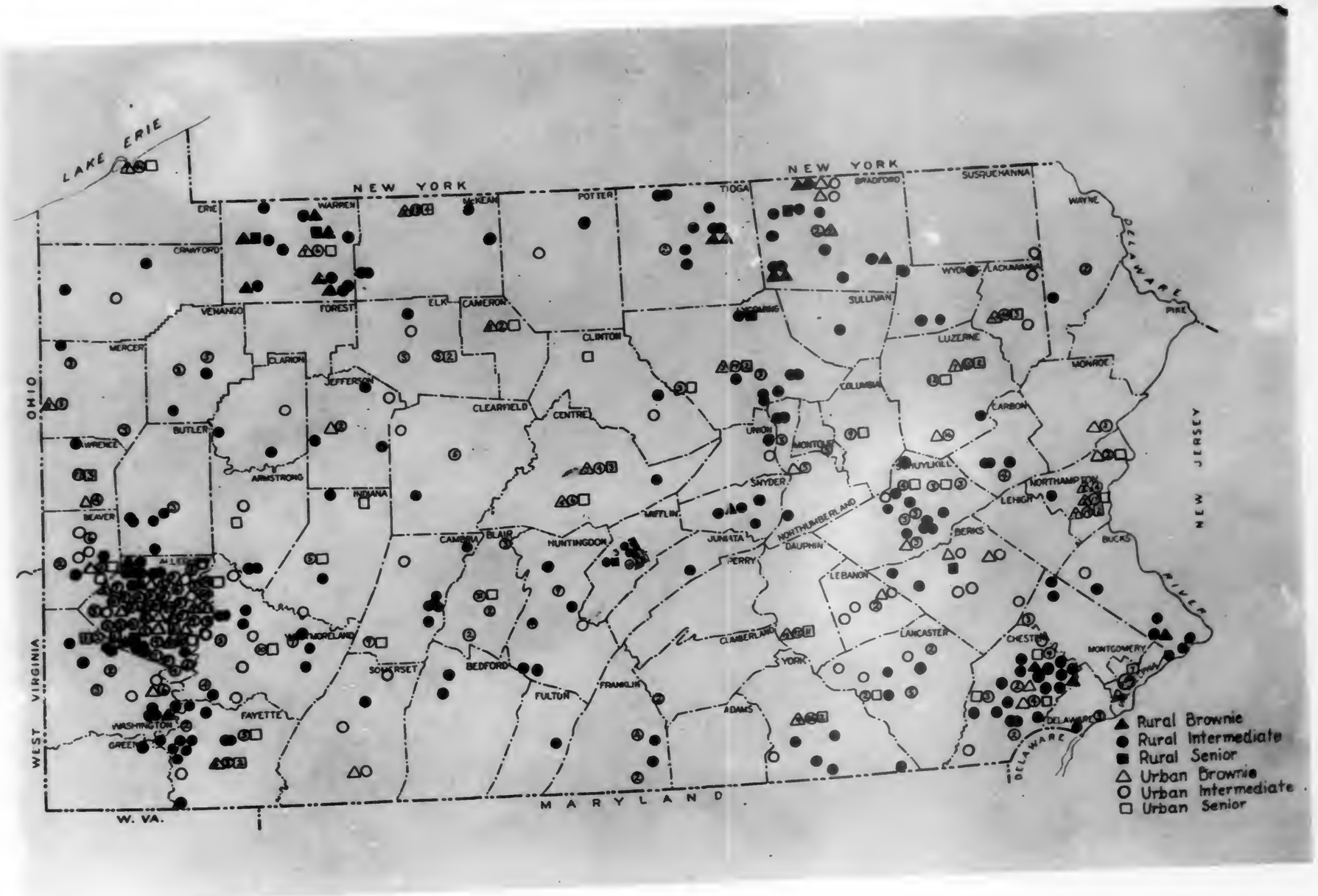

Figure 184. Location of Girl Scout Troops in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

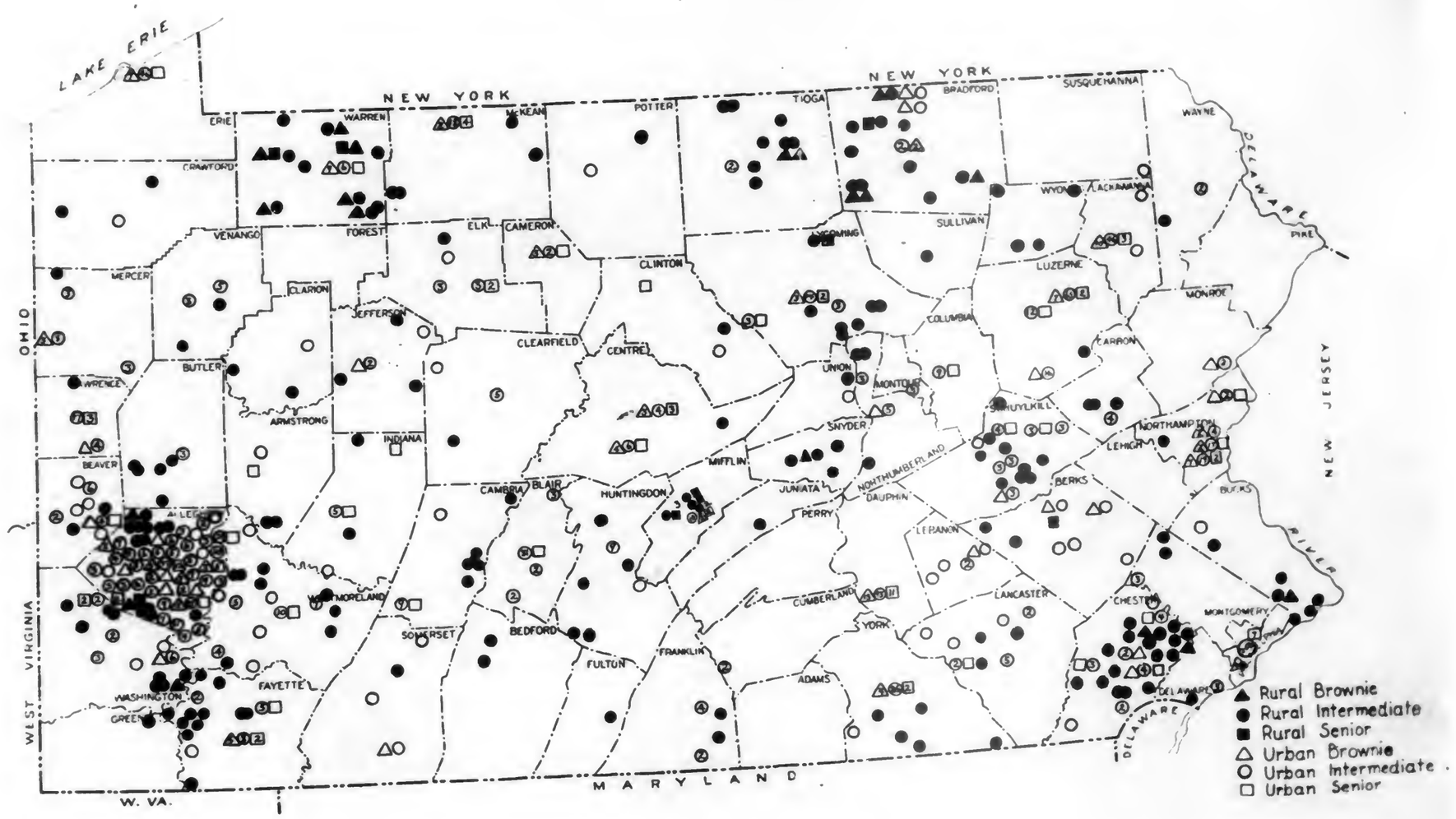

Figure 184. Location of Girl Scout Troops in Pennsylvania, 1939.

member. Local units are composed of six to 20 girls with a leader known as a Guardian.

Figure 185 shows the location of Camp Fire Girls Clubs in Pennsylvania in 1939.[25] Berks County with 21 groups and more than 1000 members leads the state. The rest were well scattered. Of 41 groups in the commonwealth 22 were rural. Thus we see that this group which started out as a companion to the Boy Scouts has failed to become so to the same extent as has its younger sister organization, the Girl Scouts.

(f) Girl Reserves.

The Girl Reserves is an affiliate of the Y.W.C.A. It was organized in 1926 to provide training for young girls before they were eligible for regular Y.W.C.A. membership. Its program of activities is social, recreational, educational, ethical and religious. Projects include discussions, camping, nature lore, games, music, dramatics. It is in this respect much like that of the Girl Scouts and Camp Fire Girls except that it has a stronger spiritual emphasis. Bible study and religious education are frequently stressed.

Figure 186 shows the location of these clubs throughout the state. The similarity between this map and that showing Y.W.C.A.'s is immediately apparent.

Girl Reserve groups are practically all located in urban centers. There are but two clubs in rural Pennsylvania. These clubs are organized through three types of administrative units:

(1) the National Board which aids such groups through direct mail service.

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25. Source: National Field Secretary, New York City.

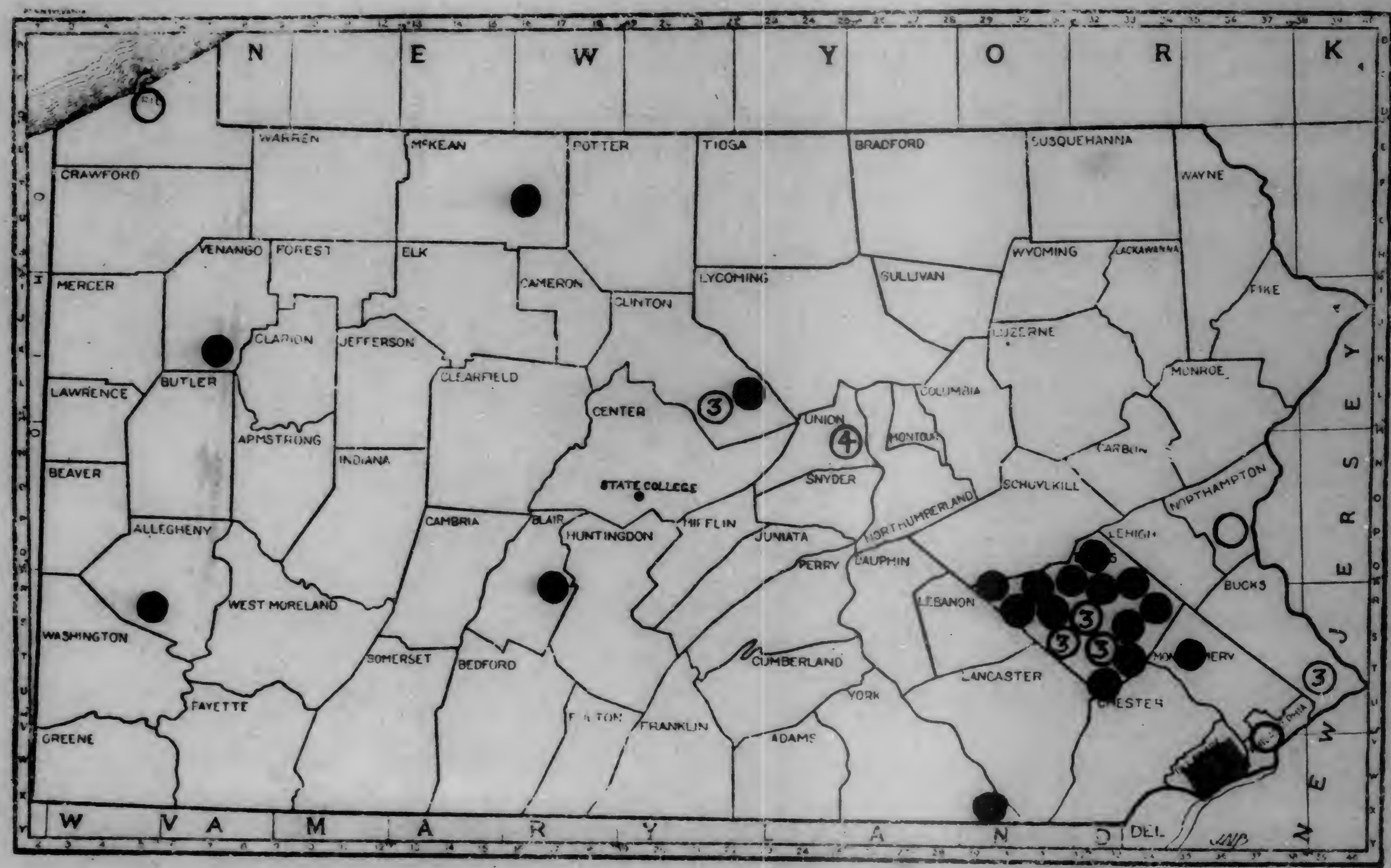


Figure 185. - Location of Campfire Girls in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

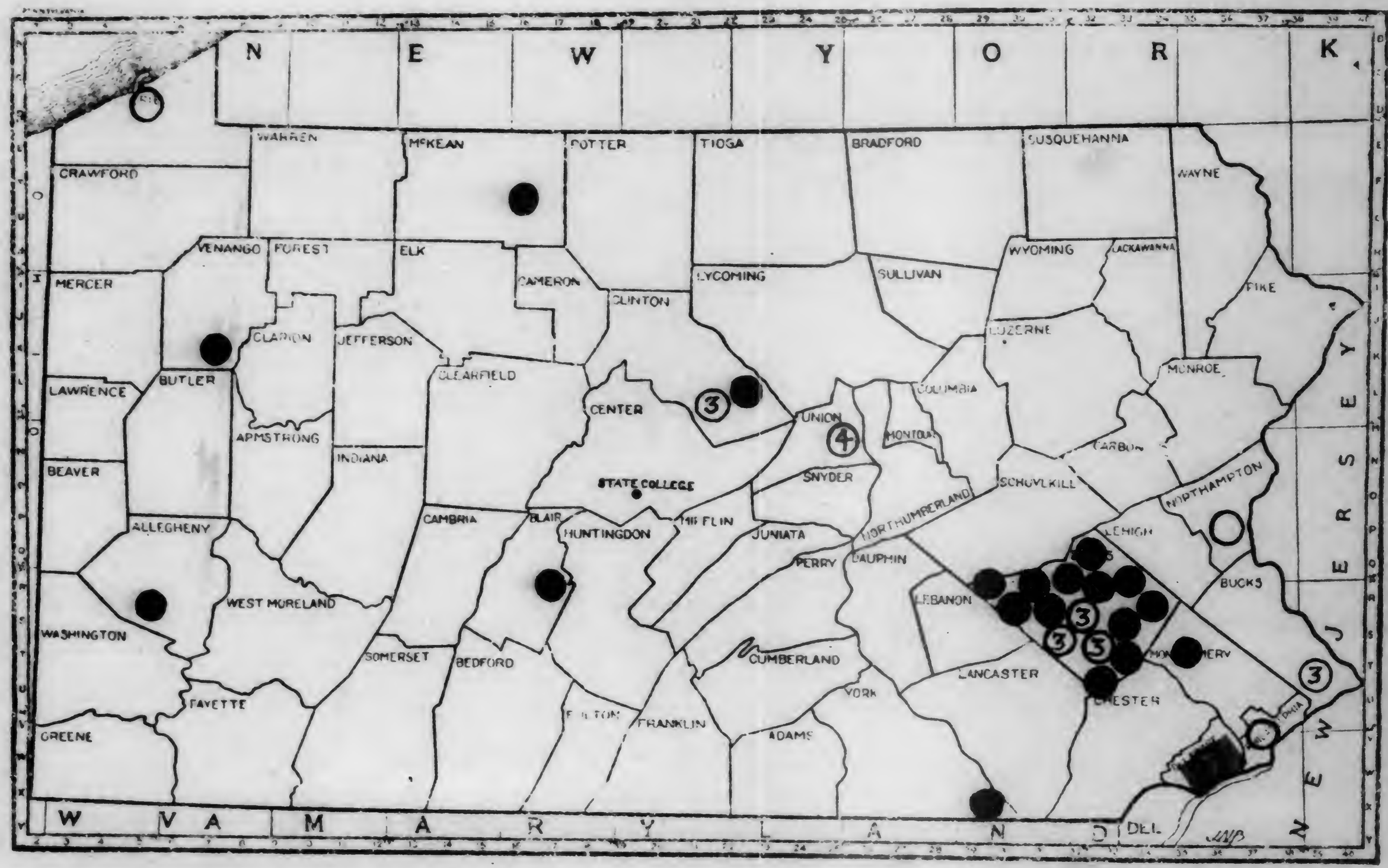


Figure 185. - Location of Campfire Girls in Pennsylvania, 1939

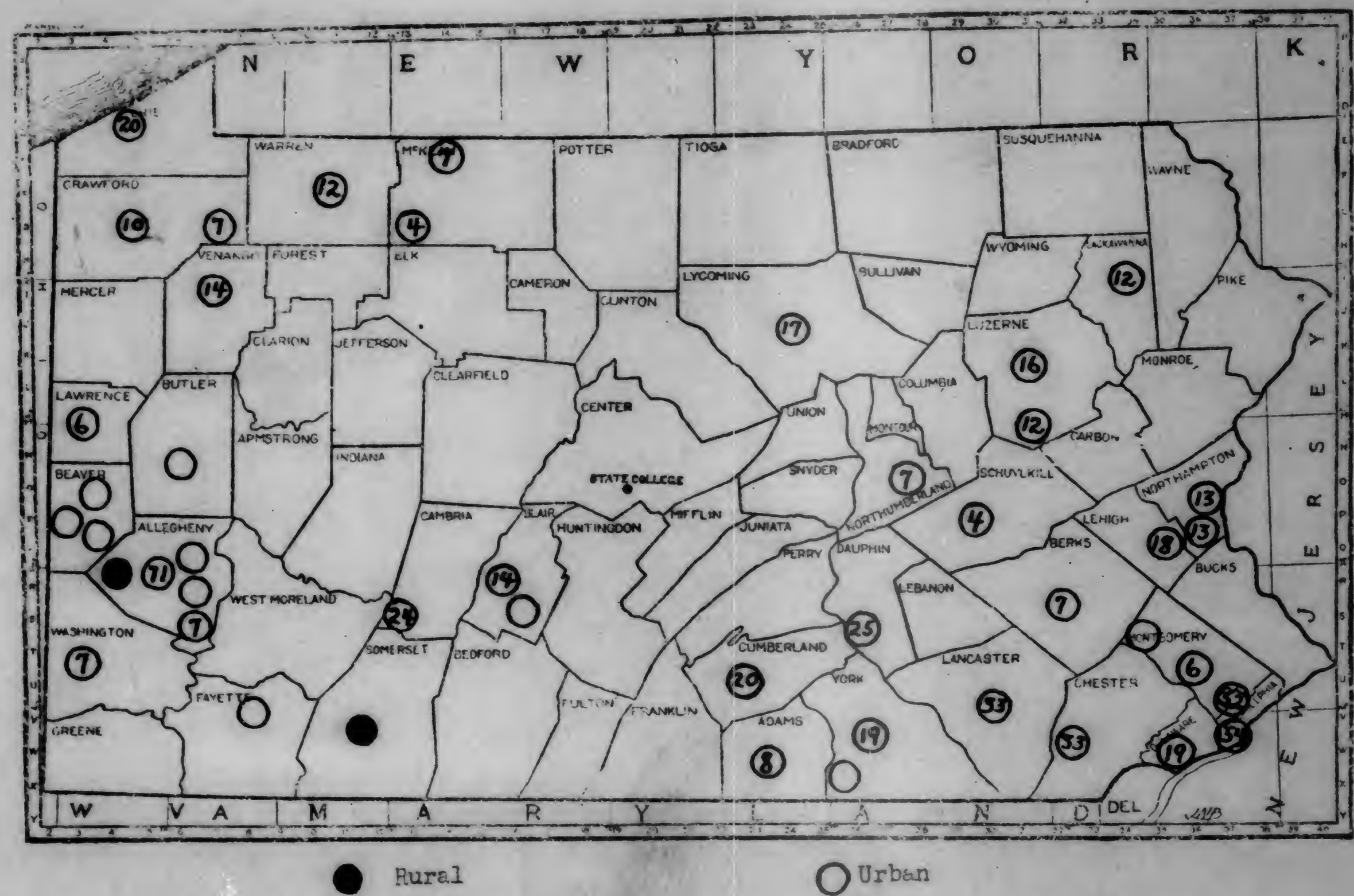
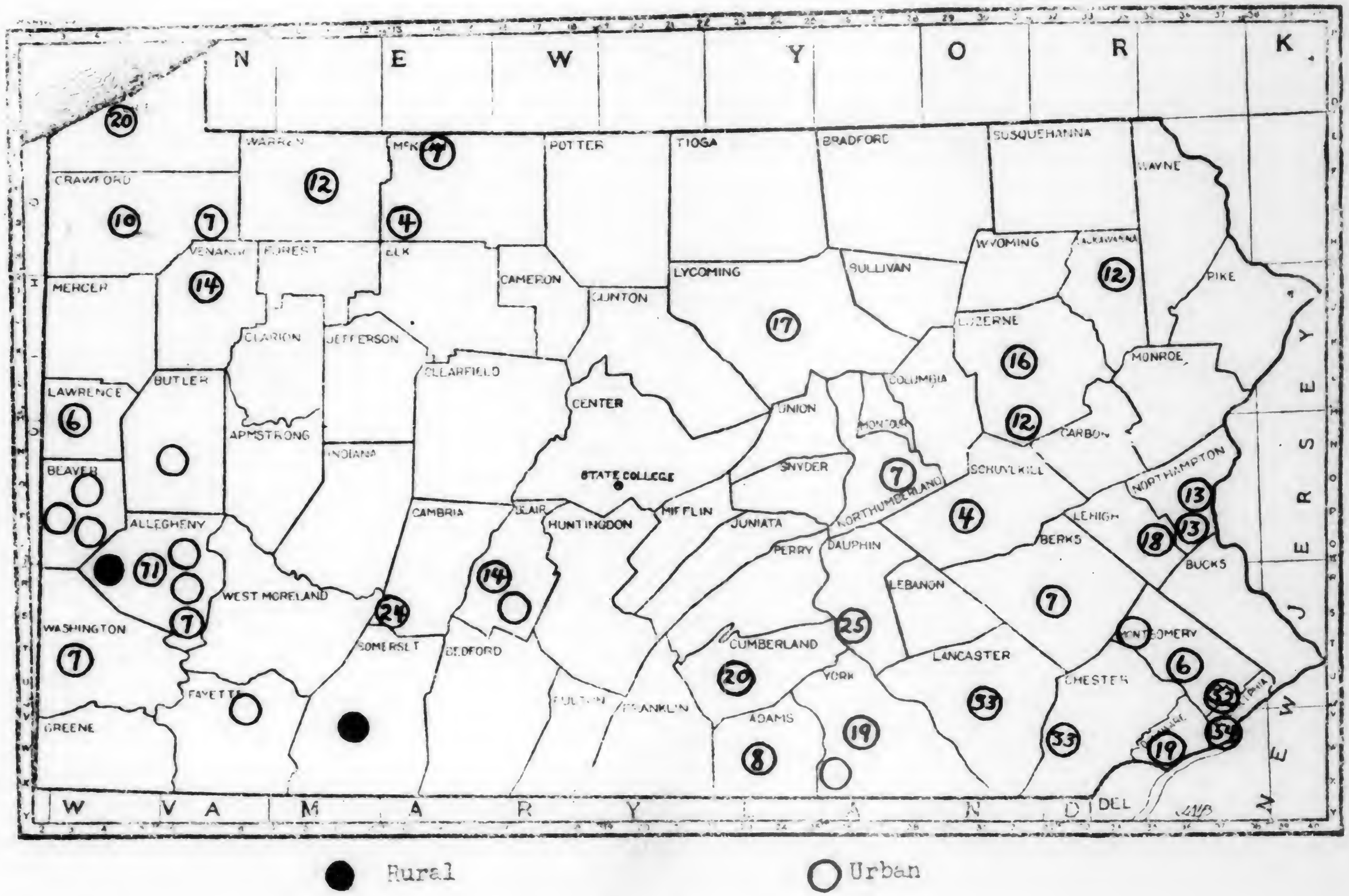


Figure 186. Location of Girl Reserve Groups in Pennsylvania, 1938-1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



● Rural ○ Urban

Figure 186. Location of Girl Reserve Groups in Pennsylvania, 1938-1939.

(2) District Associations which maintain a regional headquarters and a professional staff. One of these staff members gives attention to organizing, visiting, and training leadership for these rural associations.

(3) City Associations through their Girl Reserve Departments have organized some clubs in adjacent rural territory.

There were 125,000 rural girls in 2500 communities throughout the United States in 1939.[26] The number in Pennsylvania, however, was small.

(g) Y.M.C.A. Affiliates.

Whereas the Y.W.C.A. has the Girl Reserves as a junior organization the Y.M.C.A. in Pennsylvania has eight such satellite groups, both boys and girls. A brief description of each follows:[27]

(1) Senior Hi-Y Clubs are for boys in senior high school. There were approximately 475 such clubs in the state in 1939. The "Hi-Y News", designed to stimulate interest, carries activities and helps over the state to all boys' groups.

(2) Junior Hi-Y Clubs include boys in Junior high school. This organization had about a fourth as many units as the Senior Hi-Y Clubs. There were about 150 groups in the state in 1939. Father and Son Banquets, sports, recreation, and community service projects are carried out by these young boys.

(3) Gra-Y Clubs are for 7th and 8th grade boys. They serve as a feeder for Junior and Senior Hi-Y clubs when these youngsters enter high school. There are 108 of these groups in the state.

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26. Source: Office of National Board, Y.W.C.A. New York City
27. Source: Office State Y.M.C.A. Harrisburg.

(4) Phalanx Fraternities are for out of school boys from 18 to 25. There were 135 groups in the state in 1939. Athletics, discussions, and Christian social fellowship are important activities. Also there are a number of other groups like this but using other names.

(5) Senior Tri-Hi-Y Clubs include girls in senior high school. This is the strongest girls work including about 10,000 girls in 265 clubs. "The Torch" is the official monthly organ published to aid all classes of girls groups with program suggestions, achievements, and the like.

(6) Junior Tri-Hi-Y clubs are designed to care for girls in Junior high school. There were about 100 clubs in the state in 1939 embracing approximately 3,500 girls. Mother and daughter banquets, bible study, and community service are stressed as projects. These clubs and the one above are practically identical, with Girl Reserve Clubs except in name.

(7) Gra-Y Clubs is also a separate organization for girls in the 7th and 8th grades. (There are a few of these clubs which both boys and girls join together.) This experience is designed to strengthen Tri-Hi-Y club membership when they enter high school. This movement is young. There were 21 clubs in the state in 1939.

(8) Gradale Sororities are adapted to the interests of out-of-school girls from 18 to 25 years. Any girl of any race or creed is welcomed to membership. This organization was started in 1931. In 1939 there were 72 such groups in Pennsylvania. Their program features the four-fold life — spiritual, mental, social, and physical.

The location of these groups of girls and young women tends to be in small cities and towns where no Y.M.C.A.'s are located; whereas, the boys groups are most frequently located in Y.M.C.A. centers. The reason for

this is that there usually is a Y.W.C.A. where there is a Y.M.C.A. and where there is a Y.W.C.A. there tends to be organized groups of Girl Reserves, which we have discussed previously.

As a brief summary of the above "Y" groups it may be said that in 1939 there were approximately 900 school groups in the state and 200 out of school groups. These organizations are relatively new — most less than 15 years old — whereas the Y.M.C.A. itself has been operating in Pennsylvania for more than 70 years.

The purpose of all of the above groups is "to create, maintain, and extend high standards of Christian character." This is done by appealing to their needs through their interests. That is, along with bible study and temperance talk, the groups have football, hiking, camping, life saving instruction, first aid, and the like. The conscious attempt is made to relate religion to everyday living. Using this approach 468 schools and clubs with 14,482 enrollment entered the High School Bible Study Contest in 1939. About 8000 finished the course of study lasting seven meetings. Also, state and sectional tournaments were held in bowling, badminton, basketball, wrestling, volleyball, and swimming. The aquatic program of the "Y" is strong; and 15,000 youth attend Y.M.C.A. camps.

To carry out all of these activities the "Y" uses a state staff of 18 persons, 270 local secretaries, and hundreds of volunteer leaders.

(h) Fraternal Affiliates.

A number of the fraternal orders described in Part I of Chapter XII have affiliated with them youth organizations. The Rainbow Girls and Theta Rho are affiliates of the Eastern Star and Rebekah lodges, for

example. DeMoley, a boys group, is sponsored by the Masonic Order. Other groups, such as Veterans of Foreign Wars, American Legion, D.A.R. and Patriotic Order of Sons of America have youth groups associated with them which carry out a definite program of a social, recreational and fraternal nature. No attempt has been made to analyze the extent or the activities of these groups. It is well, however, to recognize their existence in order to be able to reach valid conclusions regarding the extent of youth organization in the commonwealth.

6. Public Recreation Facilities.

In this section we are concerned with the distribution of those non-commercial agencies of recreation which are operated by community, state, and nation for the welfare of the general public. This includes parks, playgrounds, game reserves, and camps. Included in the analysis of the last item are a few private camps.

(a) Community Parks and Playgrounds.

It is difficult, if not impossible to separate these two kinds of agencies for recreation, first, because many community playgrounds, even school playgrounds, have picnic grounds and parks attached to them, and, second, practically all park areas have athletic courts and fields and children's playground equipment in conjunction.

Almost all consolidated schools have some kind of apparatus for child play. Further most high schools of 100 pupils or more have some kind of athletic courts and fields. But these are not included except in those communities where the use made of such facilities is open to the public.

Figure 187 shows the distribution of the 689 parks and playgrounds in Pennsylvania in 1939.[28] Practically all of these are community agencies

28. Sources: County Agents, Superintendents of Schools, Recreation Directors, and National Recreation Association.

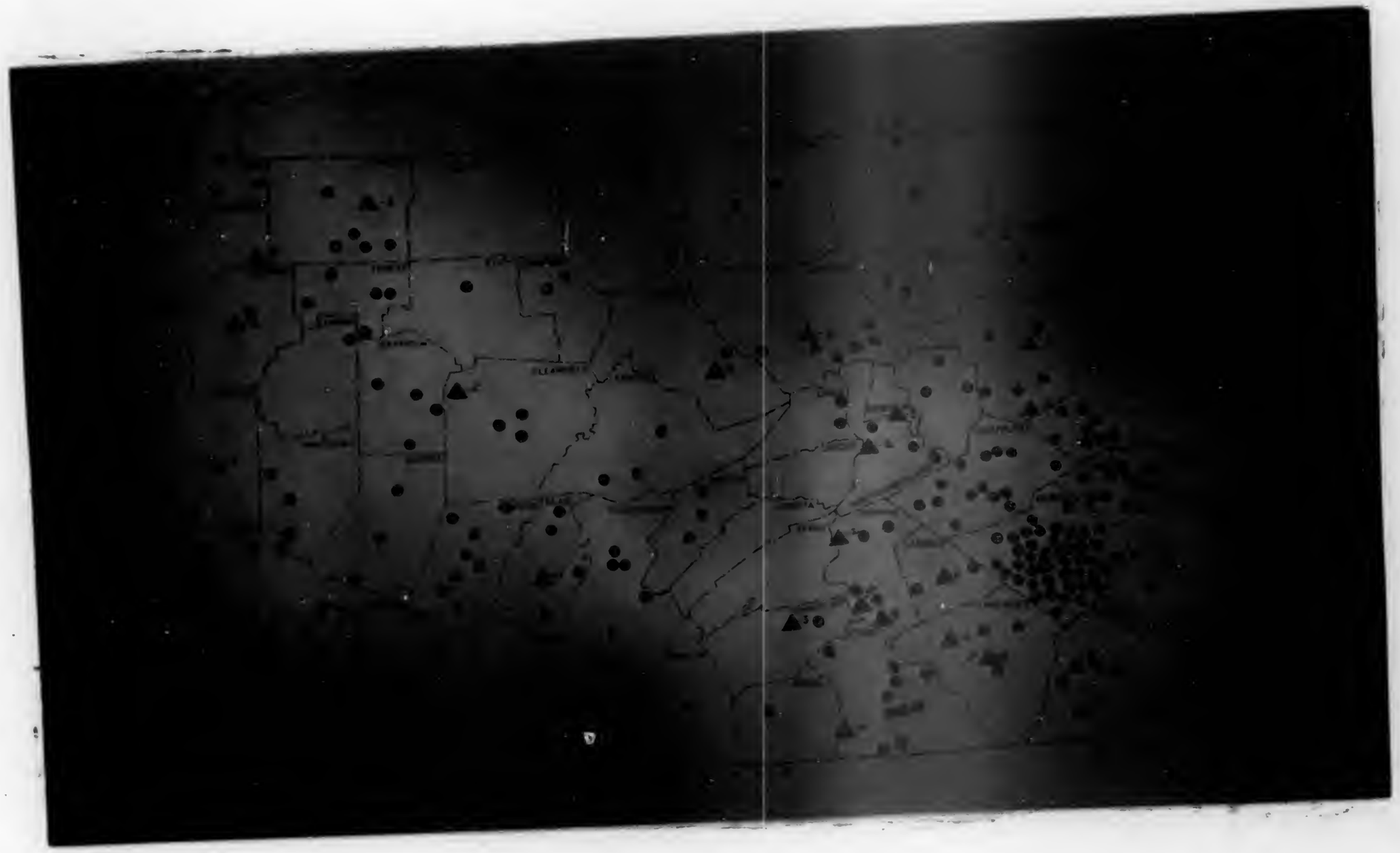

Figure 187. Location of Community Parks and Playgrounds in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

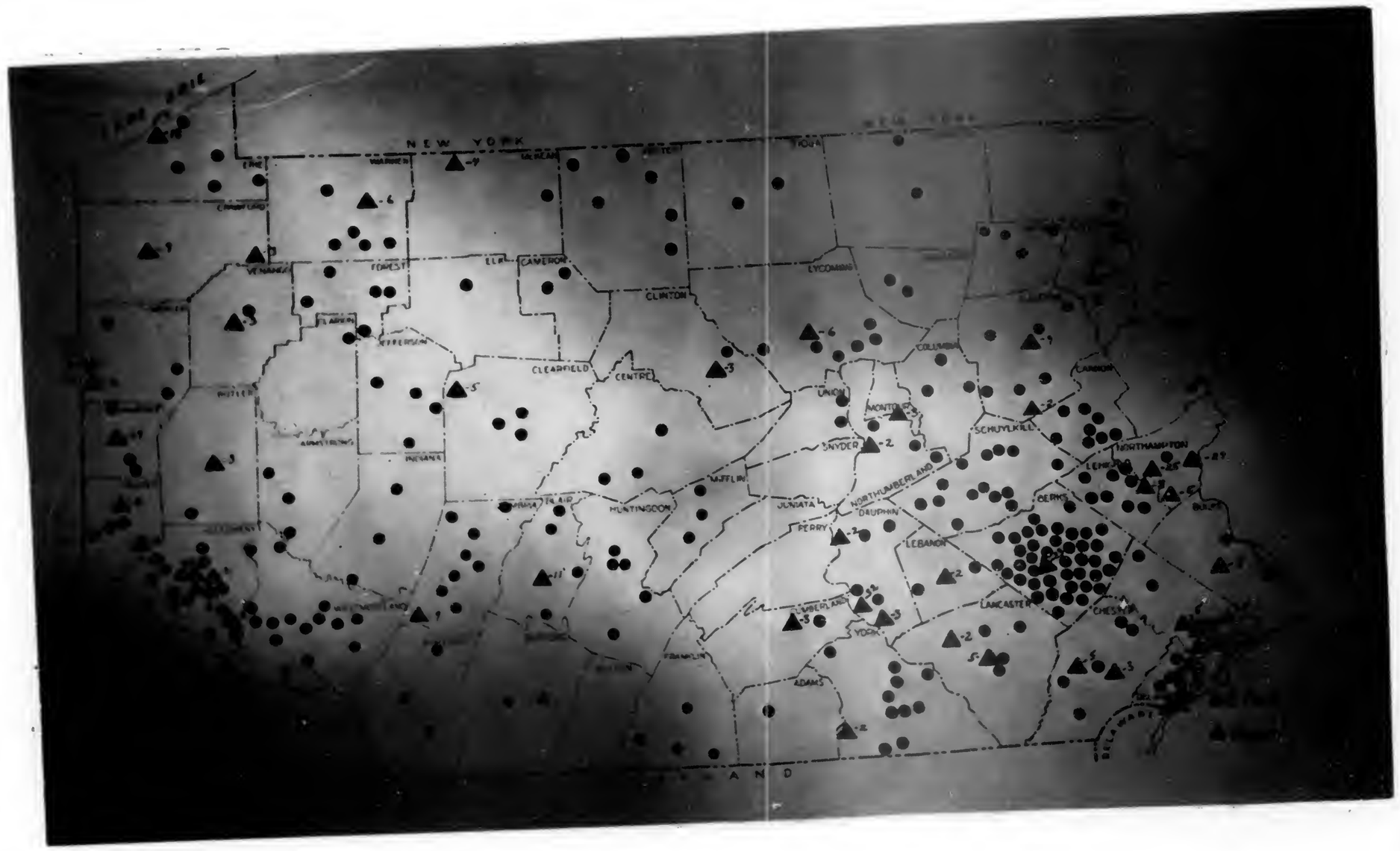

Figure 187. Location of Community Parks and Playgrounds in Pennsylvania, 1939.

built and maintained by the local area. A few, however, have ceased to remain local. The rural park at Port Allegany in McKean County, for example, attracts people from three or four counties to its swimming pool and other facilities.

A concentration of community parks is noted in the area surrounding Berks County. This development is primarily the result of a campaign over several years in Berks County in which the Reading Department of Recreation was expanded into a county-wide recreation department. This department has kept working consistently at the development of adequate recreational programs and facilities in the rural Pennsylvania German communities throughout Berks County. It has been singularly successful. And its success has been heard about and duplicated in some of the counties contiguous to Berks.

In general, however, it may well be said that up until now the park and playground situation in Pennsylvania is primarily an urban and larger town affair. Proportionately very few villages and hamlets have these public facilities for games, sports, and picnics. Five counties of the state have no playgrounds or parks. Some of these, such as Fayette County with a population of 200,000 are densely settled and could well afford, on a per capita basis, these facilities.

Considerable variation exists in the facilities of various cities. The small cities of Easton, Bethlehem, Harrisburg, Reading, Scranton, Erie, and New Castle are better supplied, for example, than the Pittsburgh metropolis with two-thirds of a million people.

In 1939 there were 27,173 acres of county and community parks and playgrounds in the state.[29] This does not include school playgrounds.

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29. Source: Recreational Survey, National Park Service, U. S. Dept. of Interior.

City dominated counties led in the availability of such facilities. Thus Philadelphia County has 7,584 acres in public parks and Allegheny County has 6,630 acres, largely into county park areas in the north and south ends of the county. On the other hand, 18 counties have no public parks at all. All 18 of these counties are rural with relatively small populations.

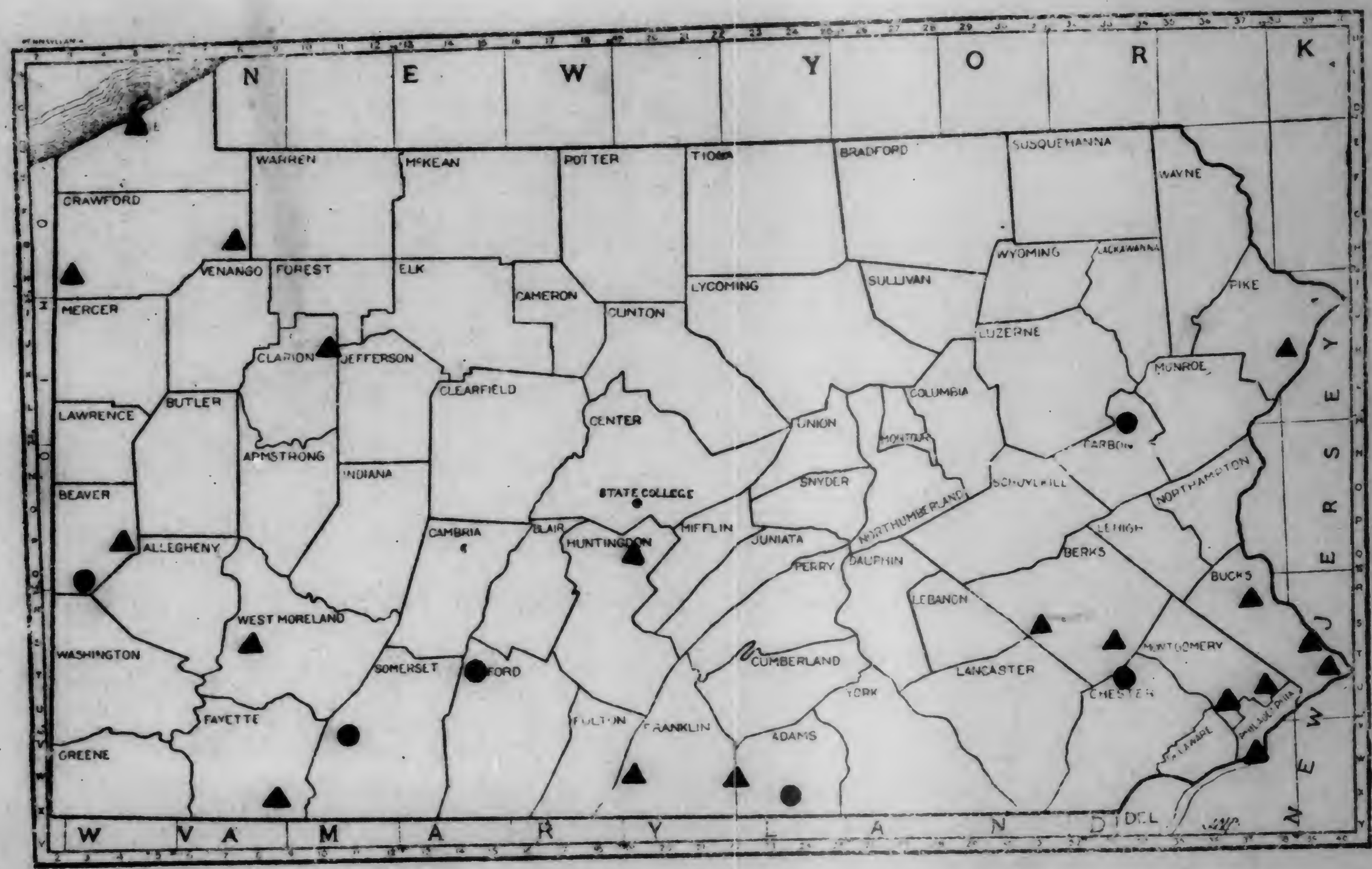
Whether rural or urban, large or small, all communities have a part to play in aggressively continuing to better the conditions of living of their inhabitants. The cost of local recreation areas is a small price to pay for the social, health, and educational benefits which accrue from their use.

(b) State and National Parks.

Much of the area of Pennsylvania affords a wealth of scenic beauty. Further, the state abounds in historic spots arising out of the Revolution, the Civil War, and early settlement. The state and federal governments have bought up large areas for the preservation of natural beauty and historic shrines. In 1939 state parks and federal recreation areas amounted to 82,641 acres in the commonwealth. These areas were distributed through 40 counties. Unfortunately most of these holdings are far removed from the centers of urban population which, incidentally, is not as well supplied with automobiles as the rural people.

Figure 188 shows the distribution of state and national parks in Pennsylvania in 1939.[30] Most all of these were located in the southern part of the state. There were but six national parts at this time while the state had supplied its citizens with 19 state parks. Six of these were near Philadelphia.

30. Source: State Planning Board, Harrisburg.



▲ State Parks ● National Parks

Figure 188. - Location of State and National Parks in Pennsylvania, 1939

(c) State and National Forest Recreational Areas.

A third type of public recreational facility are the areas in state and national forests. These formerly received consideration in the state and federal plan primarily on their soil conserving, lumber conserving, and economic value. But within the past decade, particularly, the social and recreational worth of these areas has been pushed, resulting in the establishment of trails, shelters, camps, and other recreational facilities. This work has been done largely through CCC and WPA labor.

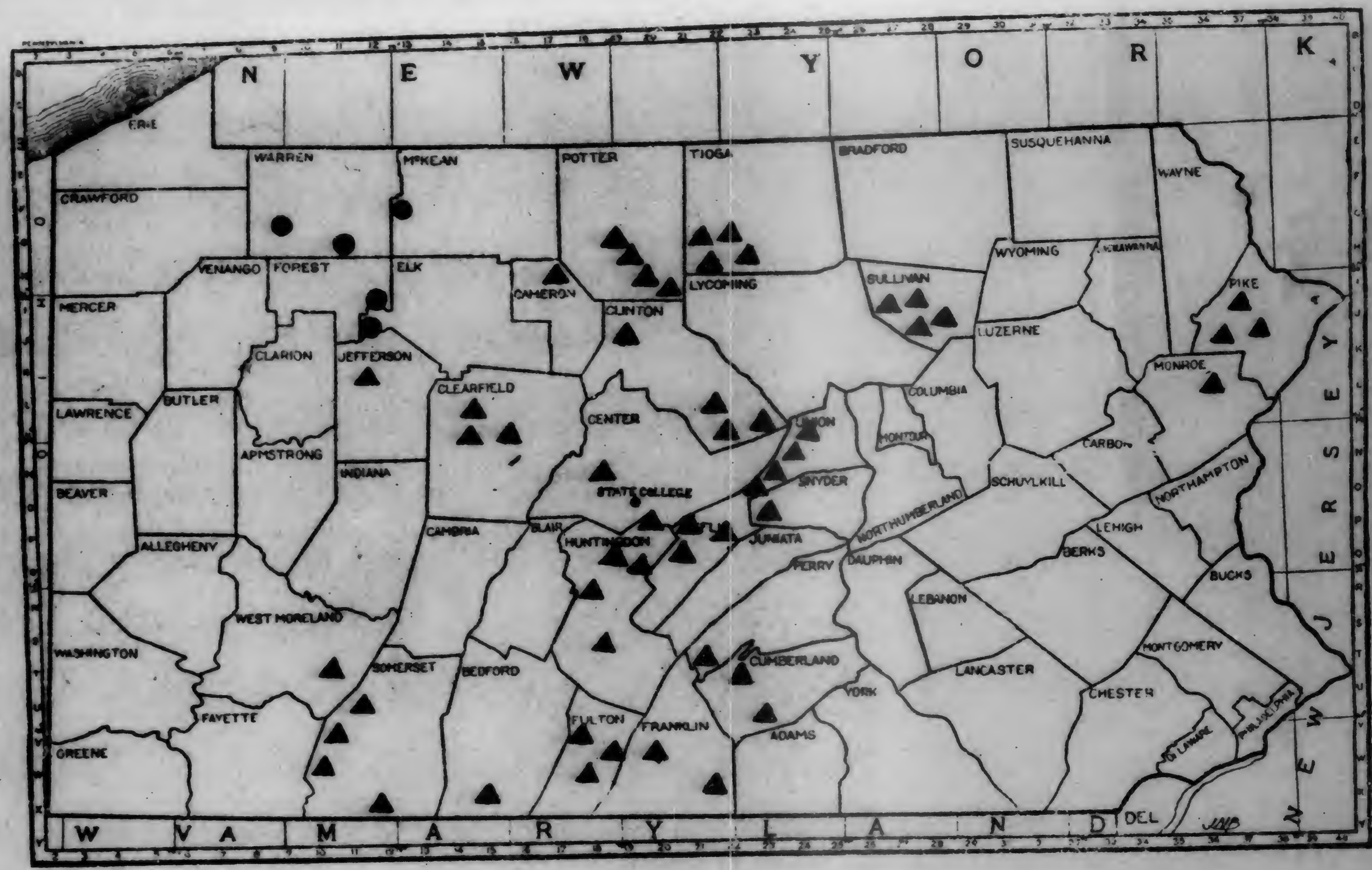
Today there are 2,066,135 acres of such land in the commonwealth distributed over 40 counties. Eight of these counties have over 100,000 acres each, and Potter County has more than 250,000 such acres. All of the major holdings are in the Allegheny Plateau, the area where, as we have seen, soil fertility is low and human fertility is high. Likely much more of this land on which a satisfactory living is well-nigh impossible to maintain will merit a transfer of use to forests and recreation.

Figure 189 shows the distribution of the state and national forest recreational areas.[31] None of these were located in areas of high population concentration. The patterning conforms very closely to the topography of the state, most of them being located in the Allegheny Mountains and in the more rugged part of the Allegheny Plateau. Only four were located in the Poconos. Five of these recreational areas were national while 48 were state. A number of the counties through the central part of the state had three or four state forest recreational areas each.

(d) State Game Refuges and Farms.

The people of Pennsylvania like to hunt and fish. For thousands of men it is the sole form of recreation from year to year. The commonwealth

31. Ibidem.



▲ State Forest Recreational Areas ● National Forest Recreational Areas

Figure 189. - Location of State and National Forest Recreational Areas in Pennsylvania, 1939

contains wide areas of excellent cover for deer, bear, and smaller game. Trout streams are plentiful. With the natural facilities and the desire for these sports it is little wonder that more fish and game licenses were issued in Pennsylvania in 1939 than in any other state.

Besides the privately owned forests and streams throughout the Alleghenies and Appalachians the state owns and operates 593,444 acres of game and fish lands. Only nine counties, mostly in the southeast do not have state game lands. Eleven counties, all in the Allegheny Plateau, have more than 20,000 acres each.

Figure 190 shows the location of state game and fish areas in Pennsylvania.[52] As indicated on the map there were ten fish hatcheries in the commonwealth supplying stock for Pennsylvania streams. There were four game farms for propagating game animals both large and small. From these farms, in the same way as with fish hatcheries, stock animals are supplied to various sections of the state. There were 137 game refuges in the commonwealth. The map shows a heavy concentration of these refuges throughout the Allegheny Mountains and in the north Allegheny Plateau. Huntingdon County with 16 and Cumberland County with 10 lead in the number of game refuges. As seen from the topographic map given in Chapter II the location of these agencies corresponds with mountainous parts of the state.

(e) Camps.

Figure 191 shows the distribution of organized camps throughout the state.[53] All of these camps are those which held during 1939 camping seasons longer than seven days. The number of week-end camps sponsored by recreational and ethical agencies is legion as is also the number of overnight camps which are common with Y.M.C.A., Scouts, and city recreation

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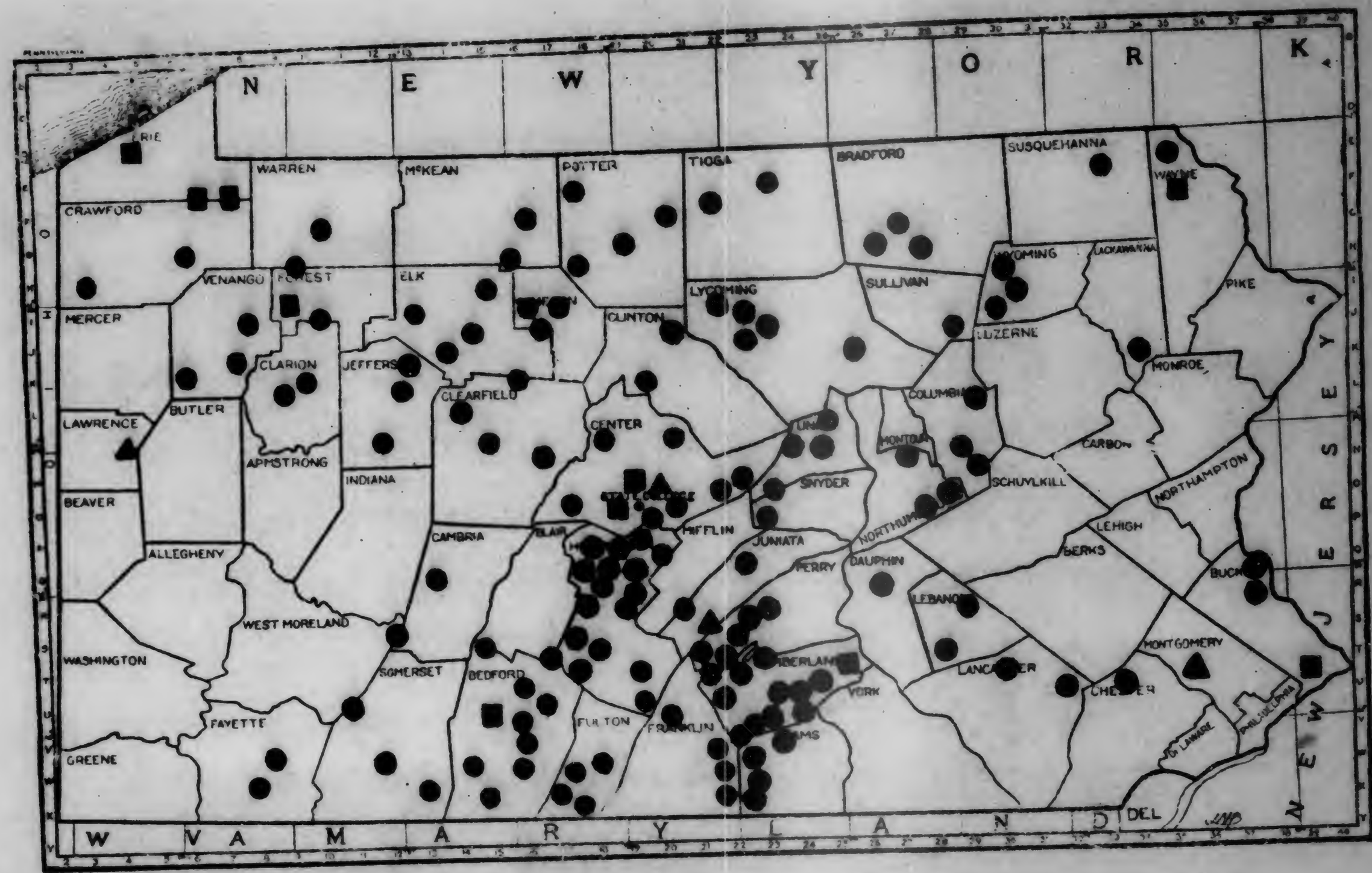
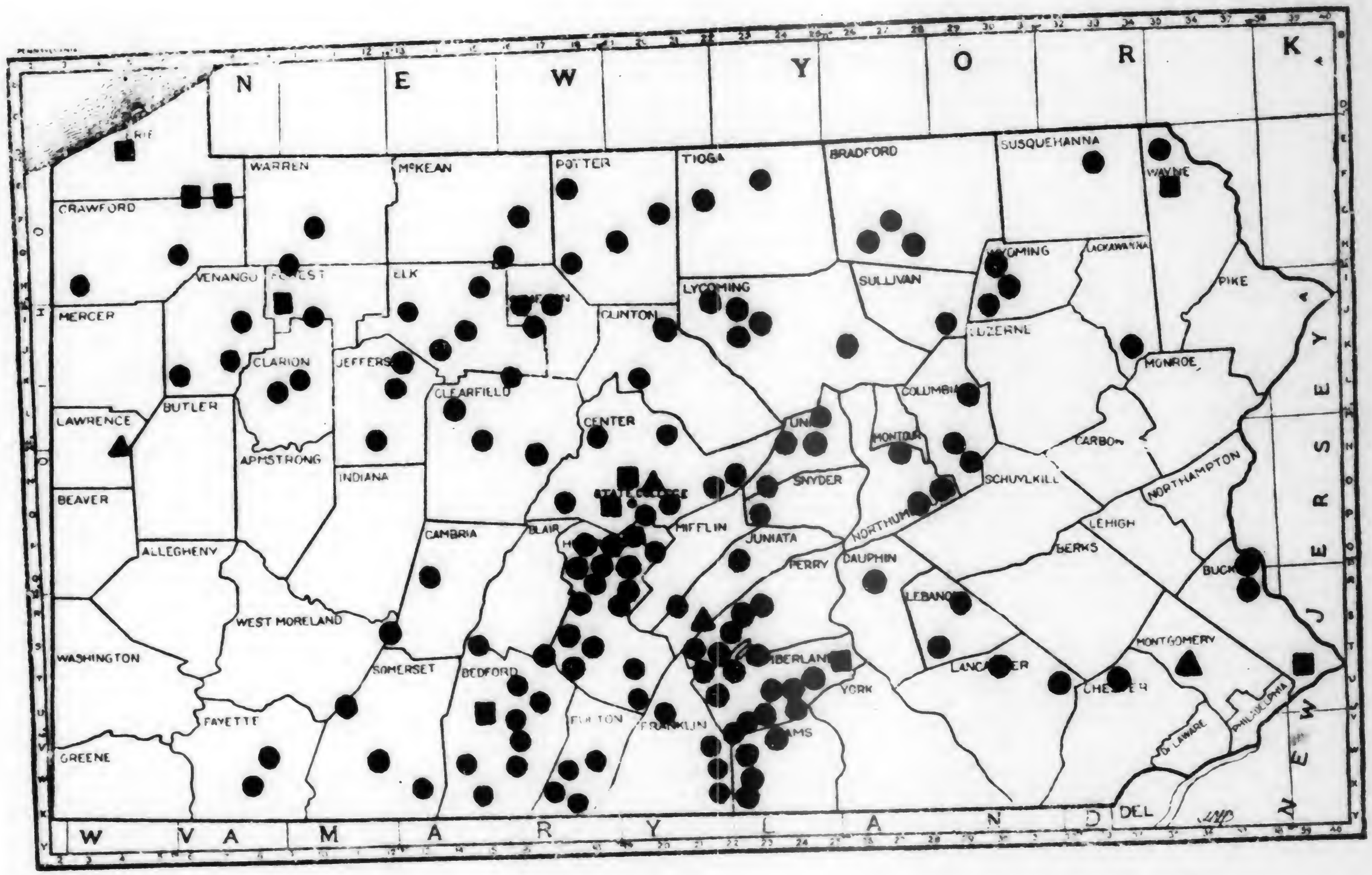
52. Ibidem.
53. Sources: National Park Service, 4-H Office, Y.M.C.A. Office, State Sabbath School Office, et al.



● Game Refuge ▲ Game Farm ■ Fish Hatcheries

Figure 130. - Location of State Game and Fish Areas in Pennsylvania, 1939

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE



● Game Refuge ▲ Game Farm ■ Fish Hatcheries

Figure 130. - Location of State Game and Fish Areas in Pennsylvania, 1939

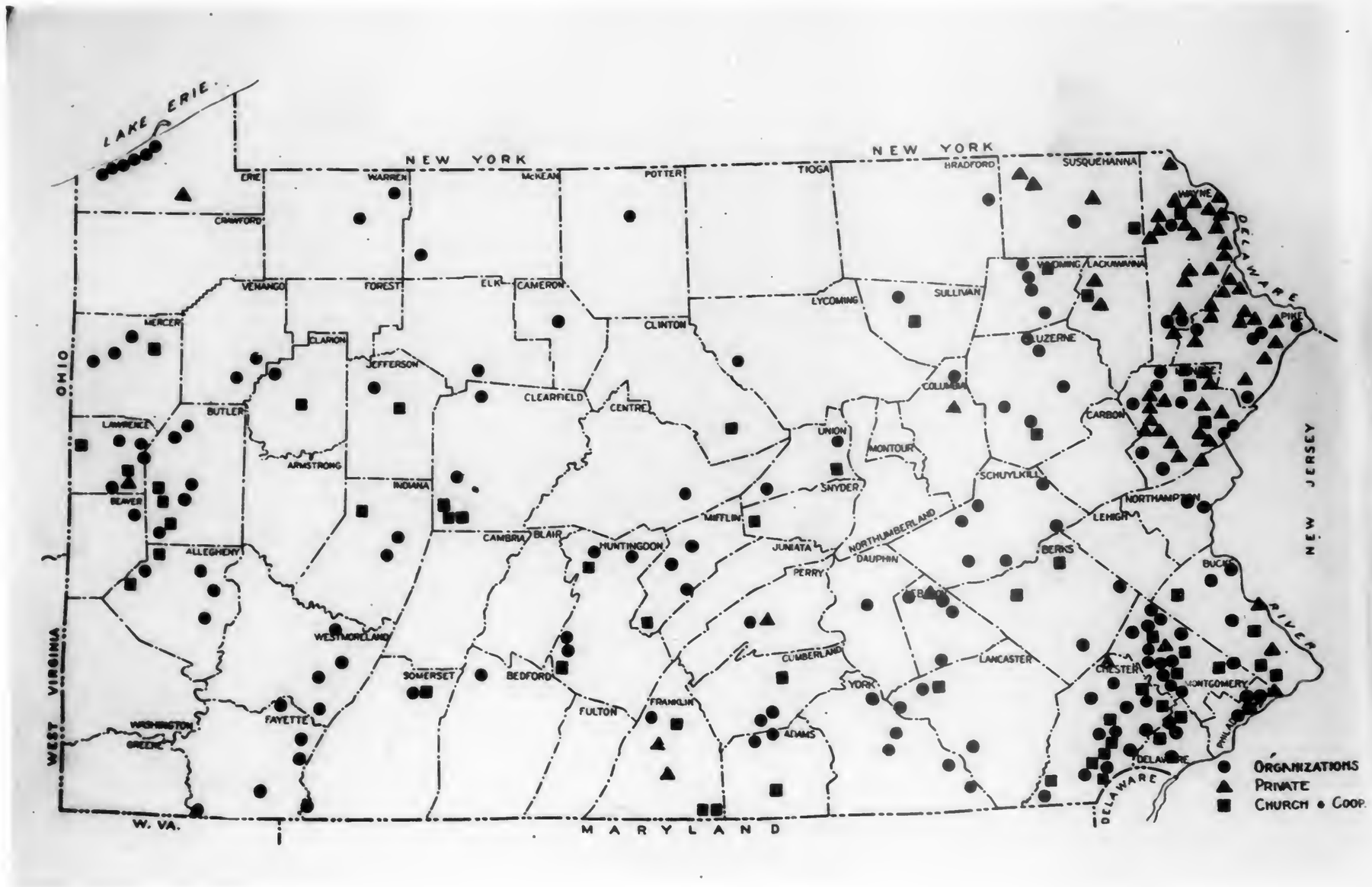


Figure 191. Location of Camps in Pennsylvania, 1959.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

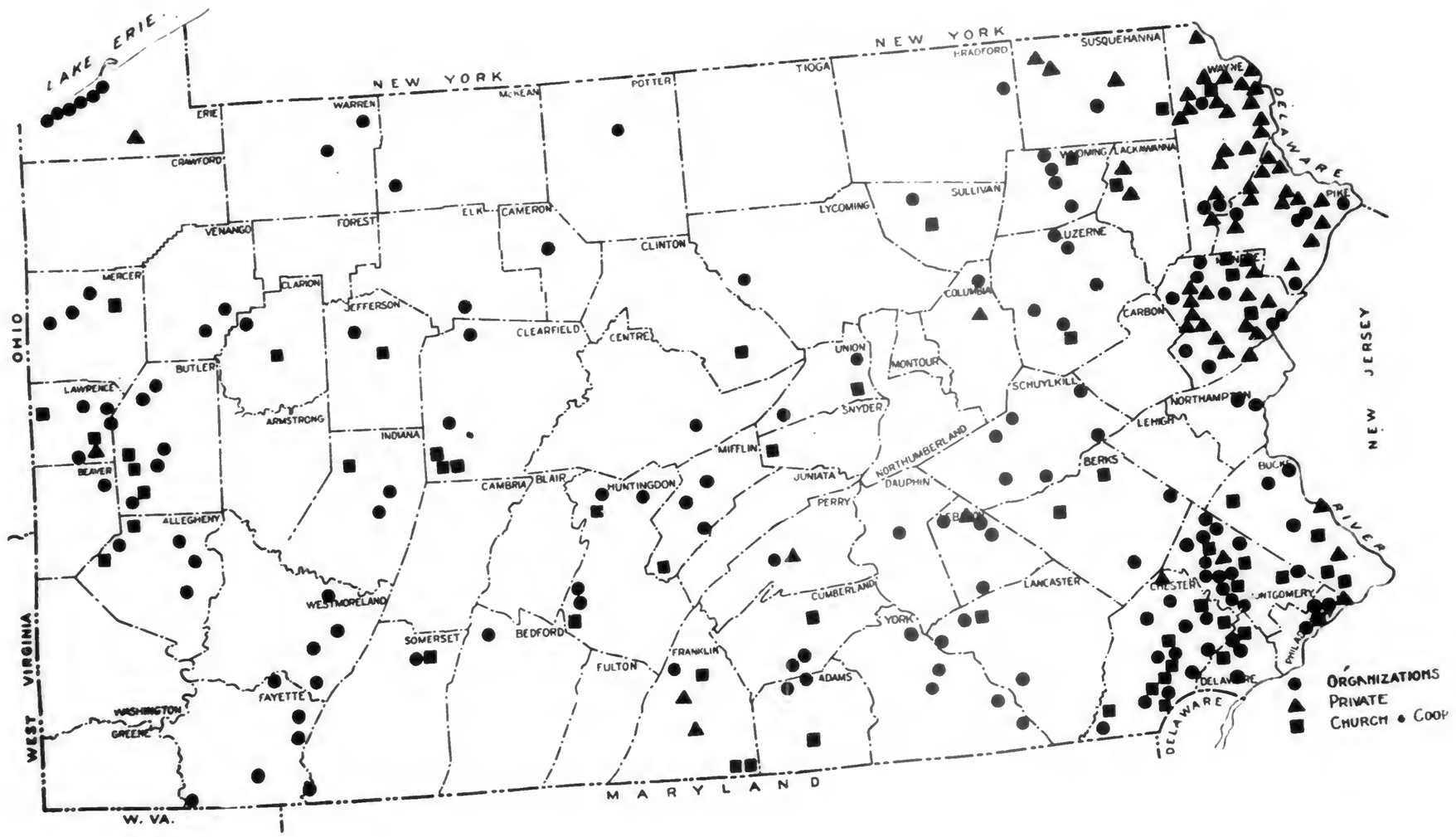


Figure 191. Location of Camps in Pennsylvania, 1939.

departments.

The map shows three areas of concentration - around Pittsburgh, the hinterland of Philadelphia, and the Poconos of the northeast. In the latter section a large proportion of camps are private. To these camps urban boys of wealthy families from New York City and Philadelphia commonly go for one, two, or three months.

The camps that are indicated by the round symbols are those sponsored by such organized agencies as Y.M.C.A., Boy Scout, Girl Scout, and the like. These camps sprinkle the state in fairly close conformity to population concentrations. Wherever cities are located nearby are to be found also such camps as these.

Pennsylvania is strong, as compared with other areas, in its church program. All of the larger denominations sponsor church camps that operate throughout the summer. Different age groups of boys or girls are handled on successive weeks. These camps are shown with the square symbols. Children commonly travel long distances to these camps since each denomination cannot afford to have more than one to three camps in a state.

The camp program in Pennsylvania can scarcely be called organized. Each agency in each locality maintains its own camp and does not relate it in any way to any other unit of that same agency in another place. For example, there is no state-wide organization for Y.M.C.A., Boy Scout, church camps, etc. Therefore, the task of finding the location of these camps is a difficult one. Further, inasmuch as most camps are located along streams isolated from any center, absolute accuracy in the spotting of the camps cannot be guaranteed.

No data are available as to the number of young people influenced by these camps, nor are data at hand regarding the cost, duration of camping

period, leadership, and the like. This is a separate study in itself.

7. Commercial Recreation Agencies.

One of the significant trends in the last score of years has been the rise of commercial amusements. This fact has been brought out in a number of surveys including the President's Report on Social Trends. The trend was allayed somewhat during the depths of the depression when people had little money and therefore turned to "homemade" types of recreation. But since 1934 the commercial recreation business has sprung back into the running with renewed fervor. Today paid amusements in Pennsylvania are one of the largest industries -- and that in an industrial state. Nearly a billion dollars income is derived annually from all commercial recreation sources.[34]

In one sense almost all kinds of recreation could be considered commercial. Even recreation in one's own home, such as ping pong and listening to the radio, is a part of the commercial recreation business since the equipment and electricity cost money. Likewise, magazine reading which was analysed in Chapter IV has commercial implications. The discussion here, however, will be concerned only with the commonly accepted forms of commercial recreation such as when people want to "go out for the evening."

(a) Motion Picture Theatres.

By far the most important single commercial facility for recreation in Pennsylvania is the motion picture. This is true culturally as well as economically. With the advent of sound movies, and more recently color photography the curve of attendance has steadily mounted each year. Moreover the movie is a powerful vehicle for good or for ill. It is used alike by

34. Cf. United States Census of Business, 1935.

educators, the church, the government, the elite, the masses as a mechanism of propaganda and enlightenment. When a show such as "Grapes of Wrath" can shake an entire country it is evident that it packs a dynamic emotional wallop. This has been recognized, and therefore practically every organization discussed above has created a Committee on Motion Pictures to censure and to recommend "fit" movies. This is especially serious work with the P.T.A. in Pennsylvania which is active in promoting studies of the effects of movies on children.

The location of motion picture houses in Pennsylvania is seen in Figure 132.[55] The black dots shown indicate theatres in rural centers while the circles, some of which enclose figures which indicate the number of theatres, designate urban places. This patterning resembles markedly Figure 9 which shows the location of towns and cities. Thus we see three concentrations - the Philadelphia hinterland, the Allegheny steel and coal region, and the hard coal region. There were 210 motion picture houses in Philadelphia, 65 in Pittsburgh, 18 in Scranton, and a slightly lesser number in the other large cities.

The scatteration of rural movie houses is particularly interesting. It is seen that virtually all farm areas of the state are supplied with this form of commercial amusement. Only one county - Forest - did not have a theatre in 1939. In all there were 228 rural houses (19 per cent) as compared with 963 urban houses, making a total of 1,191. These theatres contained 846,000 seats, or 710 each.

(b) Beer Parlors.

There is a beer parlor, or a public place where malt liquor is retailed wherever a license has been issued by the State Liquor Control

55. Source: National Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, New York City.

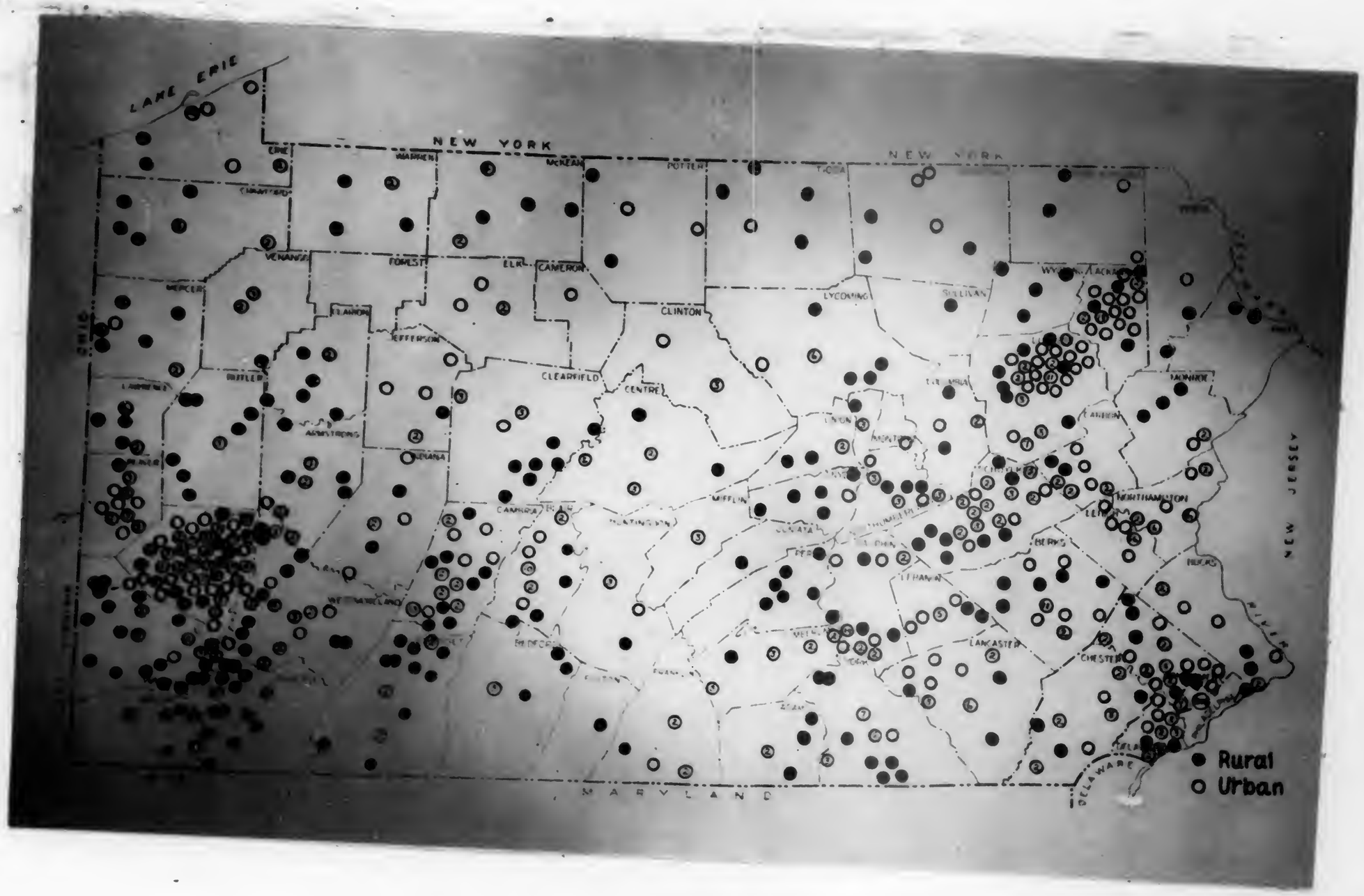


Figure 192. Location of Motion Picture Houses in Pennsylvania, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

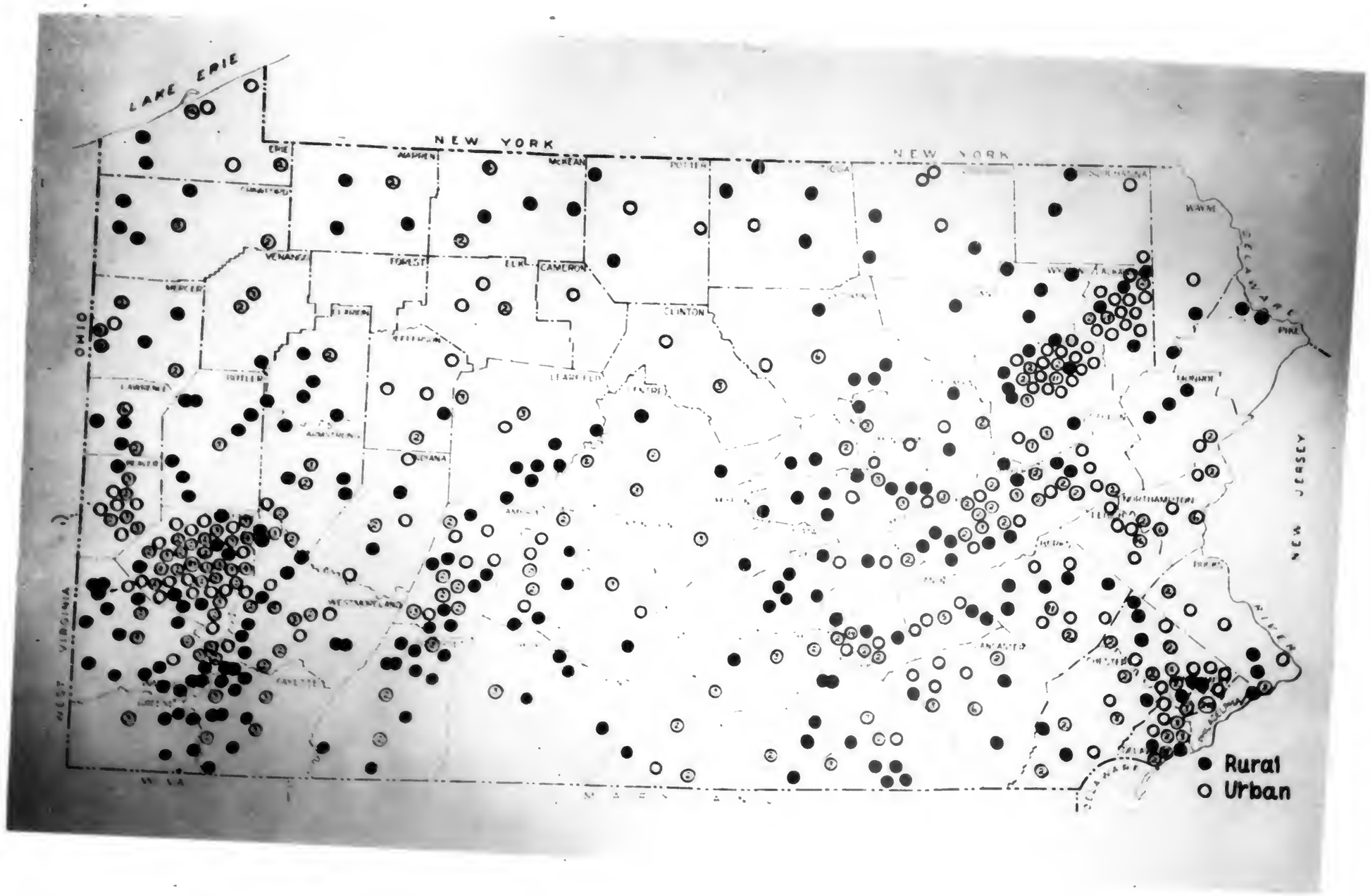


Figure 192. Location of Motion Picture Houses in Pennsylvania, 1939.

Board. One is able to analyze with a high degree of accuracy, therefore, the ecology of beer drinking or the relation of these agencies to the population. There were 4591 beer parlors in Pennsylvania in 1939. The range was from four in Sullivan County to 458 in Schuylkill County. The number of malt beverage licenses issued in proportion to the population shows unusual variation for different parts of the state. (Figure 193)[36] The range was from 555 persons per beer license in Pike County to 7,117 persons per license in Philadelphia County in 1939. The entire southwest corner showed relatively few malt beverage licenses; while the northwest central counties and the southeast central counties showed a greater concentration of beer parlors and clubs holding malt beverage licenses. The Pennsylvania German territory in southeastern Pennsylvania was generally heavy in this respect. Of particular interest is the information on Pike and Monroe Counties in the northeast. In these places the income of the population is pretty largely dependent upon summer boarder and tourist business, primarily from Philadelphia and New York City. Since they are catering to a pleasure seeking leisure class during the hot months of the year, it is to be expected that a goodly number of beer parlors would be found in this resort area. It has been noted previously, incidentally, that there is an almost complete absence of W.C.T.U. units in these two counties. The proprietors of hotels, restaurants, and boarding cannot afford to let these and anti-saloon groups become too active; for they may interfere with the source of livelihood.

(c) Hard Liquor Establishment.

The situation with respect to the distribution of hard liquor places shows a strikingly different patterning from beer parlors. Whereas the

36. Source of data: Pennsylvania Liquor Control Board, Harrisburg.

COLOR PLATE

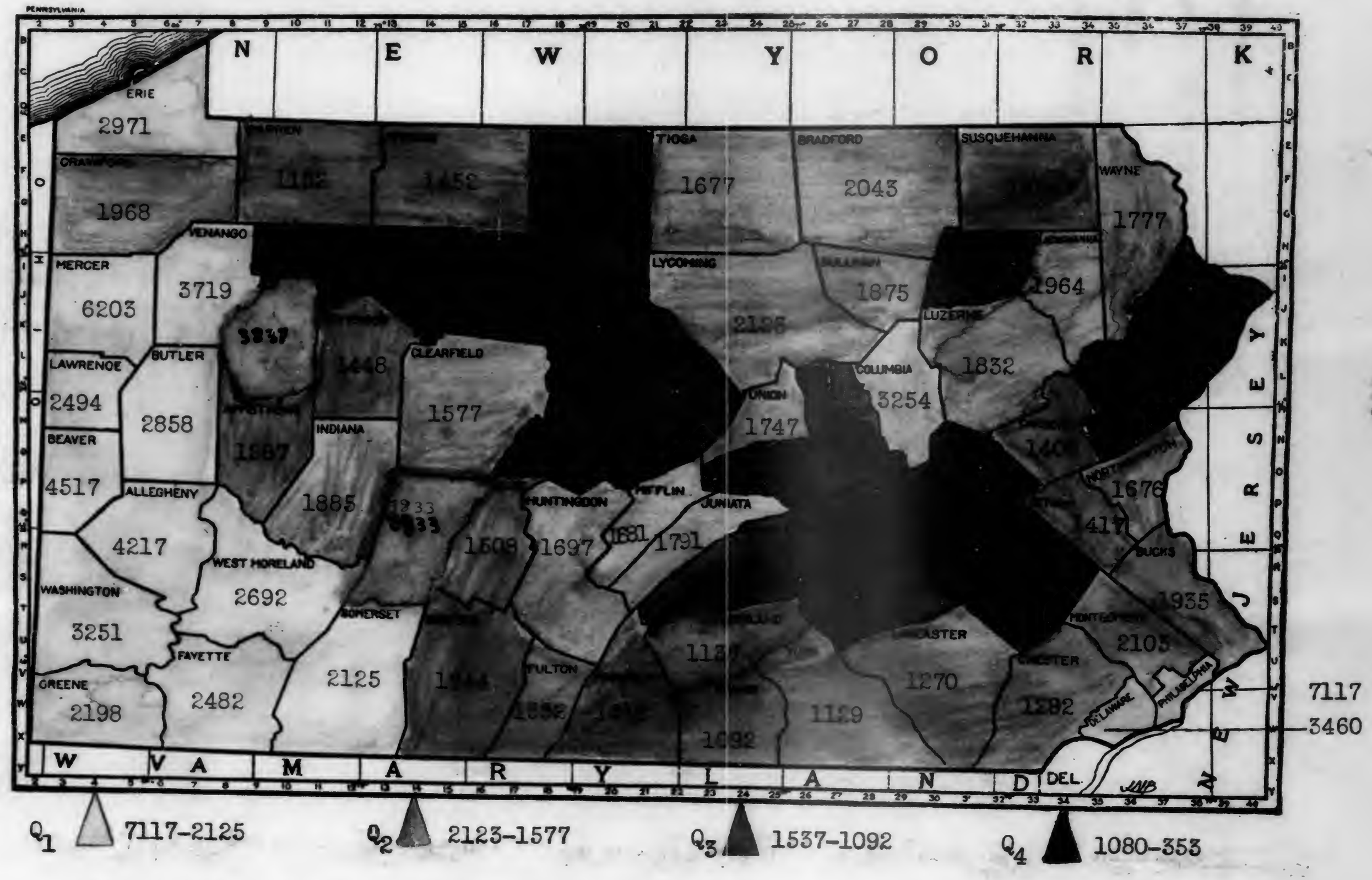


Figure 193.- POPULATION PER MALT BEVERAGE RETAIL PLACE IN PENNSYLVANIA, BY COUNTIES - 1939

COLOR PLATE
INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

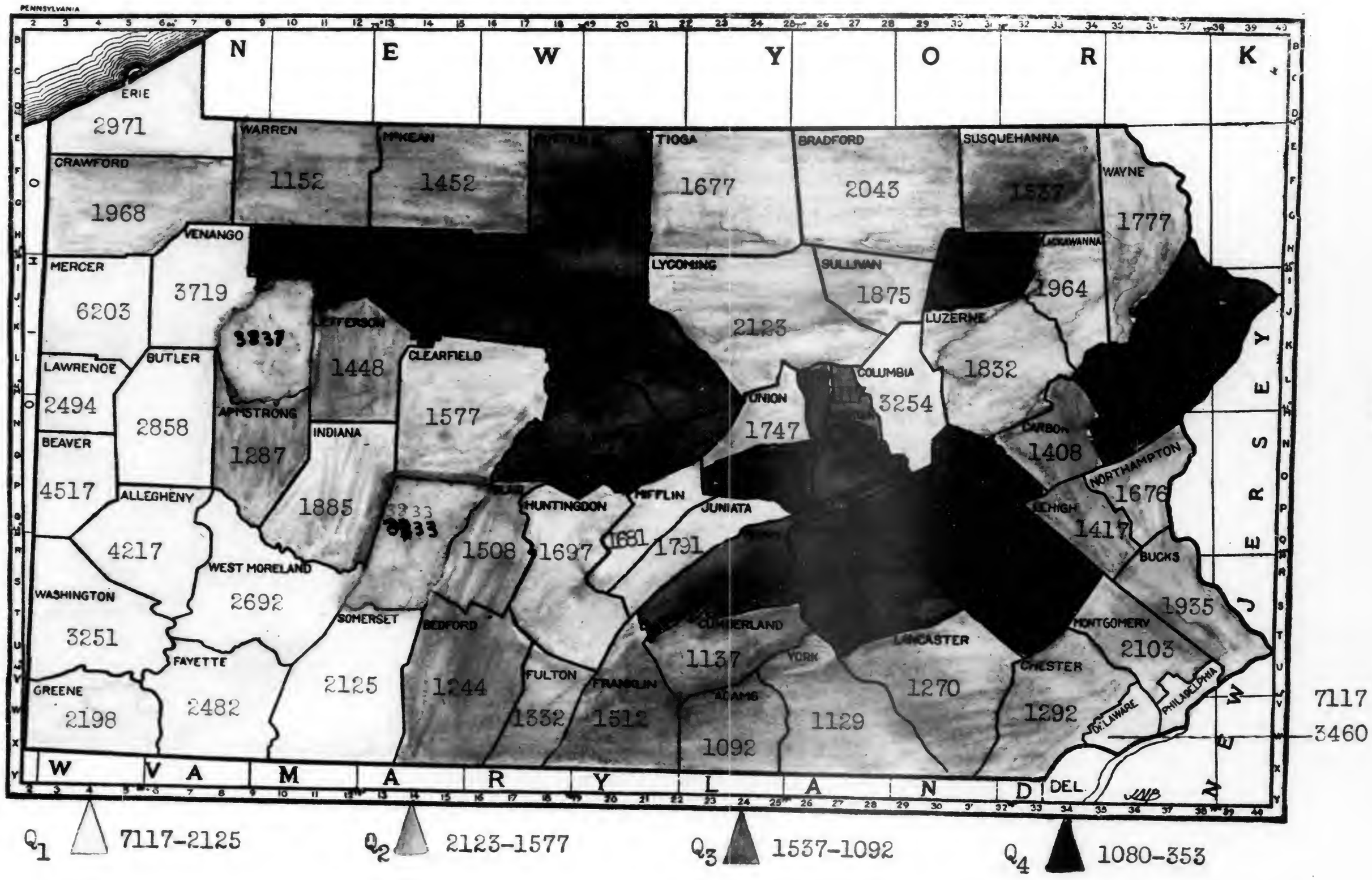


Figure 193.- POPULATION PER MALT BEVERAGE RETAIL PLACE IN PENNSYLVANIA, BY COUNTIES - 1939

whole of southwestern Pennsylvania had relatively few malt beverage licenses in relation to the population in 1939, this area had proportionately many more hard liquor places.[37] Figure 194 shows that there is an intense concentration of hard liquor licenses in the eastern part of the state, however. In that area is to be found a concentrated block of fourteen counties in the highest fourth, extending from Wayne in the north to Bucks County in the south. All five hard coal counties fall in this area.

On the other hand, south central Pennsylvania has relatively fewer hard liquor licenses. Here one may see twelve contiguous counties, all of which are found in the lowest quarter. The range in numbers of persons per hard liquor license again finds Pike County on the upper end where there are but 156 persons for each license issued. The reason for this situation, as suggested before, is first because of the recreational interests of the summer boarders and, secondly, because the population figures used in working out the population-liquor ratio were secured in April before the population increased from its annual visitation of summer boarders. At the other end of the scale will be found Forest and Union Counties in which no hard liquor is sold.

Doubtless the variation in distribution of licenses for these two kinds of liquid refreshment is due not so much to the economic situation as to the custom and folkways of the people. Thus we find among the Germans a propensity for beer drinking and, apparently, a mitigated interest in hard liquor. On the other hand, the steel workers in the Pittsburgh area evidently prefer hard liquor to beer. This same situation obtains among

37. Source of data: Ibidem.

COLOR PLATE

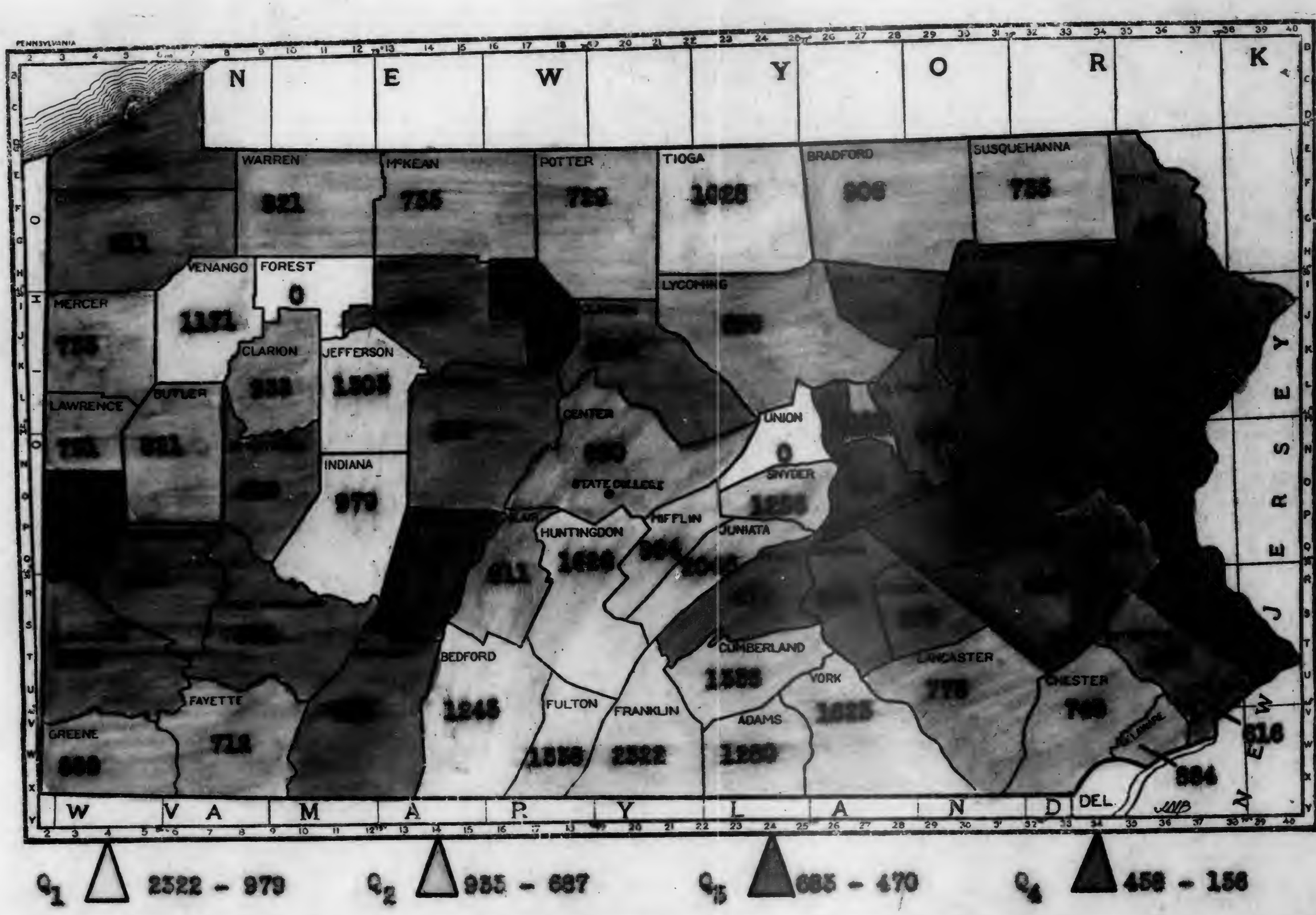


Figure 194. Number of Persons per Hard Liquor License in Pennsylvania, by Counties, Jan. 1, 1940.

COLOR PLATE

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

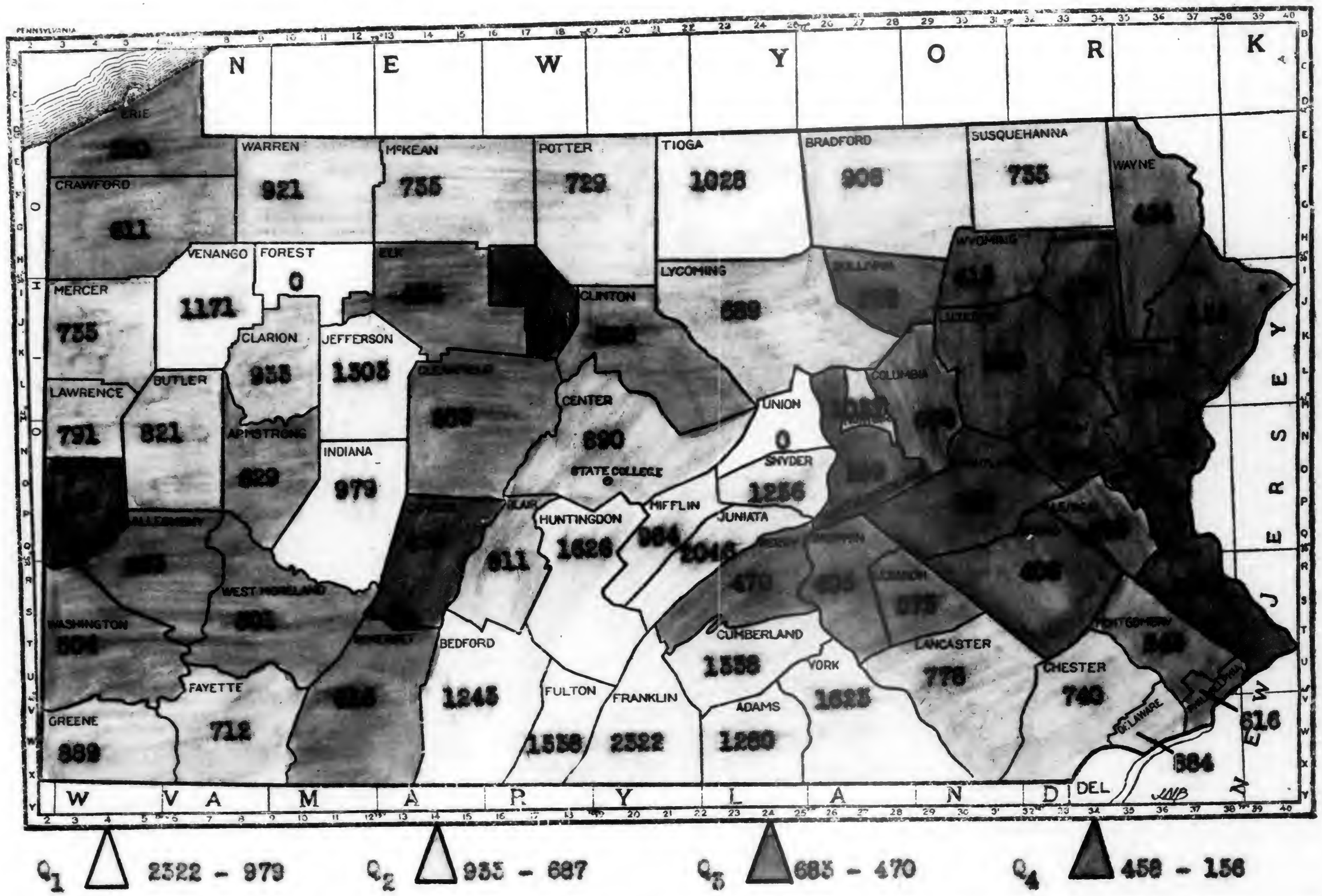


Figure 194. Number of Persons per Hard Liquor License in Pennsylvania, by Counties, Jan. 1, 1940.

the preponderantly foreign populations of the hard coal regions. Further, liquor appears to be a function of urbanity for there was a correlation of -.42 of this phenomenon with the index of rurality.

Not all of the liquor licenses referred to above are granted to public retail establishments. In certain counties, a surprisingly large number of these licenses are granted to clubs, lodges, and the like. For example, 535 of Allegheny's 2,844 hard liquor licenses are club licenses. Over a third of the licenses granted in Armstrong and Berks Counties are of this type. The same is true of a fourth of the hard liquor licenses issued to Cambria, Beaver, and Northampton Counties. Something of the same situation obtains to malt beverage licenses.

Only one county is to be found in the state that is in the lowest fourth for both hard liquor and malt beverage licenses, Venango. This may (or may not) be a tribute to the Venango County Sabbath School Association, which is reputed to have the most aggressive program of activities of any County Association in the United States. On the other hand, six counties are to be found among those having highest concentration in licenses in both beer and hard liquor - Cameron, Northumberland, Wyoming, Schuylkill, Berks, Monroe, and Pike. The correspondence, therefore, between these two sets of figures is not high.

The total number of hard liquor licenses in Pennsylvania in 1939 was 17,270. The range was from 0 in Forest and Union Counties to 5168 in Philadelphia County.

(d) <u>Other Commercial Recreation Agencies.</u>

Other commercial recreation agencies are numerous. There are four legitimate theatres in the state — three in Philadelphia and one in

Pittsburgh. There are 25 year round swimming pools often in the Y.M.C.A.'s of larger cities but none-the-less commercial. Then there are 41 outdoor commercial pools. Nearly every city over 30,000 has one or more summer amusement parks. There were 40 in 1935.[58] Public dance halls are more common with about two-thirds of all urban places having them. These are supplemented, especially in rural territory, by public dances held regularly at Grange halls, American Legion halls, Lodge halls, and fire houses. Occasionally regular public dances are held in school gymnasia and Y.M.C.A.'s. These data on dance halls are not available from any state department since such halls do not have to be licensed. Market data handbooks do not carry this information. And the time and money necessary to collect these facts would be incommensurate with the value to be derived from the data. The number of skating rinks recorded in 1935 was 39. But this is obviously an under enumeration.

Pool, billiards, and bowling are the other chief forms of commercial recreation. According to the 1935 census of business there were 884 of these agencies operating in the state at that time. The task of completely enumerating the facilities for any one of these in the city of Philadelphia alone is enormous. And it would be many times as great for the state as a whole. A few city recreation departments have used W.P.A. funds to conduct such surveys but the information is too fragmentary to enable one to get a true picture of the situation over the entire state. "The Facilities for Recreation in Pennsylvania" would make a good title for a master's thesis for anyone interested in the field.

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58. Source: 1935, United States Census of Business.

How does the present chapter support the original hypotheses? It again shows that there is a high variability between the number, kind and size of social organizations in the various areas. The influence of demographic factors in social organizations is seen here. We tend to find service clubs, movies, and playgrounds where cities are, for example. Special interest groups such as music clubs, little theatre group, and the like are much more numerous in urban areas. Further, the location of retail liquor and beer establishments is markedly affected by the composition of the population.

Again, the importance of social and religious influences in the ecology of social agencies is seen. For example, there are relatively few granges among Pennsylvania German farmers; while on the other hand the Farm Women's Societies are most numerous there.

We see the effect of economic well being in the distribution of public recreation places, and in the frequency and location of Masonic lodges versus the less expensive I.O.O.F. lodges. Location of such agencies as state parks, camps, and game preserves, in mountainous areas indicate the relation of these agencies with topography, soil and other geographic factors.

We see that the distribution of certain agencies reveals the influence of particular individuals. This is shown nicely with regard to the encouragement or discouragement given to P.T.A.'s by county superintendents of schools. Likewise, it is found that concentrations of such groups as granges, Camp Fire Girls, Women's Clubs, and the like have their historical antecedents in strong regional or county leaders.

It suggests that frequently there is little relationship between the stated objectives of an organization and the actual program. For example, some granges are primarily agricultural discussion groups, others are almost strictly card and dance clubs. Likewise, many of the luncheon clubs have departed from their initial objectives and are now engaged in health, welfare, civic, and governmental activities.

And finally the chapter indicates the lack of relationship between the distribution of social and recreational agencies — and the cultural sub-regions developed by Mangus, or even the socio-economic areas posited by the writer.

Chapter XIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

1. Significant Findings and Implications

Before proceeding with a statement of the conclusions of this study, it should be pointed out that such findings should be accepted only in the light of the limitations in method of study set forth in section six of the first chapter.

Some of these were, in brief: the incomparability of certain bodies of data for different years, the invalidity of certain kinds of data and measurements, and the unavailability of township data and other more refined materials. With these shortcomings in mind we may proceed with the findings.

(1) What and how many social agencies are functioning in the state? It was found that there were 112 different orders of organizations and agencies most of which are listed in the table of contents. Each of these orders contains sub-orders of organizations. For example, under churches there are 128 separate denominations. This also means many kinds of young people's organizations. Likewise, the kinds of camps are numerous since various denominations, youth agencies, public agencies, and private agencies operate separate ones. Thus viewed, the 112 major orders include approximately 546 kinds of agencies which, in turn, include approximately 75,000 separate bodies or groups of people. This does not include, of course, such agents as doctors or dentists, but it does include, for example, such organized agencies as hospitals and clinics. This means

that there is approximately one social organization or agency of the types dealt with for every 133 persons in the state. Nor does this include such informal groupings as parties, card clubs, Sunday School classes, and the like.

Another phase of this enumeration of social agencies is that local leaders frequently do not know of the many agencies that are specifically designed to help them. As a result, such agencies as health clinics, library services, and conservation aids frequently go unused.

The number, kind, and size of the social agencies varies markedly from area to area. A review of any one of the spot maps reveals this variation. Further, the patterns displayed by these social agencies are dissimilar. The even distribution of 4-H clubs, for example, has nothing in common with the distribution of the Patriotic Order of Sons of America; for these local lodges are almost wholly located in southeastern Pennsylvania. And neither of these, in turn, has anything in common with the Baptist church map showing concentrations in the four corners of the state.

(2) Another point of emphasis shown in the study is the wide variety of conditions existing in the state. Following Bernard's classification they may be grouped as physical, biological, and social environments — each conditioning the group and institutional life of the area. These forces have been indicated repeatedly in the initial chapters in which the differences in the areas were revealed for such phenomena as geography, soils, industry, agriculture, forests, population, and standard of living. These factors have a selective effect on social agencies. For example, counties where a high proportion of the land is in forests have fewer farm organisations and institutions per county and more game preserves,

parks, and forest recreational areas than in the fertile agricultural counties. Other examples of the conditioning effect of environmental influences are seen below.

Other questions answered are: Where are these agencies located? What is the ecological patterning of each? What factors influence these distributions? In each section the locations of these groups were given and so need not be repeated here. However, as to the ecological organization, a number of generalizations can be made.

(3) The frequency of the general organizations correlates highly with population density. This includes churches, lodges, fire companies, clubs, and the like. It is based on the simple idea that where people are there will be found social agencies.

(4) Farm organizations are not correlated with total population density. Included here are the grange, 4-H clubs, Home Economics clubs, and Future Farmers of America groups. Urbanization has little or no effect on these organizations. Thus it is seen that the sparsely populated areas of the state are well covered with these agencies.

(5) Some interesting developments arose out of collective analysis of 22 agencies. The rural units of these general organizations were first added for each county. There were 13,222 separate groups in this analysis representing schools, extension clubs, P.T.A.'s, Women's clubs, lodges, movies, exhibitions, health agencies, and libraries. The range in number per county was from 460 in York to 31 in Cameron County. Obviously, the counties having largest rural populations tended to have most rural organizations. Therefore, these data were converted into comparable indexes; the base unit taken was 10,000 rural persons. On this basis the

parks, and forest recreational areas than in the fertile agricultural counties. Other examples of the conditioning effect of environmental influences are seen below.

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(5) Some interesting developments arose out of collective analysis of 22 agencies. The rural units of these general organizations were first added for each county. There were 15,282 separate groups in this analysis representing schools, extension clubs, P.T.A.'s, Women's clubs, lodges, movies, exhibitions, health agencies, and libraries. The range in number per county was from 460 in York to 31 in Cameron County. Obviously, the counties having largest rural populations tended to have most rural organizations. Therefore, these data were converted into comparable indexes; the base unit taken was 10,000 rural persons. On this basis the

"very rural" counties stand out as having most organizations in relation to rural population (Figure 135). Thus, the Northeast Dairy Region is highest, with the Northwest Dairy Region second. On the other hand, the Philadelphia area, the Hard Coal Region, and the Allegheny Coal and Steel area have fewest rural organizations of these 22 kinds in relation to rural population. This means that rural people in these last areas either are associated with urban organizations, are connected with rural organizations other than those used in the present analysis (which does not include religious agencies), or there are fewer rural organizations per capita of the rural population. The average number of rural agencies per 10,000 rural population in the state was 42.7. The range was from 9.7 in industrial Allegheny County to 156.0 in rural Sullivan County. The correlation between this rural organization index and the rural plane of living index was -.38; or, more rural organizations exist in areas where rural living standards are low. The coefficient of correlation between the organization index and the index of rurality is high, +.74. In other words, the more "rural" the county the greater ratio of rural organizations to rural people. This is an important point.

(6) Population characteristics have a selective effect on social agencies. For example, a large per cent of foreign born population is highly correlated with the distribution of such agencies as Catholic Churches, the prevalence of hard liquor establishments, the existence of welfare aid, agencies for the training and supervision of midwives, and with the American Legion. It is not related to the distribution of dentists and baby clinics; and is inversely related to W.C.T.U. organizations, and Masonic and F.O.S. of A. lodges.

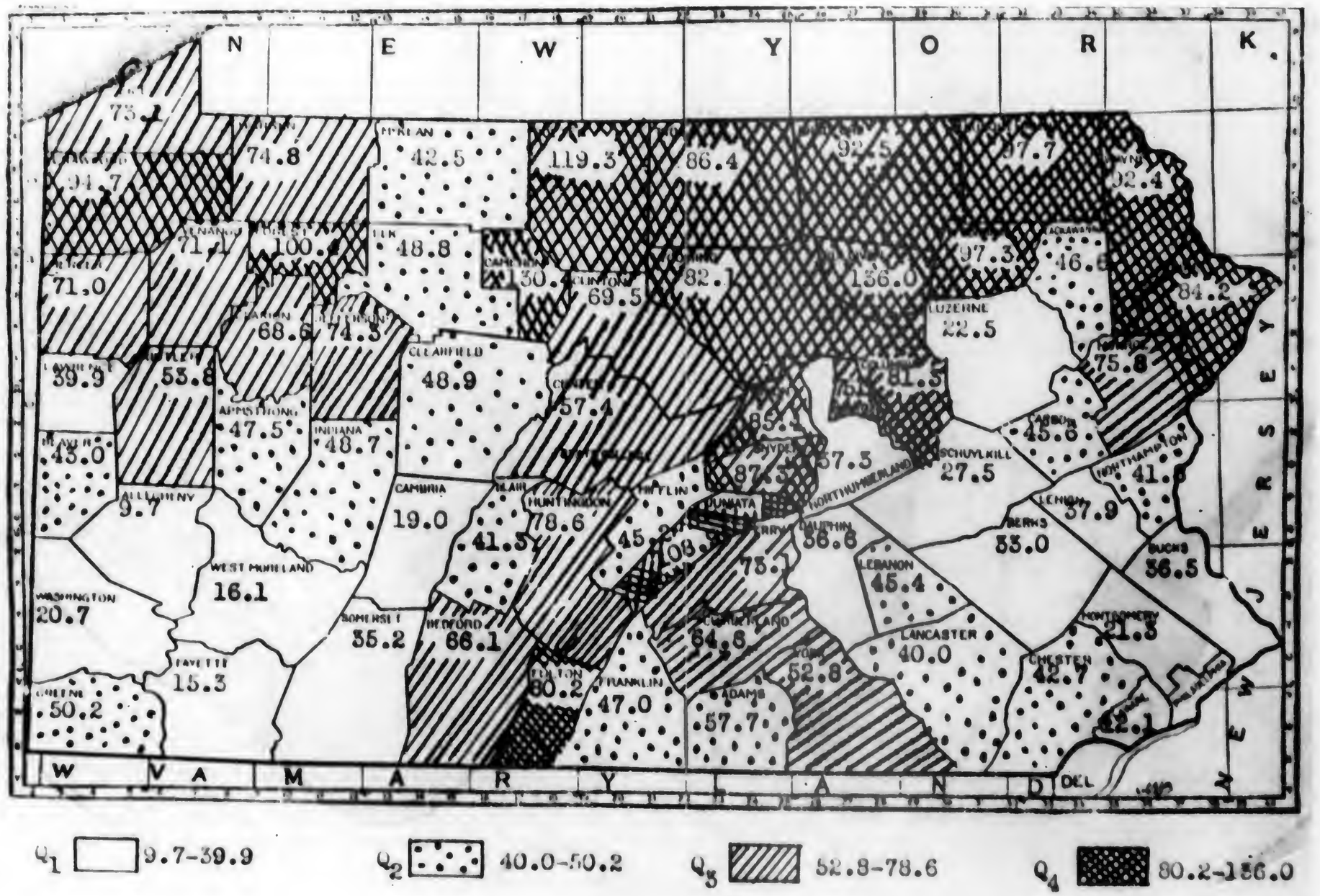

Figure 195. Number of Rural Units per 10,000 Rural Population of 22 Social Agencies in in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

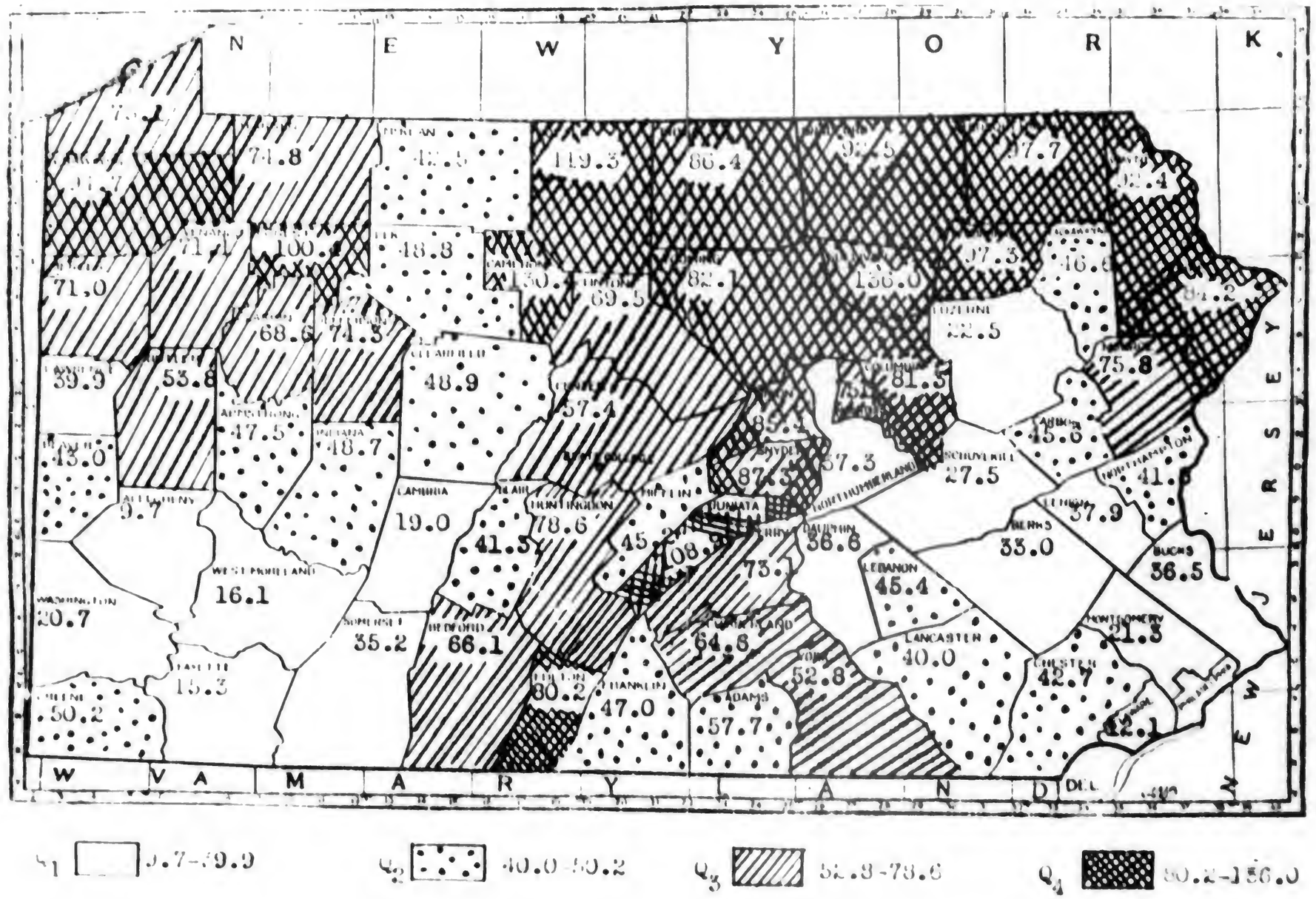

Figure 195. Number of Rural Units per 10,000 Rural Population of 22 Social Agencies in in Pennsylvania, by Counties, 1939.

(7) Economic influences affect organizations in various and selected ways. Thus, war veterans organizations are found in industrial areas. It is often used as a pressure group by laboring classes. Farmers tend not to belong. Again, in the resort and summer boarder areas the people cannot afford to allow W.C.T.U. organizations to flourish; for it hurts business. Similarly, the Masonic order is located in largest numbers where people have money. The upper social classes belong to this lodge and to the Eastern Star. The I.O.O.F. and Rebekah Orders, on the other hand, are more uniformly patterned throughout the State, including many low economic areas.

(8) The distribution of certain agencies shows unmistakably the influence, both positive and negative, of personal leadership. This effect is frequently strong enough to be not merely a "conditioning" influence but a "determining" influence. For example, the P.T.A. map shows certain unorganized counties surrounded by counties where this organization is thriving. All relevant data reveal no social, economic, educational, or health differences between these counties that would contribute to this condition. Light is thrown on these situations when it is learned, through interviews, that the Superintendents of Schools in certain counties consider the P.T.A. a "meddlesome organization of busybodies that can cause you more trouble in one year than you can patch up in ten."

The principle can be illustrated again by the map on school consolidation, a situation in which the attitude of the County Superintendent makes or breaks the program. The same is true regarding the distribution of 4-H clubs where a comparable situation obtains.

(9) Irrespective of nationality, such socially imposed factors as religion frequently affect the distribution of social agencies. Thus we find the Pennsylvania German area manifesting some unusual situations. These "Dutch" farmers do not believe in secret societies. This is reflected in the small number of granges through the Pennsylvania German belt which cuts across the best farm land in the state. It is reflected, too, in the map showing the proportion of children of school age taken from school through the device of "working permits". It is further seen in the tardiness of these farmers to combine one room rural schools into consolidated units.

(10) Another conclusion is that, in relation to the numbers of farm people farm organizations exist in larger numbers in poor agricultural areas than in fertile agricultural sections. This is due primarily to two conditions; (a) The disposition of those in the fertile territory, like the Pennsylvania Dutch, not to associate themselves in formal groupings. We have seen this with respect to the grange, for example. Of more importance is (b) the location of professional workers such as county agents, home economics extension workers, county school superintendents, county vocational agricultural and home economics supervisors over the state on a county basis irrespective of the number of farm people to be served. Thus, for example, county extension workers in sparse counties in the Allegheny Plateau have organized boys', girls' and women's clubs to the point where the ratio between members of these groups and the total farm population is 20 or 25 times as high as the ratio in the more fertile and more thickly settled farm areas of the state.

(11) It was found that the relationship existing between the stated functions and programs of organizations and the actual activities and programs carried out varied considerably. In general, the smaller the community the less the correspondence. The P.T.A. illustrates this point nicely. Whereas the urban units generally take up projects related to service to the school, many of the rural P.T.A.'s promote community beautification, adult education, putting on plays, community playground, horseshoe courts for men and, in fact, almost any kind of project that aids community well-being. This principle applies to organizations with a general coverage and is therefore not as applicable when strictly rural groups are considered. The more than 100 survey blanks received from granges revealed, for example, great disparity in activities engaged in during the past year. This disparity was not truly sectional (although there were areas where such activities as dancing and card playing were more prevalent than others), for diverse situations existed side by side in the same township. Some granges indicated that 50 per cent of the meeting time was spent in lectures, discussions, and education; others spent a large part of the time with games, singing, and entertainments; still others existed primarily as dance clubs and card clubs. It was especially interesting to note that there was a minimum of concern for, or activity in, two of the strongest phases of the State Grange work, legislation and ritualism.

Data received from other organizations follow substantially the above conclusion. However, more data on more kinds of organizations are needed.

(12) The distribution of many agencies was highly favorable to the towns and cities in the state. Rural families were definitely underprivileged compared to the urban population with respect to the accessibility of nearly all the agencies included in the present study. Thus, motion picture theatres, fire departments, hospitals, health clinics, Scouts, libraries, service clubs, parks and playgrounds are largely urban institutions. Likewise, rural agencies are more readily available to nonfarm people than to the farm population;for even rural doctors, dentists, P.T.A.'s, lodges, high schools, agricultural exhibitions, fire companies, churches, and athletic fields are most frequently located in the villages. The location of many agencies by counties showed a higher correspondence with villages, towns, and cities than to the density of the population by counties.

(13) Certain parts of the state stand out as "favored areas". These areas are not the same for all factors, but in general one may say that the Allegheny Plateau, the Allegheny Mountains, the forested counties, and the coal districts fare badly in terms of agencies available. This is noticeable in the chapters on welfare, recreation, education, health, government, plane of living, and communication and transportation. On the other hand, the Philadelphia hinterland, the Pennsylvania German Area, and the two Northern Dairy Regions, generally speaking, are well off. The specific ways in which these areas are better off are described in the various chapters.

(14) Of especial interest in the present study is the comparison of the relationship between the incidence of rural social agencies and

rural cultural areas as delineated by Mangus and the writer. What correspondence existed between agencies and socio-economic areas did so largely as a result of greater numbers of people in the areas which causes them to have a greater number of agencies. The relationship was not higher because of the base factors by which these cultural areas were delineated. The factors were not comprehensive enough and therefore the areas were insensitive to the important personal, social, political, and religious influences which so markedly affect the number and distribution of rural social agencies. Some relationship was noted with certain conditions such as welfare. This correspondence is discussed in the various chapters.

It is the contention of the writer that the data of various kinds presented in this thesis must be themselves used in the construction of regions and sub-regions if these areas are to be truly representative of the life and culture of the people. The most fruitful approach would be to delineate the areas by an extensive analysis as has been done here and then proceed to refine these findings by intensive methods. Included in this latter analysis would be, most certainly, studies of the psychic and symbiotic interrelations of man in his environment. If the sociologist is to get anywhere with the regional or cultural area approach he must get beyond the point where he merely enumerates the common elements present in a geographic area. He must, as a French human geographer says, determine "the correlations between the organisms living together in the same locality"[1], or as McKenzie suggests, determine the "web of life". The social psychologist and the cultural anthropologist will have to help here.

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1. P. V. de la Blache, Principles of Human Geography, p. 9.

2. Suggestions for Social Planning.

The resources of Pennsylvania, both physical and human, are not distributed uniformly throughout the state. Naturally, the development of all parts of the commonwealth do not proceed at a uniform rate. Out of this situation many maladjustments arise. The social and economic machinery is frequently thrown out of gear in attempting to adjust the inequalities in the resources available.

Social planning as here conceived includes such phases of community life as planning for social welfare, health, recreation, religion, education, and government. Each of these is interwoven with the other. Each is a phase of any adequate notion of the planning process. Planning, stripped of all its elaborations, consists simply of having corporate goals and having a means of attaining those goals. Each of these aspects must be based on facts.

Someone has suggested that people interested in progress must find the facts, filter the facts, focus the facts, face the facts, and follow the facts. The present research work has been concerned only with the first three of these tasks. At this point the technicians of social planning must enter the field and proceed further.

The present study should aid in furthering social planning at each of the following four major levels.

(1) The People.

Before leaders in a democratic society can get anywhere with their followers, the latter must see something in the idea being projected. They must have a consciousness of the importance of the problem, else "social planning" may be considered merely as another fad term in the class with

"buy locally" and other such catch phrases. The present work should point out to the rank and file the needs, situations, and problems demanding attention.

(2) Agency Leaders.

One of the discoveries of this study was the fact that few of the organizations' leaders — even state leaders — actually had a grasp on the location, characteristics, and activities of their own local units. Of the 112 kinds of agencies listed only four had ever developed spot maps showing the area covered. This fact is almost important enough to merit inclusion under significant conclusions. The present study therefore should aid such special interest group leaders to recognize the areas and localities where their organizations can be sensibly expanded and where there are already too many organizations of a given type. This is especially true with youth groups, lodges, open adult societies, churches, and governmental agencies. It frequently creates a distortion to view any one institution, agency, phenomenon, or even a complex singly. Social phenomena are interrelated and must be viewed as a whole rather than as a cluster of parts, to bring out significant meanings. It should also help them in answering such questions as; Do we need new units of our organization? Are what units we have functioning effectively? Can several different kinds of organizations pull together on common projects?

(3) Coordinators.

Social organizations and agencies have been but little influenced by coordination — by a unified approach. Like Topsy they have "just growed". Recently, however, necessity has so forced the issue that some attempts have been made to integrate various movements and activities.

One of these is the Pennsylvania Country Life Conference which has met annually for five years with the aim of coordinating the forces, pooling the resources, eliminating the overlapping and filling the gaps in rural life. The conference includes leaders of PTA, Grange, F.F.A., 4-H clubs, adult extension, State and County Libraries, health, religion, recreation, welfare, education, cooperatives, and other such interested groups.

Another example is the "unified staff" of the Pennsylvania State Sabbath School Association. This group represents all denominations and the aim is essentially that of the above agency. The Pennsylvania Council of Churches is likewise concerned with this same problem.

A final example is the publicly supported Pennsylvania State Planning Board which, although working in the spheres of roads, natural resources, economic well-being, parks, and the like, is none-the-less designed to do exactly the same sort of work as that outlined above —coordinate.

The present study should hold many suggestions for these groups.

(4) Researchers.

Research, formal or informal, must precede all planning. The present study, while it embodies much important data relevant to planning, is in no sense meant to be the final answer. Doubtless one of its greatest values lies in its use as a springboard for further research. It should be valuable as a source of hypotheses which need to be tested or retested. It shows the need for more refined data bearing upon social resources and needs of the communities, counties, and of the state as a whole.

Another major value is its use as a basis for sampling. The Joint Committee on Radio Research, for example, recently made a survey of

the United States using the sampling method. Their purpose was to find out the percentage of homes having radios, listening habits, and the like. Five counties were chosen to represent Pennsylvania — Crawford, Center, Lebanon, West Moreland, and Wyoming. A glance at a few figures in this study would have revealed that these counties were atypical on such relevant factors as distance to broadcasting stations, availability of electricity, income of families, incidence of radios present in 1930, and other important indexes. Consequently, the generalization of their findings to other counties and to the state as a whole resulted in considerable error.

Studies on health, education, libraries, recreation, standards of living, and economics which use the sampling method will be aided through the better selection of sample areas.

3. Steps for Further Research.

(1) Since the incidence of the social agencies described is related to the size, kind, and distribution of the population; since the agency data are largely for 1939 while the population data are for 1930; and since there have been some tremendous shifts in population in the last decade, parts of the present study should be reworked using 1940 census materials. This should improve the results markedly.

(2) Likewise refinement of results will be possible when certain base data are refined; that is, when one is able to work on a township rather than a county unit basis. Such factors as the relation of farm agencies to farm income can be made with greater discernment if and when tools are devised for translating census figures on gross cash farm income into figures on net income.

(3) A few sample counties of the state should now be studied intensively to determine the degree to which existing agencies are used, who uses them, for what purpose, and the degree of participation. This is a study much like that now in progress in Cortland County, New York. Such detailed studies on a few small areas would permit some generalization with respect to the entire state, using as a base the data presented in this report.

(4) As suggested in the first section of this chapter, the data of the present study are rightly a part of the materials necessary in the establishment of cultural regions and sub-regions. These areas cannot accurately be constructed through the use of from 5 to 8 indices, — nor even 30 or 60. All data relevant to the content of culture must be used, insofar as possible. As a next step the writer proposes to set up these cultural areas for Pennsylvania, using the products of this study as soon as forthcoming 1940 census material permits the refinement of the indices.

(5) An excellent separate study could be developed out of Chapter IV, on Standards of Living. One fruitful approach would be to sample the different sections of the state using the Sewell adaptation of the Chapin Scale for measuring socio-economic status. The sample areas could then be correlated with known conditions as brought out in Chapter IV and these correlations applied to the general data for any section, and for the state as a whole, to show "the ecology of well-being" for the commonwealth.

(6) An ecological study of the religious agencies and activities of Pennsylvania could be made by amplifying Chapter XI. The study would include substantially the same technique as that used in the present analysis. The distribution of the 13,845 church bodies in the state should be spotted on maps by denominations to bring out area differences.

This is illustrated by the map of Baptist Churches which indicates the probability of interesting results. Other denominations show quite as striking distributions as this one. Then these churches, church memberships, church finances, and church attendance, should be analyzed to show the influence of such factors as population density and characteristics, income, and environmental and historical factors.

(7) A population study could readily come from refining chapter III and including 1940 census data. All that would be needed is to fit the 1940 data into the outline developed.

(8) A detailed study of the educational picture of Pennsylvania should naturally follow the present study. Using as aides, County Superintendents of Schools and assistants together with district, supervising, and local principals, more intimate data on the relation of education to important economic, social, demographic, political, and topographic, and industrial factors could be obtained than can be derived from state bulletins.

Perhaps a separate study could well be done showing the relationship of one room, consolidated, and high schools to the surrounding territory from which students are drawn. To what extent are consolidated schools located in scientifically determined community centers? To what extent are farm boys and girls discriminated against with respect to the difficulties involved in attending high school in terms of roads, distance, and transportation facilities? What are the possibilities of reorganizing school districts, especially fourth class, using facts and conditions scientifically determinable. The preliminary data for such a study are included in the present work.

(9) The present study does not attempt to go into the health situation nearly as intimately as should be done. Although much significant data are herein presented to bring out problem areas, neglected areas, and over-organized areas the "why" questions remain untouched. Why are doctors located where they are? Why are there too many dentists in Northwestern Pennsylvania, and too few in the southern part of the state? Why is there a hospital in one county while in the next county, in the same kind of setting and with more people and wealth to draw on, there is none? Why are the state clinics put where they are? The answer to such questions as these would be revealing, bringing to light situations (not the least of which are politics and pressure groups) which should strengthen materially the prospects for equitable distribution of health services in the commonwealth.

(10) Other promising research suggestions which merit consideration are:

(a) Survey of public recreation facilities, uses and needs in Pennsylvania.

(b) Survey of commercial recreation facilities, uses, and needs in Pennsylvania.

(c) Survey of youth organizations, membership, and activities in Pennsylvania.

(d) Survey of welfare agencies and services in Pennsylvania.

(11) To follow up the present introductory analysis more detailed treatment could well be given one or more of such special interest groups as the grange, the P.T.A., Women's Clubs, the Farm Women's Society, or 4-H Club work. Membership, activities, problems, achievements, and other

such data would furnish valuable clues for determining the factors which make for effective or ineffective functioning.

(12) A final research suggestion is that of making a study similar to the present one 10 years hence to indicate the changes that have taken place during the decade. This re-survey would show where the numbers of these agencies have increased or decreased. It would indicate in what respects the activities of these agencies have responded to changing conditions; and it would reveal turnover of agencies — birth rates and death rates.

It would reveal to what extent such public agencies as health, education, and recreation have succeeded in meeting the needs of people formerly unserviced. It would serve as an accounting and as an inventory that all agencies, public and private, may check the results of a decade's experience and thus more intelligently chart their programs for the future. This was the initial proposition.

Finally, such a re-survey would indicate the direction of social trends and thus provide valuable data for the prediction of probable future conditions. This last, in the largest sense, is a primary aim of science.

APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

SCHEDULES

WILLIS KEIGNS
PENNA. STATE COLLEGE
STATE COLLEGE, P

A STUDY OF

RURAL ORGANIZATIONS AND RURAL LEADERSHIP

The Pennsylvania State College

(All information is confidential)

I. GENERAL:

Name of organization_____ Building where organization meets _____ Name of community_____

Number meetings per year_____ Number of members in organization_____

Number under 25 years_____ Length of meetings_____

Average attendance at meetings_____

II. BACKGROUNDS:

Why was organization started?_____

By whom?_____ Year started_____ List outstanding past achievements of organization_____

_____

_____

What significant changes in program content have taken place in the last five years?_____

_____

III. PROGRAM:

How many actively participated in the meetings during the past year?_____

_____What major activities were carried out during the past year in the following classifications:

Education_____

Agriculture_____

Recreation and Sociability_____

Cultural Arts_____

Health_____

Home Improvement_____

Community Projects_____

Religious Activities_____

Youth Activities_____

Draw a circle around those activities above which had the greatest appeal to the members.

For the last two meetings what percentage of the entire meeting time consisted of:

_____ Business	_____ %	_____ Handicraft	_____ %
_____ Ritual	_____ %	_____ Talks	_____ %
_____ Music	_____ %	_____ Discussion	_____ %
_____ Debates	_____ %	_____ Dancing	_____ %
_____ Games	_____ %	_____ Movies	_____ %
_____ Cards	_____ %	_____ Refreshments	_____ %
_____ Dramatics	_____ %	_____ Other	_____ %
_____ Recitations	_____ %		
		All	100 %

In front of the activities listed above, check (✓) those you had during the past year.

Are members interested in the organization? Check the term which best describes the degree of interest: Little_____ Medium_____ Much_____

IV. PROBLEMS: Check the following common problems of the organization according to the degree of difficulty present.

Problem	None	Little	Medium	Much
Securing attendance				
Getting members to participate				
Finding program material				
Lack of adapting program to changing needs				
Programs poorly planned				
Carrying out program				
Conducting business				
Securing suitable meeting place				
Getting most capable people to act as leaders and officers				
Conflict and jealousy within organization				
Competing with other activities				
Bad roads				
Inadequate finances				
Population decline in area				

What is your organization's most difficult problem? _____

V. LEADERSHIP: Major Officers

Office	Sex	Age	Occupation	Last year in school completed	Years held present office

Does the most valuable person in your organization hold office? _____
If so, what office? _____ What are your major problems of leadership?

_____

_____

_____

VI. THE FUTURE:
What can be done to increase the effectiveness of your organization? _____

_____

_____

Your Name _____ Address _____

PENNSYLVANIA TOWN AND COUNTRY CHURCHES

(To be filled out by ministers and returned to R. W. Kerns, The Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. All information is confidential.)

I. GENERAL: Denomination _____ Number of churches served _____
Total distance between churches (in circuit) _____
Where were you born? Farm _____ Village _____ City _____
Where were you reared? Farm _____ Village _____ City _____
Present age _____ Last year in school completed _____

II. CHURCH ORGANIZATION:

Item	Church I.	Church II.	Church III.	Church IV.	Church V.
Location (community or neighborhood)					
Number of members					
Average attendance.					
Av. No. taking active part in church program					
Amount given to pastor's salary.					
Distance from pastor's residence					
Number of preaching services a month					
Number of Sunday School services a month					
Length of sermon (min). . . .					
Graded Sunday School classes (Yes or No)					
Young People's Society (Yes or No)					
Ladies Aid Society (Yes or No)					
Missionary Society (Yes or No)					
Sermon for children (Yes or No)					
Number of churches in each area.					
Total population in each area.					
When was church organized?					

III. ACTIVITIES: What activities were carried out during the past year in the following classifications, in your church program:
Special Religious Activities _____
Youth Activities _____
Education _____
Recreation and Sociability _____
Agriculture _____

Cultural Arts _____
Health _____
Home Improvement _____
Community Projects _____

IV. PROBLEMS: Check (✓) the following common problems of your church situation according to the degree of difficulty present.

Problem	None	Little	Medium	Much
Securing attendance				
Getting members to participate				
Finding suitable sermon material				
Lack of adapting church program to changing needs and situations				
Members not progressive				
Building in need of repairs				
Building in need of redecorating				
Getting most capable people to act as officers and teachers				
Conflict and jealousy				
Too many churches in area				
Competing with other activities in community				
Population decline in area				
Bad roads				
Inadequate finances				

What is your most difficult problem? _____

V. INTEREST: Is the average member interested in the church and its program? Check the term which best describes the degree of interest: Little _____ Medium _____ Much _____.

VI. THE FUTURE: What can be done to increase the effectiveness of your entire church program? _____

_____

_____

NAME _____ ADDRESS _____ COUNTY _____

The Pennsylvania State College
School of Agriculture and Experiment Station
Division of Agricultural Extension
M. S. McDowell, Director

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SENIOR EXTENSION CLUBS

Name _____ Address _____ Age _____

Do you live on a farm? _____ In village _____ Married _____

Are you in school now? _____ Do you plan to continue your education? _____

Have you been a 4-H club member? _____ No. of years _____

To what other organization do you belong? _____

What offices do you hold? _____

What is your present occupation? _____

What occupation would you like to follow? _____

Would you like to join a Senior Extension Club? _____

What nights would suit you for meetings? _____

Would you prefer separate meetings for young men and women, combined, or separate meetings with joint social programs? _____

Would you prefer community meetings or county-wide meetings? _____

Check the following list, marking those you are interested in
Indicate the amount of interest

	Much	Little	None	Dislike
1. Taking part in athletic events and games				
2. Learning more about good manners, and social customs.				
3. Improving personal appearance and selecting clothes.				
4. Discussing one's part and responsibilities in the home life.				
5. Would you be interested in doing shop and handicraft work?				
6. Discussions in:				
1. Personality and Leadership.				
2. How to get started in farming.				
3. Wise Buying.				

		Much	Little	None	Dislike
7. Developing hobbies such as:	1. Photography				
	2. Stamp Collecting				
	3. Wood carving				
Any others	4.				
8. Discussion of opportunities in various occupations and preparation needed to be successful in them.					
9. Would you like special help in developing your abilities in farm and home activities:	1. Farm accounting				
	2. Live stock				
	3. Poultry				
	4. Crops				
	5. Clothing				
	6. Foods				
	7. Home decoration				
	8. Home management				
	9. Farm machinery				
Any others	10.				
10. Studying health program:	1. First Aid				
	2. Home Nursing				
	3. Posture				
Any others	4.				
11. Taking part in:	1. Dramatics				
	2. Debates				
	3. Singing				
	4. Orchestra				
Any others	5.				
12. Appreciation of:	1. Art				
	2. Travel				
	3. Music				
	4. Literature				
13. Discussion of rural or farm law and legal documents, seed laws, quarantines, etc.					
14. Discussion of methods of establishing credit, farm loans, production credit loans, insurance, etc.					
15. Training in song and game leadership.					
16. Conducting business meetings and studying parliamentary procedure.					
17. Taking part in parties and social functions.					

End of Title